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*The History of the Life and Reign of
William the Fourth, the Reform ...*

Robert Huish

37.

1082.





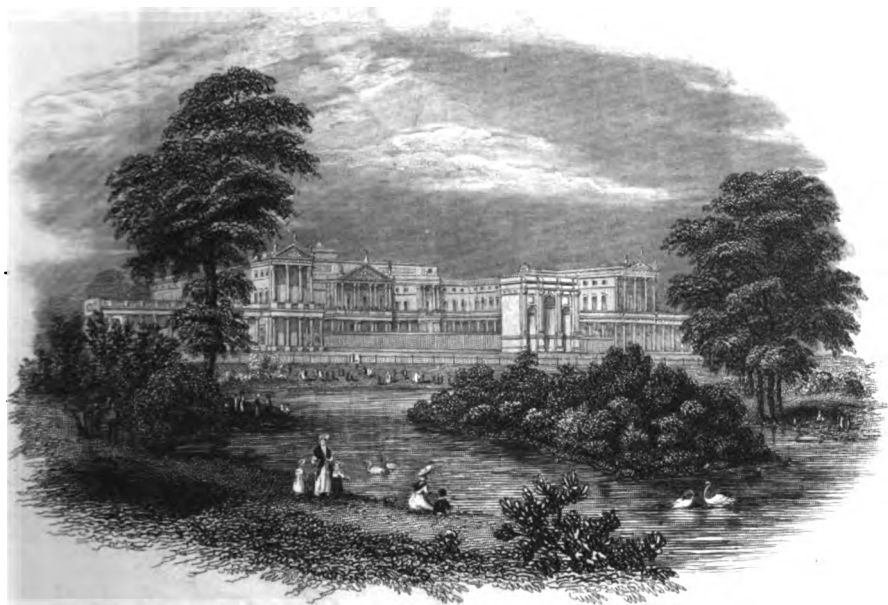
Engraved by Russell from a Painting in the Possession of the Rt Hon. Viscountess Falkland

WILLIAM IV.

The Reform Monarch of Great Britain

William IV.

THE
History of the
LIFE AND REIGN
OF
WILLIAM THE FOURTH.
The Reform Monarch of England.
BY
ROBERT HUISH, ESQ. F.A.S. F.Z.S.



THE NEW PALACE.

London W. Evans, Cloth Fair, Smithfield 1837



THE HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE AND REIGN
OF
WILLIAM THE FOURTH,
THE
Reform Monarch of England.
COMPRISING
AN INTERESTING DETAIL OF THE SCENES
OF HIS PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE,
WITH
AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE
IMPORTANT EVENTS OF HIS MEMORABLE REIGN
INCLUDING POLITICAL PORTRAITS OF
THE CELEBRATED MEN,
WHO WERE THE FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT.

BY ROBERT HUISH, Esq., F.R.S. F.Z.S.,
Author of the "The Memoirs of the Princess Charlotte;" "Life of George the Third;" "Memoirs of Queen Caroline;" George the Fourth;" &c., &c.

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1082.



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PREFACE.

AMIDST the political distractions, which have agitated other nations, it has been one of the greatest blessings, which this country has enjoyed to have had in WILLIAM THE FOURTH, a Monarch, who reigned not only the King, but the fond father of his people, while their cheerful and affectionate loyalty, constituted the happiness of his life, the chief glory of his crown, and the strength, prosperity, and splendour of the nation.

It has, however, been the will of Heaven to remove that much esteemed Monarch, from his earthly kingdom, and to gather him to his Fathers, at a most momentous crisis of the Country, when the people were looking up to him, as their chief hope to carry them victoriously, through those great measures for the reformation of all abuses, in the administration of the affairs of Church and State, and which a high and haughty Aristocracy, are using their utmost efforts to preserve and maintain. To WILLIAM THE FOURTH, the people of this country, have a large debt of gratitude to pay, and it must be generally admitted, that the Historian cannot point to the reign of any English Monarch, in which greater benefits have been conferred upon the people, than in the reign of WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

It has not indeed been distinguished by the universal war cry of GEORGE III, nor the profligacy, debauchery, and extravagance of GEORGE IV., but in times of peace, under the sanction, and rule of a patriot king, the people have been restored to some of their rights, and WILLIAM THE FOURTH, lived to experience, that the brightest jewel in the Crown of a Monarch, is the love of his people. He has died with the lustre of that jewel unimpaired, and prosperity will award him a niche, in the temple of fame, which few of his predecessors deserve, and which it is hoped, his successors will endeavour to acquire.

We cannot stifle our attachment to persons and families, whose memory ought to be dear to every Englishman. It is not for malice and misrepresentation to make us forget that the Houses of Orange and Brunswick, have rendered us essential services, at critical times, and that to them, under Providence, we are indebted for the continued enjoyment of privileges, which distinguish us from the rest of the world. Such names have hitherto been mentioned with veneration, by our most ardent and enlightened Patriots; and their names, at the head of which now stands that of WILLIAM IV., will continue to be venerated by all who being rationally, as well as fervently attached to the constitution itself, cannot remember with indifference, those persons and families, which have been the instruments of its preservation.

In detailing the incidents of the private life of WILLIAM THE FOURTH, the Author is well aware, that he will frequently be obliged to tread on very tender ground. The actions of Monarchs are but little known, until they have been removed from this earth; but when all delicacy, and respect to the feelings of the existing King are removed, then it becomes the duty of the Historian, to give a faithful and impartial portraiture, uninfluenced by party spirit, or any consideration for the personal feelings of those, who, now that the shield of royalty is removed, from them, must appear in their real character to the world.

The political events of the life of WILLIAM THE FOURTH are of more momentous import; but as the friend of the people, as the defender of their imperscriptible rights, the Author has in the course of this work, fearlessly exposed the political machinations, by which their rights were withheld from them, and whilst bestowing upon their patriot King, all the praise that is due to him, for his unflinching adherence to the cause of Reform, he has not less fearlessly investigated the causes, and the power of those, who, though admitted by the constitution to legislate for the people, are yet the people's enemies.



VICTORIA I.

Queen of England

Victoria

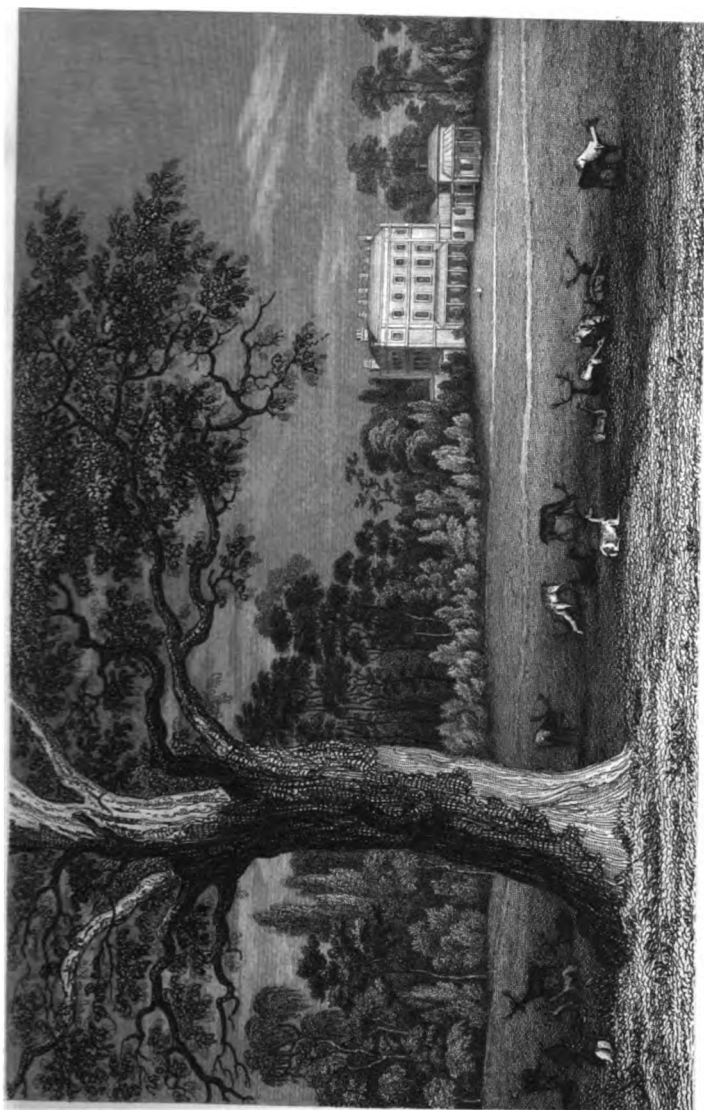
Painted by Sir David Wilkie, 1840





HER ROYAL HIGHNESS VICTORIA-MARY-LOUISA, DUCHESS OF KENT.

W. J. M. S. 1840.



BUSBY PARK.



ADMIRAL GEORGE-BRIDGES RODNEY, BARON RODNEY.

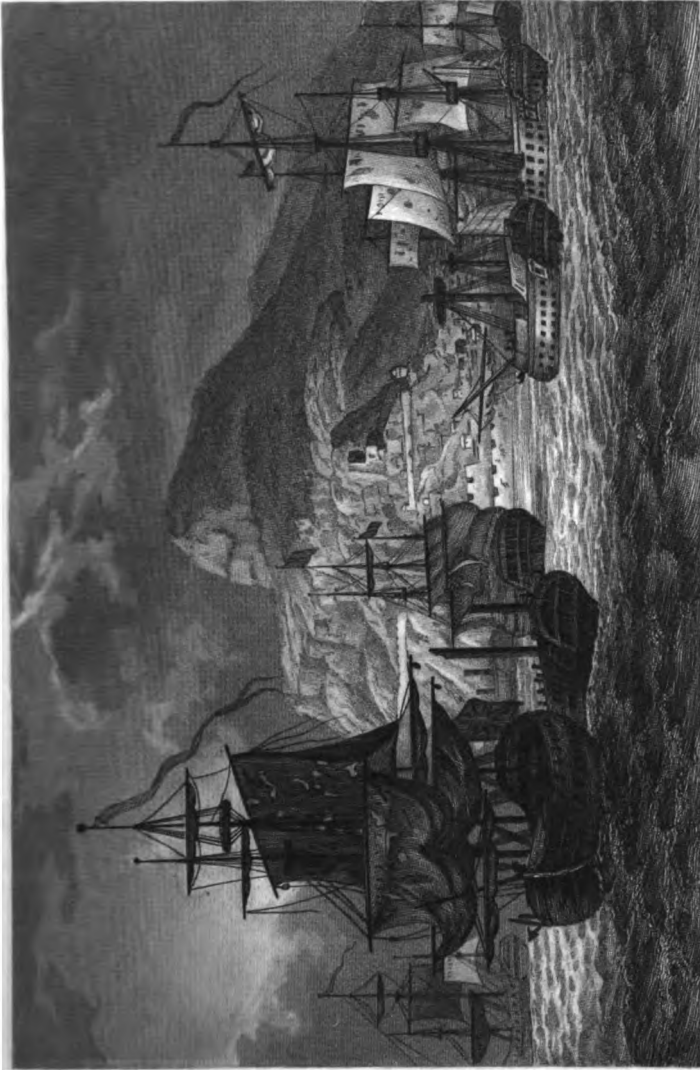




*Amelia, Adelaide, Louise Therese
Caroline Wilhelmina.*

Queen Dowager of Great Britain.

Painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, 1818.



G I B R A L T A R .

The Great Gibraltar Light.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE AND REIGN
OF
WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER I.

THE greatest pride of a Briton, is his political Constitution, for by it he becomes invested with rights and privileges, which impart to him a character never to be discovered in the subjects of other countries, and place him in the highest scale of civilized life. An hereditary Monarchy, is one of the first principles of that Constitution; and the general consent of the people, evidenced by long and immemorial usage, has vested the executive power of the English Government, in the person of the King, or Queen; for, it is indifferent to which sex the Crown descends.

The consent of the people, however, is not to be so understood, as though there were really a time and a place, when and where the population of the Island met together to *choose* their King; there being no trace of any such event in history. And although this *choice of the people*, is a favourite article in the creed of some speculative politicians, it is probable that the fact never existed in any country, since the world began. Nothing, at least is farther from the truth, than that the Crown is so held by the King of England.

It is beyond all controversy, that the English Government has been monarchical from the most remote period of its existence. That the royal office has always been *hereditary*, and not *elective*, has never been denied, but by the Republicans, who beheaded Charles I. They, indeed, asserted the inalienable right of the *people*, to *elect* their Supreme Governor; and soon afterwards, with great consistency, the Crown was offered to Cromwell, by a House of Commons, convened by the sole authority of the Usurper. But the title of Cromwell himself to the supreme power, rested merely upon the instrument of Government, which was drawn up by a council, consisting only of his general officers. What share the *people* had in proposing to make him a King, may be seen in the histories of those times.

The hereditary right to the Crown, acknowledged by the laws of England, originated with the wise founders of our Constitution, who preferred making it an hereditary, rather than an elective Monarchy. Their policy has obtained the general consent, and an established usage, and consequently, the King has the same title to the Crown, that a private man has to his hereditary estate.

If, indeed, there were no corruption in the human heart, to endanger the exercise of just principles, an elective Monarchy would be most favourable to the liberties of the subject, because the most suitable person would, probably, under such circumstances, be chosen to the supreme authority. But the experience of all ages, has convinced every considerate man, that popular elections are unavoidably attended with great inconvenience, and that undue influence, ambition, power, and artifice, will almost always prevail over virtue and integrity.

Considering the peculiar situation in which this country stands, in regard to the succession to the throne, and threatened as it is, with a most severe calamity, in case of the demise of the present Queen without issue; it may not be inappropriate, to give a short historical detail of the law of succession, as it effects the Kings of England, and we ought to be most

grateful to our ancestors, that they have provided a remedy for the evil, to which we have just now alluded.

The Crown descends lineally to the issue of the reigning Monarch, as it did from King John, to Richard II., through a regular succession of six generations. The right of primogeniture amongst the males, and of the males in preference to the females, is also a constitutional rule in the descent of the Crown. Thus Edward took the Crown in preference to Richard, his younger brother, and to Elizabeth his elder sister. Upon failure of the male line, the Crown descends to the eldest of the female issue, and the heirs of her body, lawfully begotten, and not jointly to the female issue of the same degree, as in common inheritances.

The descent of the Crown to the female line, in failure of the male issue, is an ancient British custom. For our forefathers were often led to battle by women, and they paid no regard to sex with respect to the individual, who administered the executive Government.

The doctrine of representation, likewise, prevails in the descent of the Crown, as in other inheritances. Thus Richard II., succeeded his grandfather; Edward III., in right of his father, the Black Prince; and George III., took the crown on the demise of his grandfather, George II., in right of his father Frederick, Prince of Wales, and each to the exclusion of all their uncles.

In the event of lineal descendants, the Crown devolves to the next collateral relations of the late King, provided they are lineally descended from the royal stock, which originally acquired the Crown. Thus Henry I., succeeded to William II.; John, to Richard I.; and James I., to Elizabeth; being all derived from William the Conqueror. And if there be no kinsman of the whole blood, a relation of the *half* blood, will undoubtedly succeed to the throne; as was the case with Mary I., who succeeded Edward VI.; and of Elizabeth, who ascended the throne on the death of Mary; all being the children of Henry VIII., and each by different mothers.

The doctrine, however, of *hereditary* right, by no means

implies an *indefeasible* right to the crown, and fortunate it is for the country that it is so. The Duke of Cumberland is at present, the heir presumptive to the Crown, but the Parliament, (thanks to the wisdom, and foresight of our ancestors) consisting of King, Lords, and Commons, has the power to defeat this hereditary right, and exclude the next heir, *by enacting the inheritance, to descend to any one else, whenever it thinks fit*. The Constitution has lodged this power in the supreme Legislature, in order to avoid the inconvenience and distress, that the whole nation must experience, were an *idiot* or a *lunatic*, or a ——— like the Duke of Cumberland, necessarily to inherit the throne, and on the other hand, to avert the miseries that must accrue to the reigning monarch at all times, were any such authority, expressly confided to the people, who are so liable to be influenced by caprice, and hurried on by the most ungovernable passions. Hence it is plain, that the English Constitution, disclaims all such political theories, as a *right* inherent in the *people*, either to choose, or to set aside their king. This is clear from the Bill, called the “Declaration of Rights,” in which the Lords and Commons consider it, “as a marvellous Providence, and merciful goodness of God, to this nation to preserve” King William, and Queen Mary, “most happily to reign over us on *the throne of their ancestors*, for which from the bottom of their hearts, they return their humblest thanks and praises.” King James II. had broken the legal conditions of the compact of Sovereignty, and by abdicating, had vacated the throne. But the two Houses, in the Bill of Rights, did not thank God, that they had found a fair opportunity, to assert a right to *choose* their own Governors, much less to make an election, the only lawful title to the Crown, but on the contrary, in order to exclude for ever, the doctrine of a right, to choose our own Governors, a subsequent clause of that immortal law just mentioned, declares, that the Lords, spiritual, and temporal, and Commons, do in the name of all the people aforesaid, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs, and posterity for ever and do faithfully promise, that they will

maintain, and defend their said Majesties, and also, *the limitation of the Crown*, herein specified and contained to the utmost of their powers." Is it not then very surprising, that any sensible man, can infer the doctrine of a right to choose our own Governors, from the Revolution of 1688, since, if we had possessed it before, it is clear that the English nation, did at that time, most solemnly renounce, and abdicate it, for themselves, and for all their posterity for ever. Our ancestors, wisely considered, that however, speciously the *abstract* principle of such a right, might appear in theory, it could never in the nature of things, be reduced to practice.

The true spirit of our Constitution, not only in its settled course, but in all its Revolutions, is, hereditary succession to the reigning Monarch, whether he obtained the Crown, by law or by force. Hence in our laws, the King in his political capacity, is said, never to die, because he lives in his successor, although like other men, he is naturally mortal.

The regular inheritance of the British throne, has indeed, been often changed, and usurped by fraud and violence, as will be seen by a short historical view of our Kings. But the beautiful feature of hereditary succession, marked the infancy of our Government, bloomed in its manhood, and is indelibly graven in the wrinkles of increasing age.

We will now take, historically, a *constitutional* view of the *royal title*, to the Crown of England. Egbert, who was the first King of England, and last of the Saxon Heptarchy, was King of the West Saxons, by a long and uninterrupted descent from his ancestors, of above 800 years, and united the Heptarchy in one Monarchy under him, in the year 828. How his ancestors obtained their titles, it is in vain for us to inquire, since there are no documents that will satisfy such political curiosity. So it was, that Egbert became sole Monarch of England, partly by the consent of the other six kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and partly by conquest over them.

From Egbert, the Crown descended regularly, for two hundred years, through a succession of fifteen Princes, to the death of Edmund Ironside, without any deviation or inter-

ruption, except that the sons of King Ethelwolf, succeeded to each other, without regard to the children of the elder branches, and also that King Edred, the uncle of Edwy, reigned about nine years, during the minority of Edwy, on account of the troubles of the times. But when of age, Edwy assumed the reins of Government.

At the death of Edmund Ironside, Canute, King of Denmark, obtained the kingdom by violence, and a new family possessed the throne: three of his heirs succeeded to the throne, and on the death of Hardicanute, the ancient Saxon line was restored in Edward the Confessor, who was the next of kin, then in England. On the decease of Edward, Harold II. usurped the Government, for Edgar Atheling, the grand son of Ironside, was the lawful heir. Harold being defeated at the Battle of Hastings, was dispossessed of the throne, by William the Conqueror. Robert the eldest son of the Conqueror, being Duke of Normandy by his father's will, was kept out of the possession of the Crown of England, by the acts and violence of his brothers, William II., and Henry I., who succeeded their father.

The real heiress to Henry, was his daughter, the Empress Matilda, but Stephen usurped the throne, having only the feeble title of being grandson to the Conqueror, by his mother's side.

Henry II., the undoubted heir of the Conqueror, after his mother Matilda, and also lineally descended from Edmund Ironside, the last of the Saxon hereditary Kings, succeeded Stephen.

Henry was succeeded by Richard I., who dying childless, the right vested in his nephew Arthur, the son of Geoffry, his next brother, but John, the surviving brother of the King, seized the Crown, to the exclusion of his nephew, the doctrine of representation, not being then clearly understood.

Henry III., who succeeded his father, King John, had an indisputable title, for Arthur and his sister Eleanor both died without issue, and the Crown descended from Henry, to Richard II., in a regular succession of five generations.

Richard II. resigned the Crown, which was taken possession of by Henry IV., who was the son of the celebrated John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III. His title, however, was not a just one; for, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., left a daughter Philippa, from whom descended the house of York. But, King Henry having at that time a large army at his command, asserted his title with effect; and by the Statute of 7, Henry IV. ch. 2, it was enacted, that the inheritance of the Crown and Realms of England and France, and all other the King's dominions, shall be *set and remain* in the person of our Sovereign Lord the King, and in the heirs of his body issuing. By which Statute, it is obvious that the title of Henry appeared at that time very doubtful, and it is equally clear that the King and Parliament had the right of changing and limiting the occupation of the Crown.

But the "beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water." No one can tell, when a river breaks through its banks, and rushes from its accustomed channel, what devastation it will occasion. The usurpation of Henry gave rise to the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, the Princes of which, like Sampson's foxes, spread by their jarring interests, desolation and misery through the land for several subsequent generations.

Henry was succeeded by his son, and grandson, Henry V., and Henry VI. In the reign of this weak Prince, the house of York asserted its dormant title; and, after intestine war and bloodshed for seven years, at length established it in the person of Edward IV.

In all acts wherein Edward had occasion to speak of the Henries of the house of Lancaster, he calls them, "lately in *deed*, not of *right*, Kings of England; and hence arose the distinction of a king *de jure*, and a king *de facto*."

On the death of Edward, the Crown descended to his eldest son, Edward V., who with his brother the Duke of York, are generally believed to have been murdered in the Tower, by order of their uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester; after

he had insinuated into the populace, a suspicion of the bastardy of the two young Princes, and of their sister Elizabeth, to whom the Crown by right belonged, on the death of her brothers. But the wretched, and unnatural uncle, usurped the Government, under the name of Richard III. He enjoyed, however, the fruits of his villainy a little more than two years, when his tyranny excited Henry, Earl of Richmond, to assert his title to the Crown. Richard being slain in the battle of Bosworth, Richmond took possession of the Crown, by the style of Henry VII., although nothing could be more preposterous than his claim, for he was descended from a natural son of John of Gaunt, whose own title had been exploded. Henry was, however, confirmed in the throne, by an Act of Parliament, in the first year of his reign. But the right of the Crown was undoubtedly in Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV. This Princess, the heiress of the house of York, Henry married in 1486, and thus settled the fierce and bloody contests between the two families. How mysterious are the ways of Heaven ! Often does it over-rule the wickedness of man for the accomplishment of the greatest benefits to the world. Had it not been for the atrocity of Richard, his nephews, and their heirs, would have reigned, and probably, the horrors of a civil war, been much longer protracted. Or had he conducted the affairs of Government, with justice and moderation, instead of wearying out the people with oppression and tyranny ; so monstrous a title as that of the Earl of Richmond, would never have been asserted. But having succeeded in his pretensions, as the heir of the house of Lancaster, Henry married Elizabeth, who after the murder of her brothers, became the undoubted heiress, not only of the house of York, but also of the Conqueror, the common royal stock.

Henry VIII., the issue of this marriage, became, therefore, King, by a clear and indisputable hereditary right, and to him, his three children succeeded in regular order. Edward VI., following his father, was succeeded by his two sisters. Yet the Parliament exercised its constitutional right of regulating

the succession, by passing various acts, respecting the legitimacy, or illegitimacy, of King Henry's two daughters, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth.

On the death of Queen Elizabeth, the line of Henry III. became extinct, and the Crown devolved of course on James VI. of Scotland, and first of England, who was the lineal descendant of Henry VII., whose eldest daughter by Elizabeth of York, married James IV. of Scotland. So that King James had an undoubted hereditary right to both the English and Scottish Crowns, and was the heir both of Egbert, and William the Conqueror. In James, therefore, centered all the claims of the houses of York and Lancaster, and what is more remarkable in him, also, the whole Saxon line was restored.

James firmly believed in the doctrine of the divine right of Kings, but the Parliament in recognizing his succession by Statute I., James I., ch. I., mentioned not a word about our right, immediately derived from God, but simply acknowledged his Majesty, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next and sole heir of the blood royal of this realm.

James was succeeded by his eldest son, the unfortunate King Charles I., whose Constitutional Judges, told that unhappy Monarch, that he was an *elective* Prince, and as such accountable to his people, *in his own proper person*, although nothing could be more absurd, and false, than such a doctrine, since Charles could produce an undeniable hereditary right, for more than 800 years, and was unquestionably the real heir of Egbert the first King of England. It was, indeed, very natural that men, who were about to strike off the head of the King, not by the just sentence of the law, but with the arm of violence, should deny the constitutional inviolability of his person. Nor is it surprising that in the commission of such an act, as putting his Majesty to death, they should tell him he was an *elective*, and not an hereditary King. For they could not but foresee that the demise of the King would only make way for his son, if they admitted the ancient doctrine of hereditary succession to the Crown. That such a successor would

call them to an account for the death of his father, they naturally kept in mind, when they talked about an elective Prince, to the exclusion of an hereditary monarch.

The violent death of King Charles made way for the usurpation of Cromwell, who assumed the title of Lord Protector.

After an interregnum of about eleven years, a solemn Parliamentary Convocation of the States, restored the Crown to the right heir, King Charles II., during whose reign, a Bill passed the Commons to exclude the King's brother, the Duke of York from the succession, on the ground of his being a Papist; but it was rejected by the Lords, and the King also declared that he would never consent to it; so that on the death of Charles, the Duke succeeded by the name of James II. But from this attempt of the Commons to exclude James from the succession, it was clearly and universally acknowledged that the Crown was an inheritance, indefeasible, *unless by Parliament*, and also that the Parliament had the power of defeating the inheritance.

The infatuated King James, after various and notorious attempts to establish an arbitrary government, independently of the law, voluntarily vacated the throne by abdication. But our ancestors very prudently voted in both Houses of Parliament, that the conduct of King James amounted only to an *endeavour* to subvert the Constitution. The Scotch Convention, however, declared, "that King James VII. being a professed Papist, had not taken the oath required by law, but had by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental Constitution of the kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary, despotic power, whereby he had *forefaulted* the Crown, and the throne was become vacant;" thus by simply declaring the throne vacant, it followed of course, that the two Houses of Parliament had the sole right and power of filling it up in such a manner as they should judge proper. This right they exercised by the following declaration, dated February 12, 1688, "That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be

declared King and Queen, to hold the Crown and royal dignity during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them, and after their deceases, the said Crown and royal dignity to be to the heirs of the body of the said Princess; and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body, and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange." From this important transaction, justified clearly from the necessity of the case, some have inferred *the inherent right of the people of England to cashier their Kings*. Yet nothing can be more fallacious than such reasoning; it being the indispensable duty of every Christian to submit himself to the *lawful* authority established in this country. So long then as the King of England governs his conduct by the law of the realm, he cannot be resisted nor dethroned by his subjects, without their being guilty of open rebellion against God.

Towards the end of the reign of King William, the Duke of Gloucester, the son of Anne (afterwards Queen,) dying, with him all hopes of a Protestant succession failed; and, the Parliament had previously enacted, that no person possessing the Popish faith, should ever be capable of inheriting, possessing, or enjoying the Crown of these realms.

In this dilemma, therefore, the remainder of the Crown expectant, on the death of King William and Queen Anne, without issue, was settled by Statutes 12 and 13, Wm. III. ch. 2, on the Princess Sophia, Dowager Electress of Hanover, and grand-daughter of King James I., and on the heirs of her body, being Protestants.

Queen Anne succeeded to the throne on the death of King William; she died without issue, but surviving the Princess Sophia of Hanover, transmitted the Crown to her son and heir, King George I. To him succeeded his son, King George II., on whose demise, King George III. ascended the throne of his ancestors. Few monarchs reigned so long, and none during so important a period as George III.; and, it may be confidently added, that there is no reign marked with such disastrous events to this country. His love of war lost

him America, the most important jewel in his Crown, and by the reprehensible policy of a high aristocratic minister, increased the national debt to an amount, to pay the interest of which, a system of taxation must be adopted, which paralyzes the best energies of the country. The pension list of Pitt is still an oppressive incubus on the finances of the country; a dead weight, which, if the representatives of the people were true to the trust reposed in them, would have been long since removed, leaving the Arabellas and Matildas, the Johns and Richards of our pauper nobility, to earn their livelihood by honest industry, and not live at the nation's expence, contemning those who labour to support them, and flaunting about in the character of titled paupers, as the vilest excrescences on the body politic of a nation.

To George III. succeeded his libertine son, George IV. who in the annals of the country stands recorded as one of the most profligate and extravagant Princes, that ever swayed the sceptre of these realms. If his father squandered the treasures of the country, and beggar'd us and our posterity as long as there may be a King on the throne of England by his quixotic wars, so did his son contribute to the utmost of his power to drain the resources of the country, by his continual demand upon them to support his reckless extravagance and his habits of profligacy. In the investigation of the character of our Princes, we enter not upon the disquisition of Royalty in an abstract sense, but we judge of them as individuals, as they display themselves to the nation, and the influence which their conduct has had upon its general interests. Still in the spirit of liberality it must be admitted, that the sons of the King of England are by the rigour and unjustness of the laws, placed in a situation worse than any other Princes of a civilized country. The laws by which they are exclusively governed, forces them to be debauchees, and this should have been taken into the consideration of the moral, and the pious George III. before he put his sign manual to the Royal Marriage Act, by which he constrained his sons to be either fornicators or adulterers. In this respect, we are bound to look upon the actions

of our Princes, through a different medium than that by which we examine the actions of other men. The above remark will particularly apply to the illustrious subject of the present history, and when we enter upon that period of his life which brings him immediately within the pale of the laws, now adverted to, we trust that we shall be able to show, that in his departure from the rigid rule, which morality has laid down for the conduct of men, the blame is not so much to be attached to him, as to the individual, who for the sake of keeping the Guelphic blood in a pure and uncontaminated state, enacted a law at variance with Christianity, and repugnant to human nature.

If persons of inferior rank in life would consider the great difficulties that Princes have to encounter, they would be less inclined to judge them with so much severity as they generally do. They ought in the first place to consider that in ordinary life, the vices, the errors and the foibles of the man are easily concealed, and that it is only the careless and the imprudent who allow half their faults to be known.

From the beginning of time, from the earliest periods of recorded history such has been the situation of Princes, and the consequence is that their characters have been transmitted to us in a more unfavourable light than those of other men, who have ostentatiously displayed their virtues and cautiously concealed their vices.

We, however, as introductory to the history of the life of William the IV. cannot avert our attention from some of the extravagances of George the IV. as they have an immediate bearing on some parts of the conduct of William the IV. when Duke of Clarence, and which involved him in debts, which although the honour of three Princes of the Blood Royal of England was pledged for their payment, are to this moment unliquidated.

The satraps of the Court must give us credit for the knowledge that Kings are but men, that thrones are made of gilded wood, and frequently as worm-eaten, as the putrid body of the King himself, though covered with his perfumed cerements.

We know that courtiers are a set of base, truckling sycophants; that a mass of brick and mortar, promoted to the rank of a palace, as being the habitation of a King, is a mere gewgaw of the most insufferable vanity, and that all the swelling grandeur, all the pomp, all the outward circumstances of royalty are nothing more than glare and tinsel. We know further, that royalty is inevitably attended with expense, and therefore we are ready to admit, that it would be ungracious to quarrel with that expense, provided it was kept within proper and legal bounds, but when we are told, that the well known private tastes, munificence, public spirit, and other high sounding virtues of George the IV., were one of the greatest blessings ever conferred on the country, we confess that we turn sick at such inflated nonsense, and especially, when we consider the drains which were made upon the pockets of the people, at a time when our streets were filled with mourning, and our houses with woe, merely to uphold the said "tastes, munificence and public spirit" of the royal voluptuary. It may be considered irrelevant, but it will be found, that the extravagances of the princely profligate were in some instances, closely connected with the conduct of the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William the IV., and for that reason, they are here introduced, that a proper clue may be at hand, for the unravelling of many circumstances, which had a direct tendency to impugn the character of the Duke of Clarence, whereas in fact, he acted more as the dupe and instrument of others, than from his own free will or principles.

In 1783, when the Duke of Clarence was in his 19th year, the career of "private tastes, munificence, and public spirit," had been for some time persevered in, the consequence of which was, that the three ~~elder~~ branches of the royal family were overwhelmed with debt. In the above-mentioned year, Parliament voted the Prince of Wales, for the purpose of keeping up the *dignity* of his high station, and as a separate establishment, his nonage having expired, £50,000 a year, and £60,000 as an outfit. This sum exceeded the revenue of six of the pauper principalities of Germany, from whence the royal

family of this country draw their females, for the perpetuation of the Guelphic race, and twice the amount of the civil list of Denmark or Sweden. This sum, however, which any prudent and economical prince would have found amply sufficient, to provide him with all the luxuries of life, and fully adequate to support the dignity of his station, was by the royal libertine, found wholly insufficient for the support of his profligate habits, and in 1787, his debts, which had been for some time the subject of conversation, and particularly amongst the Jews of Houndsditch, who with their accustomed rascality, were ready to advance their hundreds, or thousands, on receiving cent per cent, were brought before Parliament by the Whig opposition, to which he at that time had attached himself, and the public heard a vast deal of the scandal and shame of allowing the heir apparent of the Crown, to be so overwhelmed with debt, but not a word was uttered of the scandal and shame, attached to the heir apparent, in contracting those debts at all. King George the Third was notoriously, one of the richest men in Europe, but so dense is the veil, which is thrown over the secrets of royalty, that not the slightest information has ever been obtained of the manner in which those riches were disposed of; had a few thousands been appropriated for the honour and dignity of the family, to the liquidation of the debts of his moral son, the Duke of York, several families would have been saved from destitution, and the name of the Duke of York not pronounced, with a heavy curse attached to it. The heir apparent to the Crown is the protegee, or to speak in a humbler strain, the pet of the nation, and therefore how inconsistent, how impolitic would it appear in the vaunted FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE to pay the debts of a son, of whom he was the natural Father, when the people would so gladly and willingly relieve him from such an onerous imposition. He, therefore very wisely sends a message down to his faithful Commons, which, in plain English, is little more than a *command*; stating that from the fulness of his generosity, which was sheer humbug, he had made an advance of £10,000 a year from the civil list, which

considering what Kings are in general, was a wonder that he could make any advance at all; and with the statement of this unparalleled act of royal munificence, was also sent a statement of the Prince's debts, which exhibited a scene of royal extravagance, unparalleled in all the annals of European royalty. The Whigs were then in power, and as he had attached himself to their party, as a matter of gratitude, that is, if gratitude and a Whig have the slightest relationship with each other, *seven hundred and eighty thousand* pounds were voted by the conscientious representatives of the people, to enable the royal libertine, to emancipate himself from his honourable and *dishonourable* encumbrances. To call this by any other terms than a royal and magnificent robbery on the public purse, were an abuse of language. His father, and the *father of his people*, was on account of this extraordinary generosity on the part of his faithful Commons, enabled to deposit a few more hundred thousands in the bank of Venice, his own bank of England not being considered sufficiently good security for the large investments which GEORGE GUELPH was in the habit of transmitting to his foreign bank.

Two or three years had scarcely elapsed, when the rumour of the royal embarrassments again intruded itself upon the public ear. At this period, however, the perpetuation of the illustrious house of Brunswick became a matter of very serious consideration with certain individuals, who from prejudice or ignorance attached a greater degree of importance to the subject than, in reality, it deserved. Carlton House was in a state of siege by duns of all description, the Jewish tribe being the foremost in the attack, and evidently constituting the forlorn hope. The bonds of the heir apparent to the Crown of England, were scarcely negotiable on Change, at a discount of 50 per cent. The carriages of the prospective King of England were seized in the streets by John Doe and Richard Roe, and the house of George Guelph junior, was declared in a positive state of insolvency. A meeting of his creditors was called, and it was resolved that an application should be made to the father of the insolvent, offering to take their debts by instal-

ments, if the father would become security. To this the father returned an answer, that he was very poor, that he had a rising and expensive family, and referred the applicants to "his faithful Commons," who would undoubtedly see that his son was relieved, either by the Insolvent Court, or by an immediate advance of money, from his present embarrassments. The Commons were well disposed to meet the wishes of the considerate and liberal father, but there was a condition attached to it, which for a time defeated all the hopes of the creditors of ever getting a farthing, and this condition was, that he should marry. He had already one wife living in the person of Mrs. Fitzherbert, who being herself a married woman, when she married the Prince, and a Catholic into the bargain, there was no insurmountable obstacle existing to his marrying one of the female dead weights of the German families, and as he had been himself for some time a dead weight upon his own country, a similarity of condition would it was presumed, produce a happy marriage. The FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE told his son that it was for the benefit of his people that he should marry, and as we are bound to benefit our relations, it was suggested by the father, that he had a niece then living in Germany, who, as having the blood of the Brunswickers pure in her veins, this match of all others was the most eligible that could be fixed upon. It happened, however, that marriage of all acts, was the last which the heir apparent had any inclination to perform; as a patriot Prince, it was, however, incumbent upon him to perform it for the benefit of his people, (Q. E. D.) and as an insolvent, it was incumbent upon him to perform it for the benefit of his creditors.

The bane and antidote were now before him, the payments of his debts and a wife, or insolvency and Mrs Fitzherbert; it was a most trying alternative for him; the *benefit* which the people would derive from his marriage, was, as became a patriotic Prince, thrown into the scale, and the consent was given to the marriage. He had now done much for the people,

according to the jargon of the Court, and, therefore, out of pure gratitude, the people could not object to do much for him. The father of that people also stepped in very opportunely on the occasion, and down came another message to "his faithful Commons," recommending, or otherwise commanding that a suitable provision be made for the royal pair, and parentally announcing that his son was in great pecuniary embarrassments, and appealing to their liberality, (conscience having nothing to do in the business,) whether they could allow his eldest son, their future monarch, the pride and glory of the Guelphs and Brunswickers, to enter the married state with a debt verging fast upon a million on his head, and in danger of having even the marriage bed swept from under them, to satisfy the demand of some merciless creditor. It was to him an appalling condition; the honour of the country demanded that an immediate arrangement of the debts should take place, and further to show their gratitude for the great sacrifice he had made for the *benefit of the people*, an act was passed settling on the Prince and his wife £125,000 a year, which with the rents of the duchy of Cornwall, £13,000 a year, and other perquisites, the usual appendages of royalty, formed an annual income of £150,000. This sum was certainly adequate to support the so much talked of dignity of the heir apparent to the Crown, but by the royal individual it was found to be far insufficient, for a very few years afterwards, this most accomplished of all spendthrifts, or, as his mother was wont to call him, "the hopes of the family,"* informed his father that he was again in trouble, inconsistent with the dignity and honour of the heir apparent to the Crown. The King was always a staunch stickler for the dignity and honour of the Crown, and

* This panegyric of the Queen, of her darling son, was always a source of banter to the Duke of York, who regarded it in some respects, as a degradation of himself. One day when the royal brothers had been drinking deeply, and the Prince of Wales was literally lying under the table in a state of beastly intoxication, the Duke of York actuated by a spirit of mischief, conducted the Queen to the place, and pointing to the intoxicated Prince, exclaimed "There mother, there lie the hopes of the family."

consequently, as both were in danger of suffering on account of the condition to which the heir apparent had reduced himself, it became a national concern, that the most prompt and efficient means should be adopted for rescuing them from the disgrace which awaited them. The Crown, therefore, in its dignity and honour, sent down another message to the faithful guardians of the public purse, announcing to them the great embarrassments in which the heir apparent was involved; not, however, from any extravagance or want of proper management in his pecuniary affairs, but from the extreme pressure of the times, and the high price of all the articles of subsistence. According to the spirit of the English Constitution, the King can do no wrong, and "the faithful Commons" who are or ought to be the preservers and guardians of that Constitution, fully concurring in that part of it relative to the King, could not possibly believe that the King of England could tell a lie; and, therefore, fully attaching their belief to the royal assertion, that the embarrassments of the heir apparent did not arise from extravagance, they did not consider it necessary to make any inquiry into the real cause of those embarrassments, but immediately granted to the royal profligate £60.000 for three years, or in other words, they raised his income to £210.000 a year, which he was allowed to squander in the grossest of indulgences, and at a time when the people was literally starving for bread.

It is necessary that some of these circumstances should be strictly borne in mind, as they had a powerful influence on the character of the Duke of Clarence, involving him in certain transactions, from which not one of the three royal brothers escaped without a damning stain, which was never afterwards obliterated.

On the Prince of Wales assuming the Regency in 1812, the public purse was again drained to satisfy the demands of the royal cormorant. It was allowed to be a *change* in the condition of the Prince of Wales, to that of Prince Regent, and, therefore it was but right and just, that the people should

pay for that change. John Bull has always had a whistle wherewith to amuse himself, and royalty is the dearest of all whistles, which he ever selected, or was forced to play upon. A change of such great political importance as that above alluded, to could not be supposed to be carried into effect with a becoming regard to the dignity and honour of the Regent, without a corresponding advance of money, and consequently "the faithful Commons" advanced him £100.000 to defray the expence of the change of the Prince of Wales into a Prince Regent, and as the latter required a greater number of officials and menials to attend upon his royal person, than when he was simply Prince of Wales, the sum of £70.000 was granted to him for the additional expenses of the Royal Household; and in order to allay the murmurs of the people, which began to be heard, like the rumbling of the volcanic matters in the crater of Vesuvius, before it is vomited forth, it was stated by the Ministers in defiance of all truth, that £10.000 was for the Regent personally, and £10.000 for the Queen, when it was notoriously known that the whole of the sum found its way into the pockets of the Prince Regent, and very soon, indeed, found its way out again. When we now take into our consideration, the payment of these enormous sums to which may be added in 1821 the £170.000, which were lavished recklessly, and needlessly lavished on that most delectable of all pageants, the coronation, which, although it might put a crown upon his head, gave the death blow to one who ought to have shared it with him; we shall find that the people of this country paid to this *illustrious personage*, above six millions sterling, previously to his assuming *de facto*, the kingly office. The parasites, and flatterers of Kings, the admirers of kingly dignity, may look on this picture, and blush at the rottenness of their cause. They may blush at the extravagance, which in a Prince is called *munificence*, but which in a private individual, would meet with censure and reprobation; they may blush at the *private taste* and *public spirit* of a man, who did nothing but revel in pomp and debauchery

while the people from whom the means of gratifying his vicious propensities were wrung, were ground to the earth, and *kept there*.

We have thus given a limited view of the boundless extravagance of one of our Monarchs, in order to be able to draw the contrast more forcibly between George IV. and his successor, William IV., who whatever his youthful aberrations might have been, exhibited himself on the throne, as the pattern of moral excellence, and Christian virtue.

There perhaps never existed a Prince, in modern times, who had so fine a family as George III.; but, perhaps, there never was a father, who experienced greater trouble and chagrin, when his offspring arrived at that age, when they began to spurn at parental control, and fancying that Princes are not amenable to the same moral laws as other men, ran into every kind of excess and debauchery, which instilled into the minds of the people a disgust for royalty, which the character of William IV. has in some degree softened, and which his successor will do well, if she takes special heed not to increase it.

To enter into a full detail of the genealogical history of the House of Brunswick, would be carrying us as far back as the subversion of the Roman Empire, as antiquarians have traced its descent from one Caius Cælius, a Roman of some consequence, who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century. It must, however, be observed, that the antiquarians above alluded to, were born in Germany, and it is well known that the natives of that country are so much attached to hereditary rank, that there are few who cannot trace their genealogy as far back as Charlemagne, and not a few even to Noah. A man in Germany, without a well-ramified genealogical tree, is like a man in England without a character, he is thought nothing of; but a genealogical tree can be manufactured in Germany as well as in England, the root of it approaching Adam, in proportion to the price that has been paid for it. We briefly allude to this circumstance from the knowledge we possess, that there are not those wanting who assert that there

is a good deal of fiction in the genealogical tree of the Brunswick family, and that some branches have been engrafted on it of so spurious an origin, that they ought to be lopped off all together, especially that which belongs to Caius Cælius. It is, however, generally admitted that the genuine descent of the Princes of Brunswick must be looked for on the other side of the Alps, and therefore Rome will answer the purpose as well as any other place.

The founders of the Brunswick family may be considered to be the Marquesses of d'Este, the name now borne by the children of the Duke of Sussex, who are legitimate in the eyes of God, but not according to the profound wisdom of the legislature of Great Britain.

The Mecklenburgh Strelitzes, the Coburg Saalfelds, the Saxe Meiningens, and others of the petty principalities of Germany, possess a kind of patent right to furnish the Princes of the Blood Royal of this country with suitable and sometimes unsuitable wives, whenever the Privy Council determine, that it is the *interest* of the State that they should marry, and it is to the first of these countries that we are indebted, for the mother of William IV. He was born at Buckingham House, on the 21st of August, 1765, at three o'clock in the morning. As usual on such occasions, the ante-rooms were filled with the high officers of State, and amongst the ladies shone pre-eminently the Princess Dowager of Wales, than whom no one could give more correct information respecting the much disputed legitimacy of George III., and which at the present day is much wanted, to establish the right of his children to the throne of this kingdom.

The Tower guns were fired to announce to the people of the metropolis, "the great event" of the birth of another Prince and in the fulness of their loyalty, a considerable number of them placed some lighted candles in their windows, for the purpose of testifying their joy, it being a custom consistent with the sense and wisdom "of the most civilized people of the world," and which Goldsmith has so properly and keenly ridiculed in his "Citizen of the World."

Seven days after the birth of the young Prince, the Corpo-

ration of London proceeded in State to St. James Palace, with the following address to the King —

“ Most gracious Sovereign !—We your Majesty’s ever loyal and faithful subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, humbly beseech your Majesty to accept our most sincere and dutiful congratulations on the safe delivery of the Queen, and the auspicious birth of another Prince.”

The joyful event of an increase in your Majesty’s illustrious family, will always be gratefully considered by us, as a further substantial security, to the civil and religious liberties of this your Majesty’s free and native country.

Every addition to your Majesty’s domestic happiness, fills our hearts with the highest pleasure and satisfaction, and fully confiding, that your Majesty’s royal sentiments, ever coincide with the united wishes of your faithful people, we gladly embrace every opportunity of testifying our joy, and laying our congratulations at your Majesty’s feet.

Permit us therefore, Royal Sir, to assure your Majesty, that your faithful Citizens of London, from their zealous attachment to your Royal House, and the true honour and dignity of your Crown, whenever a happy establishment of public measures shall present a favourable occasion, will be ready to exert their utmost abilities, in support of such wise councils, as apparently tend, to render your Majesty’s reign, happy and glorious.”

The following was the answer of the King :—

“ I thank you for this dutiful address. Your congratulations on the further increase of my family, and your assurances of zealous attachment to it, cannot but be very agreeable to me. I have nothing so much at heart, as the welfare and happiness of my people, and have the greatest satisfaction in every event that may be an additional security to those civil and religious liberties, upon which the prosperity of this kingdom depends.”

A King’s Speech upon the opening of Parliament, and a King’s answer to an address, are in point of sense and mean-

ing, pretty much on a par ; analyze them in whatever alembic you will, and a caput mortuum is the result. At the presentation however, of this address, rather a ludicrous circumstance occurred. The Right Honorable Frederick Bull, was then Lord Mayor of the City of London, and at that period, the honor of Knighthood was as eagerly coveted, as it was profusely granted by George III., to the outrage, sometimes of all propriety and decorum. The carrying-up of an address to his Majesty, was then considered as an indisputable passport to the honor of knighthood, and the King, having on this occasion, delivered his answer, was about to retire, when the Lord in waiting intimated to his Majesty, that the Lord Mayor was waiting to be knighted.—“Eh ! what,” exclaimed the Monarch,—“waiting to be knighted !—what, what’s his name ?” “Frederick Bull, please your Majesty,” responded the Lord in waiting. “Frederick ?” exclaimed the King, “a very good name,—a very good name indeed—it is the name of my second son—but Bull !—I never knighted a *Bull* in my life—some relation I suppose to John Bull. “Exactly so, please your Majesty,” said the pliant courtier—“A good, a worthy family,” said the King—“have heard a good deal about them I’ll knight him,” and accordingly plain Frederick Bull Esq. returned to the Mansion House, Sir Frederick Bull, to the great delight of Mrs. Bull, and all the younger branches of the Bull family.

The baptism of the royal infant, took place on the 18th of September, in the Grand Council Chamber at St. James Palace, the ceremony being performed by Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was christened William Henry, after his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, who stood sponsor on the occasion with his brother, Prince Henry Frederick, and the Princess of Brunswick. As the Romans, the supposed progenitors of the Brunswick family, had their lucky, and their unlucky months, so have their descendants, a particular month, in which fortune appears to have been bountiful to them. The three first children of George III, were born in the month of August. By the death of Queen Anne, in

August, the Brunswick family ascended the throne of these realms. Augusta, the eldest child of Frederick, Prince of Wales, was born in August. James I. and his consort Elizabeth, the immediate predecessors of the present Royal Family, were both born in August, and William the Fourth, and Adelaide his Queen, were also born in August.

On the 19th of August, 1767, Prince William Henry, was inoculated for the small pox, in despite of all the obloquy which had been thrown upon his parents, at the time of the inoculation of his two royal brothers, by a set of purblind, prejudiced creatures, who actually pretended to behold in the practice of inoculation, an interference in the affairs of Heaven, incompatible with a human being, and some over zealous, and puritanical preachers extended their folly so far, as to denounce it from the pulpit, as an act of an impious tendency, and their Majesties came in for an extravagant share of abuse from those worthy and enlightened souls, for they had endangered the lives of their two elder sons by the unjustifiable practice of inoculation, thereby frustrating the hopes of a nation, of a legitimate successor to the Crown, and now, not taking any notice of the repeated advice, that had been given them on the subject, they were continuing in their career of infatuation and impiety, by the inoculation of their third son. In despite, however, of all the anathemas from the pulpit, their Majesties, steadily and boldly, adhered to the practice of inoculation, and to the resolution which they displayed on this important matter, may be attributed the overthrow of the many obstacles, which had been thrown in the way of its general practice.

Exemplary as Queen Charlotte was in many of her domestic duties, yet it must not be concealed that in her general conduct, she was decidedly anti-english. She had not yet learnt to conform to the manners of the English People, and she consequently gave at times, great offence, by an injudicious and an obstinate adherence to the stiff and rigid ceremony of a German Court, to the total exclusion of those more free

and social manners, which particularly belong to the English character. To those who have witnessed the infantine drawing rooms of the reigning Princes of Germany, at the period of the birth of the three elder children of the Queen of England, could not but be struck with the folly and inutility of subjecting children, in the very earliest stages of infancy, to preside over a ceremony, of which they could scarcely be made to comprehend the meaning, and which was at direct variance with the feelings of youth.

We are called upon to make the above remarks, in consequence of the Queen, introducing infantine drawing-rooms into this country, the first of which, was held on the 25th of October, 1769, at a time, when the Prince of Wales was little more than six years old—the Bishop of Osnaburg about five, Prince William about four, and the Princess Royal, only in her second year. It never could have entered into the head of any one, but a German Princess, to place four such infants, at the top of a room, decked out in the most outre style of fashion, to have the nobility and gentry of the country introduced to them, and we know not which deserves our reprobation the most, the parties, who could expose their children to such a scene of buffoonery, or those who could so far degrade themselves, as to pay their Court to a set of infants, and deem it an honor to kiss their hands. The reporters, however of those times, inform us, that the royal infants received the company, with the utmost grace and affability, and the Queen was of course, by the chroniclers of the Court, extolled *usque ad nauseam*, for the extreme attention which she must have paid to the manners of her offspring, to enable them to go through the important scene, with so much credit to themselves, and so few infractions of the rules of politeness.

There were, however, in those times even, some snarling, crabbed, ill-natured persons living, in the character of caricaturists, who considered these infantine drawing-rooms as an excellent subject for the lash of their satirical powers; and,

accordingly, one of them put forth the following caricature, in which the Prince of Wales, with a high *toupee* and bag-wig, and a long sword dangling at his side, is represented as entering the room, with a kite in his hand; the Bishop of Osnaburg, with his hobby-horse between his legs; Prince William, spinning his top; and the Princess Royal is behind a screen, receiving some very indispensable assistance from her nurse. It was, however, not long before the Queen discovered, or she was made to know that these drawing-rooms were not congenial with the English taste, and indeed she sometimes found that it was by no means an easy matter to induce the royal boys to undergo the penance of them, and on one occasion, when the three youngsters were engaged in a game of cricket, and were called upon to dress for the drawing-room, they sent a message back, that the company were to wait till the game was over.

It has been stated by one of the minor historians of the life of William IV., on alluding to the above circumstance, that these drawing-rooms were adopted by the Queen, for the purpose of "turning the current of public opinion into the peaceful channel, from which it had been diverted by faction." It is true that the throne was at this time shaken to that degree, that it required but the exercise of a very small portion of the powers of the people to overthrow it altogether. The whole of the metropolis was in a state of the utmost commotion; the injudicious and impolitic measures adopted by ministers against Wilkes, roused the indignation of the people to the highest pitch; and the revolutionary spirit manifested in America, brought on by the crooked policy of ministers, and the obstinate, war-loving disposition of the King, actually placed his throne in a state of jeopardy. In what manner then these great political evils could be overcome by two or three royal children holding a drawing-room, of which not a thousandth part of the people knew any thing about, and if they had known it, would only have laughed at it, must be left to be solved by the disseminators of so ridiculous a tale. We cannot, ourselves, trace the slightest connection with the

Prince of Wales, dressed in scarlet and gold, with the insignia of the Order of the Garter; the Bishop of Osnaburg, in blue and gold, with the Order of the Bath; Prince William, in a Roman toga, and the Princess Royal, in a stiff-starched muslin frock, with the determination of the Americans, not to endure the taxation of the mother country. The same historian, however, informs us, that the impression produced by the pleasing spectacle of the scarlet and gold of the Prince of Wales, and the blue and gold of the Bishop of Osnaburg, not forgetting the Roman toga of Prince William, was so very great, that with the view of further conciliating the people, the Prince of Wales *was again brought conspicuously before the public*, by giving a juvenile ball and supper at Buckingham House; but, as the arm of power, and the gagging system, forced the people to quietude, and America was ultimately lost to the Crown of England, it was evident, as the lawyers would express themselves, that the Queen took nothing by her drawing-rooms, and that the whole benefit derived from them, was a temporary influx of a little money into the pockets of the milliner, the tailor, or the plumassier.

As particularly illustrative of the early character of William IV., we transcribe the following account of the royal children at this time, from one of Mrs. Chapone's letters.

Mrs. Chapone, who was niece of Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, formerly preceptor to George III, and was in the habit of spending much of her time at her uncle's residence, at Farnham Castle, relates the following anecdotes of the Royal Family, in a letter to Mr. Burrows, dated August 20, 1778.

"Mr. Buller went to Windsor on Saturday; saw the King who inquired much about the Bishop, and hearing that he would be eighty-two next Monday, 'then,' said the King, 'I will go and wish him joy'. 'And I,' said the Queen, 'will go too.' Mr. Buller then dropt a hint of the additional pleasure it would give the Bishop, if he could see the Princes. 'That,' said the King, 'requires contrivance; but if I can manage it, we will all go.' On the Monday following, the royal party, consisting of their Majesties, the Prince of Wales, Duke of

York, Duke of Clarence, the Princess Royal, and Princess Augusta, visited the Bishop. 'The King,' continues Mrs. Chapone, 'sent the Princes to pay their compliments to Mrs. Chapone; himself, he said, was an old acquaintance. Whilst the Princes were speaking to me, Mr. Arnold, the sub-preceptor, said, 'These gentlemen are well acquainted with a certain ode prefixed to Mrs. Carter's *Epictetus*, if you know any thing of it.' Afterwards, the King came and spoke to us, and the Queen led the Princess Royal to me, saying, "This is a young lady, who, I hope, has much profited by your instructions. She has read them [*Letters on the Improvement of the Mind*] more than once, and will read them often; and the Princess assented to the praise which followed with a very modest air. I was pleased with all the Princes, but particularly with Prince William, who is little of his age, but so sensible and engaging, that he won the Bishop's heart, to whom he particularly attached himself, and would stay with him, while all the rest ran about the house. His conversation was surprisingly manly and clever for his age, yet, with the young Bullers, he was quite the boy, and said to John Buller, by way of encouraging him to talk, "Come, we are both boys, you know." All of them showed affectionate respect to the Bishop; the Prince of Wales pressed his hand so hard, that he hurt it.'"

In regard to the education of Prince William, the same system was adopted with him, as with his elder brothers, but it is an observation, and a very just one, which has been made by some very acute writers, that the British nation, which exercises the utmost jealousy in almost everything that regards its Princes, has been singularly and culpably inattentive to whatever concerns their education. We have, indeed, an instance in the case of the son of the Duke of Cumberland, when the Government on granting a certain sum to defray the expenses of his education, stipulated that he should not be educated out of the country, and when it is considered, that the son of the Duke of Cumberland stands in a very near succession to the throne, it becomes a matter of importance

that he should be educated according to the principles of the English Constitution, and not in accordance with the despotic and arbitrary institutions of the German governments. The country is well aware, how the royal father managed to evade the stipulation imposed upon him, but after all, it was a mere matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, for according to the dictum of the Crown lawyers, the education of Princes is a matter of prerogative, with which the two houses of Parliament have no right to interfere, and consequently, whenever the subject has been agitated in the legislature, as happened in one or two instances, the answers of the friends of the Court to those who perceived, or thought they perceived, something faulty in the system of education pursued with regard to the young Princes, has been, that the education of a Prince of the blood, was a branch of the royal prerogative, and that the mere agitation of the subject was derogatory to the dignity of the Crown. But as we have before hinted, the affair of the Duke of Cumberland was a mere matter of money, the Parliament virtually had it in their power, to lay any restrictions upon him in regard to the education of his son, but the Duke considered it an excellent opportunity of exacting from the people of this country an augmentation of his income, and on what other ground could he apply, than for the education of his son? For himself, he knew that he might knock for ever at the door of the House of Commons, in the character of a royal beggar, and that he would meet with the same treatment, which other beggars generally experience in a more humble state of life. As to the stipulation imposed upon him, he knew he could break it whenever he pleased; and he did break it, for although the people heard of the periodical arrival of Prince George of Cumberland, with his tutor at his heels, in conformity with the stipulation of the English Legislature, yet in reality, it was a mockery; for their appearance in England, was nothing more than a kind of holiday visit, the actual education of the Prince being carried on in Berlin.

We have only to advert to the names of the individuals chosen by George III., for the education of his sons, to arrive

at the immediate knowledge of the principles in which they were educated. The political bias of the King was toryism, in its most comprehensive sense. The political partialities of the Queen not only tended to the same point, but imbued as she was with the high aristocratic predilections of the German principalities, it cannot be considered but almost as a natural consequence, that the tutors of their children should have been selected from that class, who were the most conspicuous for the display of those principles, which they themselves professed. The preceptor of a Prince is not always chosen according to the extent of his attainments, or the profundity of his knowledge, for the situation is too often obtained by personal interest, dexterity, and intrigue, to the actual exclusion of direct and acknowledged merit. Fenelon was the tutor of the heir to the Crown of France, his virtue was unimpeachable, his morals without a stain, his maxims of integrity were rigid and inflexible, and on that account he was dismissed the Court. We never heard of a tutor of an English Prince being dismissed from Court for a similar offence.

There cannot be a doubt, and many actions of their life distinctly verify the position, that the mode of education which George III. adopted with his children, was anything but calculated to make them conversant with the great theory of human life, and as to practice, they far too soon emancipated themselves from the galling yoke of dominion, and became comparatively speaking, their own masters, when in some measure, they ought to have been in leading-strings. It is too much a habit of human nature, to make others follow in the track in which we have moved ourselves, and if we minutely consider the mode of education adopted with George III., we shall then be able to trace many of the errors and mistakes which that Monarch made in the education of his children. The chilling restraint and seclusion which his system of education adopted, derived all their severer features from the King himself; who, in certain matters evinced a degree of self-will, characterised by some, as firmness, but which in reality, degenerated into a kind of mulish obstinacy, yet by the King

himself, it was designated as *royal prudence*. The effect of this system of education was in after years, more observable in the Prince of Wales, than in any other branch of the royal family. It was the foundation of that system of seclusion, and of a total want of access, which was more in character with the Emperor of China, than that of a Prince, ruling over a free and independent people. In every Court of Europe, it is practicable to lay before the Sovereign any truth, in which the rights of an individual, the good of the nation, or the good of the Sovereign himself are concerned, but the Prince of Wales on account of the faulty system of his education, was, when he came into the possession of the Kingly power, the most inaccessible Monarch that ever sat upon the throne of England. It is the fashion of Englishmen to talk of the despotism of Russia, and Germany, but Paul the Emperor of Russia, had his "lion's mouth," into which his subjects threw their grievances, and with all his madness, to his honour be it said, that he attended to the contents of "the lion's mouth," as it was termed in Petersburg, before he admitted the foreign Ambassadors into his presence. He never neglected, nor refused to give an answer, even to the petition of the humblest of his subjects, nor did he ever hesitate to redress a grievance, as soon as the complainant had established its existence. Even the calumniated Turk, from the midst of his women in his seraglio, receives the complaints of his people, private or political, and although redress may not always be given, the subject has the satisfaction to know that his complaint has been attended to. There is, however, another man, greater than all them, whom we may quote in illustration of the present subject, and that individual was Napoleon Buonaparte—the branded despot of Europe; he did, indeed, affect to, and did hold the Princes and Sovereigns of Europe in contempt, but he listened to the complaints of the people, and could be approached by even the most ordinary of men; but the Prince Regent of England was inaccessible, his gates was hermetically barred more to his own disadvantage and loss, than to that of any one, who ever wished to approach him.

It must be admitted that the professional pursuits of the Bishop of Osnaburg, when he fancied himself competent to command an English army against one of the most renowned generals, who ever headed the armies of France; and of Prince William on the quarter-deck of a British man of war, the noblest station in the world, must from their very nature have weaned them from that system of personal exclusion, and that sense of individual importance, which the system of education adopted with them, was so well calculated to inculcate. There is an instance on record, in which three memorials of three different sorts, one for the public interest, one for the Prince's domestic happiness, and the third containing a private claim, could not possibly find access to him. Colonel M'Mahon, his private secretary, would have nothing to do with them. Lord Moira, the private friend of the prince, would have nothing to do with them, and the Secretary of State for the Home Department put them in his pocket, and thought no more about them—and why?—it was more than their places were worth to break in upon the privacy of the ruler of a people, and the ruler of the English people into the bargain, who had entered upon the duties of his office with the avowed principle, that the crown is held for the benefit of the people, but of which people, cooped up in the seraglio of Carlton House, he knew but little, and cared still less.

A very just and rational ground of complaint existed respecting the system of restraint to which the sons of the King were exposed in their education, and which certainly had a tendency to give an impress to their characters, not exactly consistent with that of a free-born Englishman. On their emancipation from the nursery and the superintendence of Lady Charlotte Finch, who, following the instructions of the royal parents, became in her department as great a martinet, as one of her pupils afterwards showed himself in the army, the three royal brothers were placed under the care of Dr. John James Majendie, till the year 1771, when a separate establishment was formed for the Prince of Wales and the Bishop

of Osnaburg at Buckingham Palace, whilst Prince William and Prince Edward remained at Kew.

We should justly lay ourselves open to the charge of illiberality, and perhaps of falsification, were we here to cast the slightest imputation on the character of the eminent individuals, who were selected as the preceptors of the royal youths. They ought not to be called to an account for the defect of a plan, in the construction of which, it is probable, they never were consulted. The preceptors of the Princes were not left to adopt a system of education according to their own judgment and discretion; but the plan in all its details was strictly laid down for them, accompanied with the most peremptory injunction, not to deviate from it in the slightest degree. The error, therefore, is to be attributed solely to those who framed the system of education, and not to those, who had to carry it into execution, for it would be the height of injustice to the memory of those learned men, were we not openly to declare, that the persons to whose charge the care of the juvenile years of the royal youths was committed, were men eminently qualified for the execution of the important duty reposed in them.

One of the greatest faults attached to the royal family of this country is, that in the election of their official servants, they generally give the preference to foreigners, which is tantamount to saying that, a corresponding degree of talent is not to be found in this country, or that being themselves sprung from a foreign stock, they amalgamate better together, independently of which, there is frequently a sturdiness and an unbending disposition in an Englishman, not very palatable to the taste of German aristocracy.

At the time when the Earl of Holderness was appointed preceptor to the princes, there were men in our chartered schools and universities of the most brilliant talents, and well fitted in every sense for the important task of education: these men, however, were all passed over to make room for the appointment of a Mr de Salzes, as sub-preceptor, who, although

he bore the character of an amiable man, and a profound classical scholar was, as being a native of Switzerland, and knowing little or nothing of English history, or even the first rudiments of the English Constitution, not a very fit person to be entrusted with the education of British Princes. As the children of royalty, they were of course to be educated in the belief of the divine right of Kings, and this was to be taught them by an individual, who had been brought up as a republican; and who in his native mountains had heard of Kings and Courts, but knew little of their nature or character, except from history.

A spirit of nationality reigns in the breast of almost every individual, and the introduction of an alien into any particular establishment, is soon followed by the introduction of another. Thus, when it was determined to appoint a sub-preceptor to Prince William, and Prince Edward, the King consulted Mr. de Salzes, on the choice of the person to be appointed, and it was not to be supposed that Mr. de Salzes would recommend an Englishman; on the same principle, that it was scarcely ever known that a Scotchman recommended an Englishman to a situation, until he despaired of finding one of his own country to fill it. It might have been supposed that if George III. had not sufficient penetration to discover the merit of some of the dignitaries of the church, by whom he was surrounded, and who, by their classical attainments, were capable of undertaking the task of the education of his two younger sons; that Mr. de Salzes might in his intercourse with some of the learned men, with whom he was daily brought into contact, by virtue of his office as sub-preceptor, have selected a native of this country as worthy of the office of educating the two royal youths—but the very contrary was the result, for being himself a Swiss, he recommended a Colonel Bude, a native of the Pays de Vaud, who had been page to the Prince of Orange, and on his retiring from that situation, entered the Sardinian army. These no doubt, were great and weighty qualifications for the preceptor of a Prince of the blood royal of England; but nevertheless, they prevailed, and Colonel

Bude was sent for to England. The chronicles of the day, of course, informed us that his abilities were of the most substantial and comprehensive nature. He was thoroughly acquainted with the forms and etiquette of a Court, which at that period, was no trifling recommendation in the eyes of the royal parents; he was an excellent musician; was an expert player on the violin, and knew something of the flute. He had been for some time in Holland, and was an excellent judge of the flavour of tobacco; he had been in Sardinia, and could never breakfast without anchovies. He had been in the army, and knew something of mathematics; he had studied Vauban on fortification, and had arrived at the knowledge that the glacis is not the counterscarp, nor the bastion, a drawbridge. His honour was reported to be of the most delicate nature, and according to one of his chroniclers, "his religious principles were founded on the firm base of unadulterated Christianity." It happens, however, that Colonel Bude was a kind of renegade Catholic, and his religious principles were of that accommodating kind, that they could conform themselves to the country in which he lived. In Holland, he was a Lutheran; in Sardinia, he was a Catholic; and in England, he was a Protestant; and had he undertaken the preceptorship of the sons of the Sultan of the East, he would have forgotten "the firm base of unadulterated Christianity," and would have become a follower of Mahomet, without, perhaps, being in the least the worse for it. On his arrival in England, he became a permanent resident of the royal household; and as George III., was at that time Elector of Hanover, and having to maintain an army there of two or three thousand men, whom he never saw in his life, he determined that they should also have a General, who was never to see the troops which he commanded, and no fitter person could he select for so important an office, than Colonel Bude. Nevertheless, with all these drawbacks upon his character as a person fitted for the responsible task of education, Colonel Bude by a particular sauvity of manner, and a true courtier-like bearing, gained the esteem of his royal pupils, particularly of Prince William,

whom, at a future period, he accompanied to the continent, and finally became the private secretary of the Duke of York.

Although Prince William was now at a distance from his two elder brothers, on account of their separate establishments, yet they frequently met, and numerous were the scrapes in which the high spirited youths found themselves, and loud and incessant were the complaints which were carried to the ear of their royal parents, on account of some mischief which they had committed; but as the actual delinquent could scarcely ever be discovered, the reprimand was of that general nature, that it made very little, or no impression upon them. In whatever difficulty or embarrassment they found themselves, they always stood by each other, and no threat, nor bribe, could ever induce one of them to disclose the real offender; and if at any time a tale was carried to the King or Queen, of any act of misconduct on the part of one of them, the other two were sure to resent it and miserable, indeed, was the life which the informer afterwards led. The following anecdote strongly corroborates this statement. The Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburg, and Prince William, were once at play in one of the apartments, when the head of one of their drums being out, the mischievous youths prevailed on the attendant to get into the hoop, that they might draw her about the room. Prince William, who was, perhaps, the most mischievous of the three, contrived to throw her down, when she in the warmth of her resentment, flung him against the wainscot. The King on being informed of it, ordered her to go to Saint James', and to remain there till the return of Lady Charlotte Finch to town, as his Majesty did not choose to interfere in such matters. On the arrival of Lady Charlotte, she examined into the particulars, when another of the servants said, that the accused attendant did not strike Prince William. The Prince of Wales being present, said with great spirit, "pray do not assert any such thing, you know she did strike my brother, but you are both Scotchwomen, and will say anything to favour one another." In this manner did

they espouse each other's part, and the attendants soon discovered, that if they offended one of them, they were certain of meeting with the resentment of the other two.

Of the three royal brothers, Prince William was the most diminutive in stature, but there was always a manliness of temper about him, which prepossessed every one in his favour, and which formed a striking contrast with the high and haughty demeanour, which so particularly distinguished the Prince of Wales. It has been stated, that Prince William, at a very early age evinced a decided predilection for the naval profession, and that his education was regulated accordingly; we have no immediate means of either refuting or confirming that statement, but although his father might have determined, in consequence of that predilection, to devote him to the naval service of his country, yet considering the rank and station which Prince William held in society, it could not but be considered as rather a premature decision on the part of his father, to send him to sea, at the early age of thirteen, when his education was by no means completed, and in some branches of science, not actually begun. The quarter-deck of a man of war, or the middy's cabin is not a place to advance a youth, in the attainment of those branches of learning, without which no education can be considered complete. Prince William was taken from his tutors at a time, when with other men, their collegiate education is at its commencement; at no period of his life, was he remarkable for the acuteness or superiority of his intellect, he had by no means outstripped either of his royal brothers in the acquisition of any particular branch of learning, on the contrary, they had outstripped him; is it then to be wondered at, that at a later period of his life, he showed himself deficient in many of those classical and scientific attainments, which are the concomitants of a liberal and enlightened education? It may be said in extenuation of this line of conduct, adopted by George III. in regard to his son William, that the rules of the navy, distinctly prescribed the age, beyond which an individual entering the navy, could not be rated on the books, nor admitted into the service, and

therefore the act was imperative on him to enter his son, before he had attained his fourteenth year. The policy or the prudence of entering him at all, becomes in itself a very questionable matter, at the same time it must be admitted, that the professions of the army and navy, were the only ones open into which the King's sons could be received, at the same time, that they are the two professions of all others, from which they should be excluded, or if not wholly excluded, they should be prevented from ever assuming the command. If we follow the entire career of all the King's sons, in their professional capacity, what is the result, but disgrace, discomfiture, and dishonour? The Prince of Wales was a soldier, although the laws of the country, prevented him from fulfilling the most essential part of the duty of a soldier, that of fighting; but as far as the cut of a uniform, or the adjustment of any military frippery was concerned, he was one of the most active members of the army. If we look to the Duke of York, what do we there behold, but the country overwhelmed with disgrace, by his blundering generalship? By him, was the flower of the English army destroyed; the finest park of artillery, which ever left the shores of England, taken by the enemy; himself and his whole army saved from being carried prisoners into France, by one of the most ignominious treaties, which was ever signed by a British General, one article of which was, that the French sailors then in the different prisons of England, amounting to above 8000 men should be released, which enabled France to man her navy, to form a junction with the Spanish fleet, and of which Nelson gave so good an account at the Battle of Trafalgar. If any other individual, but a King's son had so misconducted himself, as the Duke of York did on every occasion in Holland, he would have been instantly brought to a court-martial, and dismissed the service for incompetency.

Of the Duke of Clarence, we shall have occasion to describe his exploits, as they respectively come under our notice, but in the mean time, it must be observed, that he only appears before us as the commanded, not as the commander,

He was never at the head of a fleet, nor does history record any great achievement performed by him, as the result of his own personal skill and prowess.

If we direct our view to the Duke of Kent, another soldier, and one more obnoxious or hated by the troops which he commanded, never stood at the head of a regiment. His friends called him a disciplinarian, those whom he commanded, called him a tyrant; his friends compared him to Frederic of Prussia, his soldiers looked upon him, as the haughtiest of the Indian despots. At Halifax in Nova Scotia, the army would have mutinied, had he not been removed—and he was removed to Gibraltar, and it soon became necessary to remove him to England, or it is not at all improbable, that he would have been removed from the world altogether.

If we look to the Duke of Cumberland, another soldier, what do we there find to gratify our vision? A man, who we are informed has done *much* for the army—and what is that *much*? He has added *much* to the expence of our army, by the introduction of German frippery, and the most ridiculous gewgaws; he has contributed *much* to render our soldiers, a multitude of bedizened fops, and he has so *much* encumbered them with trappings and helmets of an unbearable weight, that they frequently faint under them. If this then happens at a common parade, what must be the case in the day of battle? The Duke of Cumberland, we beg his pardon, the King of Hanover, has punctually attended all the reviews on the continent, where thousands are collected at the nod of the continental despots, to enslave the liberties of Europe, and what did he bring back with him to his native country? new styles of dresses, new harlequin uniforms, new patterns of caps and helmets, stays, padding, and mustachios. He has, indeed, done *much* for the army, and too *much* have the people of this country paid him for it.

If we look to the Duke of Cambridge, another soldier, what do we there find to make us fall in love with royal Field Marshals? We do not mean to speak in the slightest degree

disparagingly of the character of the Duke of Cambridge. He has been so long isolated in Hanover, that the people of this country have nearly forgotten him; but as he holds the rank of Field Marshal in the English army, we are naturally led to inquire into the extent of his services by which he has rendered himself worthy of so distinguished a rank. History, however, is totally silent on that subject, and, therefore, we take it for granted, that no such services exist.

The late Duke of Gloucester was also a soldier, he was, however, a good and honest man, and, therefore, we will throw a veil over his defects as a soldier.

We have thus entered into a kind of crowquis of the advantages which this country has derived from the admission of the sons of George III., into the military profession; it was one way of adding to their incomes, and investing them with a certain degree of patronage, which was sometimes employed for the basest and vilest purposes, and we have only to advert to the manner in which the Duke of York abused his patronage, during his connexion with Mrs. Clarke, to establish the verity of our statement.

It is, however, to the entrance of Prince William into the navy, that we have now principally to direct our attention, and we can state, contrary to the generally received opinion, that the navy was *not* the choice of the royal youth, but that it was in a great degree forced upon him by his father. He frequently expressed his dissent to the designs which his father had in view; and he expostulated with his mother as to the hardship of his being sent away from home, and all the pleasures of such a splendid home, to be cooped up in a ship, when his brothers were allowed to remain at home in the full enjoyment of their youthful amusements, and with the prospect of a life of continued pleasure opening upon them. The character of George III., was mulish, and obstinate to the very last degree, and if like Don Quixote, he had once made up his mind to believe that a windmill was a giant, it was in vain to attempt to drive the crotchet out of his head. The

Queen was by no means ignorant of this trait in his character, and she has often experienced the effect of his hasty temper in endeavouring to dissuade him from any object on which he had fixed his mind, and from the execution of which she could not augur any good. He was, morally and politically considered, an ass, that will have a way of its own, and the more you attempt to drive it into the proper path, the more determined it appears to persevere in the wrong one. In the visions of George III., he saw his son William on the quarter-deck of his ship, the noblest station under Heaven that a man can fill, and he saw his name enrolled in the list of those heroes, who are England's glory, and England's pride, and which will be pronounced with a patriot's enthusiasm, when such emmets as your Miguels, or your Carloses, or your Kings of Hanover, are smothered in their native dust.

The feelings of the mother were called into action, as the time approached, when her domestic circle was to be deprived of one of its ornaments, for although she was no stranger to ambition, and would gladly have seen it ruling the actions of her children; yet, she could not eradicate the opinion from her mind, that the interests of her son, in regard to his mental attainments, had been sacrificed to the visionary glory of a professional life, and one too, which was attended with so much danger and hardship. It must also be taken into consideration, that Prince William entered the British navy, at one, perhaps, of the most inauspicious periods of our history; and it may not be irrelevant in this place to show the state of the British navy at that time, involved as we were in a disastrous and unnatural war in the principal scenes of which, it was the fate of Prince William to bear a conspicuous part.

The American war, had now continued for nearly three years, marked by various successes, and defeats; and in the months of July 1778, Lord Howe after landing the troops under Sir Henry Clinton at New York, received intelligence by his cruisers, that Count D'Estaing, who had sailed from Toulon in April, was arrived on the coast of Virginia, and on

the 11th of July, he appeared off Sandy Hook, with twelve sail of the line, and three large frigates, to which Lord Howe could oppose only eleven ships of inferior magnitude, and weight of metal, with some frigates and sloops. These being ranged with great skill in the harbour, the Count after remaining at anchor for eleven days, set sail to the southward or far as the mouth of the Delaware, and then changed his course for Rhode Island, in order to co-operate with General Sullivan in the enterprise against Newport. The approach of the French fleet to this harbour, created the unpleasant necessity of burning the *Orpheus*, *Lark*, *Juno*, and *Cerberus* frigates, and of sinking the *Flora*, and *Falcon*. But this was the only loss resulting from so formidable an invasion.

The dispersion of the fleets occasioned the accidental meeting of single ships, and produced various engagements, which terminated greatly to the honour of British valour, and seamanship. In the evening of the 13th of August, Captain Dawson in the *Renown* of 50 guns, fell in with the *Languedoc* of 84 guns, D'Estaing's own ship, which had lost her rudder and masts, and had the prospect of effecting so extraordinary a capture, when the appearance of several other ships of the squadron, compelled him to desist. Commodore Hothan in the *Preston* of 50 guns, fought the *Tonnant* of 80, the same evening, with some success; but the most brilliant of these contests occurred in the afternoon of the 16th, when the *Isis* a ship also of 50 guns, commanded by Captain Rayner, was *chased* by the *Cæsar*, a French ship of 74, in no way injured by the storm, and after a desperate conflict, which lasted for an hour and a half, the *Cæsar* sheered off. The *Isis* had sustained so much damage in her masts, sails, and rigging, that she was incapable of pursuing, but in other respects, she had been but very little injured; only one man was killed, and fifteen wounded; the French ship was so much damaged in her hull, that she was forced to bear away for Boston, and her killed and wounded amounted to fifty, including in the latter, her captain, the celebrated Bougainville, whose arm was shot off in the action. Lord Howe followed his antagonist to Boston,

in the hope of a favourable opportunity of attack, but found the French fleet lying in Nantasket Roads, so well defended by forts and batteries, that he judged it impracticable, and returned to New York, about the middle of September. During his absence, about six more ships of Admiral Byron's squadron had arrived in that port, and as the British naval force was now unquestionably superior to the fleet under D'Estaing, his lordship thought this a proper moment for availing himself of the leave he had before obtained to retire from the American station, on account of his health, and resigning the command of the fleet to Admiral Gambier, took his departure for England.

The projects of D'Estaing being disconcerted in America, he set sail for the West Indies on the 3d of November, to second the operations of the Marquess de Bouille, governor of Martinico, who had already captured the island of Dominique. Eight days after the departure of D'Estaing, Admiral Byron arrived with his fleet. All his proceedings had hitherto been marred by the opposition of the elements. In the voyage from England, whence he had been despatched after the Toulon fleet, his ships were separated in a storm, and many of them reached New York in so shattered a state, that they were not in readiness to proceed to sea till the 18th of October. He then went in quest of D'Estaing, but his ill-fortune still pursued him. Scarcely had he reached the bay of Boston, when on the 1st of November, another storm so disabled his fleet, that he was obliged to put back to Rhode Island to refit, which afforded D'Estaing a favourable opportunity of proceeding to the West Indies. So sensible was the French Admiral of the danger of encountering an equality of British naval force, that for six months together, he only ventured twice out of the bay of Fort Royal, and both times hastily returned as soon as Byron's fleet was seen standing towards him. Squadrons were frequently sent to cruise off the mouth of the harbour where the Count lay, and if possible, to provoke him to come out and risk an engagement, but he could not be induced to deviate from his defensive plan.

It may be now necessary to advert to the state of our maritime affairs in Europe. After the delivery of the rescript announcing the treaty between France and the revolted colonies, though war was not formally declared by Great Britain, the most assiduous preparations were made on both sides. At Brest, the utmost vigour of naval equipment seemed to be exerted by the French, while the old device of threatening an invasion, was again resorted to, and large bodies of troops were marched from the interior of the kingdom, to the sea-coast bordering on the British Channel. In England also no effort was spared, the militia were called out and embodied, and a British fleet of twenty ships of the line, were cruising in the Channel, before the grand fleet of France was in readiness to come out of Brest harbour.

Admiral Keppel, an officer of distinguished merit and reputation, having been fixed upon to command the Channel fleet, sailed from St. Helen's on the 13th of June, with discretionary powers, as no blow had yet been struck by the enemy, which could bring upon him the direct charge of aggression. At the entrance of the Bay of Biscay on the 17th, the Admiral discovered two French frigates, the *Licorne*, and the *Bellepoule*, very intent on taking a survey of his fleet, and on their refusal to obey the signal to bring to, a chase ensued, when the *Licorne*, after discharging a broadside, struck to the *America*; the *Bellepoule* after a warm engagement with the *Arethusa*, escaped by running on shore, and the *Pallas*, another French frigate, being discovered reconnoitring, was conducted into the fleet, and detained. From the papers found on board these frigates, Admiral Keppel discovered, that the French fleet in Brest, amounted to thirty-two sail of the line; he therefore returned to port for a reinforcement. On the 9th of July, he again sailed with twenty-four ships, and was soon afterwards joined by six more. About this time, the French fleet, commanded by Count D'Orvilliers sailed from Brest, and letters of reprisal grounded on the capture of the *Pallas* and *Licorne*, were issued by the court of France. The two fleets came in sight of each other on the

afternoon of the 23rd of July, and after manœuvring for four successive days, an engagement ensued on the morning of the 27th, which lasted about two hours, the fleets passing on contrary tacks and in opposite directions. As soon as they had cleared each other, and the firing had ceased, the British Admiral wore his ship to return upon the enemy, and threw out a signal for the rest of the fleet to form the line, but observing that some of his ships, disabled in the engagement, had fallen to leeward, and were in danger of being cut off by the enemy, he was in the first place obliged to take measures for their safety. By the manœuvres necessary for this purpose, and by the length of time required, for repairing the damages sustained by the ships of the rear division, under Sir Hugh Palliser, the day was so far spent, before they could be again brought into their stations in the line, that nothing now remained, but the expectation of the Commander in Chief, "that the French would fight it out handsomely the next day." D'Orvilliers put on every appearance of intending to do so, but in the night he quitted his station, and steered for the French coast, leaving three frigates with lights, to deceive the English Admiral. In the morning, the rearmost of his ships were scarcely discernible, and as their inferiority had been fully demonstrated, both in the action and in their flight, it was a matter of sincere regret, that the attack had not been renewed the preceding evening. A pursuit being deemed useless, Admiral Keppel returned to Plymouth to refit, and then resuming his former station, kept the sea as long as the approaching winter would allow. The Brest fleet, being also refitted, ventured out of Brest, but instead of directing their course, where they were sure of encountering the enemy, they made their way to the southward, where they were as certain of meeting none, and where their cruise, could answer no other purpose than that of parade.

The engagement of the 27th of July, though not altogether a proud day to England, impressed upon the French such a consciousness of their inequality to a renewal of the contest, that they avoided it by loitering about Cape Finisterre, and

abandoning their own coasts, and the bay to the British fleet, by which means the trade to England arrived in security, from the different quarters of the world, whilst the French commerce became a prey to the English cruisers.

But these advantages however, substantial, could not satisfy the public for the neglect of what they thought a favourable opportunity of terminating the war by a single blow. The failure of a complete victory, was by some, attributed to the Commander-in-Chief, for not pushing his success, and by others to Sir Hugh Palliser, for not obeying with all possible promptitude, the signals of his superior officer preparatory to a second attack. Some severe strictures on the Vice Admiral's disregard of orders, having appeared in the public prints, he wrote to Admiral Keppel, requiring from him an express contradiction of such foul aspersions. With this request, the Admiral refused to comply, upon which Sir Hugh Palliser published in one of the morning papers, a statement of particulars relating to the action, with an introductory letter, containing much implied censure on the Commander-in-Chief. The latter immediately acquainted the first Lord of the Admiralty, that he could never sail, nor act in conjunction with the Vice Admiral of the Blue, until matters were thoroughly explained by that officer. The dispute was inflamed by the indiscreet zeal of the partizans on both sides. It was taken up with great warmth in the House of Lords, on the very first day of the session (November 25th,) and afterwards discussed in the House of Commons with still greater vehemence, both the Admiral and Vice Admiral being present, and taking a share in the debates, when the latter declared, that finding he could not obtain justice by any personal application, and that no public motives could induce the Admiral to bring forward any charge against him, which might afford him an opportunity for the vindication of his character, he had been drawn by necessity, not having a right to demand a trial on himself, in order to repair the injury done to his honor, to lay several articles of accusation against Admiral Keppel, tending to show, as he would hereafter demonstrate,

that the failure of success on the 27th of July, was owing to the misconduct and fault of that commander.

A court-martial being ordered by the Lords of the Admiralty, the trial commenced at Portsmouth, on the 7th of January 1778, and was not closed till the 11th of the next month. The result was very flattering to the Commander-in-Chief, he was not only acquitted, but the charges against him were declared to be malicious and ill-founded. The acquittal was celebrated in London for two nights successively, with the usual testimonies of popular joy, but was also disgraced by the usual ebullitions of popular outrage. The iron gates or palisades of the Admiralty were but a weak defence against the fury of the mob, and the houses of Sir Hugh Palliser, of Lord Sandwich, and of several others were threatened to be demolished, until troops were brought forward to their protection. Admiral Keppel's friends were not less anxious to obtain for him some tribute of Parliamentary applause, and the thanks of both houses were voted to him for his conduct. Sir Hugh Palliser afterwards obtained a court-martial on himself, and with due magnanimity resigned his place at the Admiralty Board, his lieutenant generalship of marines, and his government of Scarborough Castle, besides vacating his seat in the House of Commons. The court-martial after sitting twenty-one days, acquitted him, but not without a slight censure. The want of temper and policy, appears to have been his greatest crime. His signal bravery during the action of the 27th of July, was acknowledged by his enemies; and if he were really blameable for a voluntary neglect of signals, and contempt of orders after the action, the Commander-in-Chief cannot well escape some censure, for not enforcing obedience, when he knew the honour and interest of his country to be at stake.

At this period, there appears to have been a sinister genius operating on the British navy, and certainly the son of the King of England could not have entered at a more inauspicious time. Admiral Arbuthnot, with a squadron of men of war, and a large fleet of merchantmen and transports, bound for

New York, was proceeding down the channel, when he fell in with a vessel sent express from Jersey, with the first account of the danger of that island. He sailed directly with a part of his squadron for its relief, ordering the rest to wait his return in Torbay; but finding on his arrival off Guernsey, that the French fleet had been repulsed, he rejoined his convoy. This deviation from his course, though short, was the cause of much subsequent delay, as the fleet was detained for nearly a month afterwards by contrary winds. In the interval of its detention, it was apprehended that the French would receive intelligence of its great value, and of the force that protected it; in consequence of which, ten ships from the channel fleet were detached under Admiral Darby, to accompany Arbuthnot to a certain latitude. The channel fleet thus weakened, was obliged to suspend a plan for blocking up the harbour of Brest, and the French availing themselves of the opportunity, hurried to sea with an imperfect equipment, and joined the fleet of Spain on the 24th of June. This junction was truly alarming, the two fleets amounting to more than sixty sail of the line, with nearly an equal number of frigates and smaller vessels, steered for the British channel, in the mouth of which, Sir Charles Hardy, who had succeeded Keppel, was cruising with thirty-eight ships of the line and some frigates. The combined fleets passed him about the middle of August, neither party observing the other, and appeared before Plymouth for two or three days, until a strong easterly wind compelled them to retire. The same wind had also driven the British fleet to sea; but on the last day of August, Sir Charles Hardy entered the channel in full view of the enemy, who followed him as high as Plymouth, but as their crews were said to be sickly, their ships to be in bad condition, and the season for equinoctial gales was fast approaching, Count D'Orvilliers steered back to Brest, early in September, without effecting anything further, than the capture of the *Ardent* man of war, which had accidentally fallen in with the combined fleets. The naval pride of England

was certainly much mortified at these occurrences on her own coasts, but the hopes of France and Spain, in fitting out so great an armament, must have been greatly disappointed.

Such was the situation of the British navy at home and abroad, when it was determined that Prince William should become a sailor. They were no piping times of peace; but a period of danger, in which the existence of England itself, depended upon the exertions of the navy, and the enemy evincing a boldness and promptitude which promised them success, considering the comparative inferiority of the force which England could bring against them.

On the evening previously to the departure of Prince William, the whole of the royal family met at supper, at which that gloom prevailed, which is the usual attendant on the approaching loss of a member of a family, under whatever circumstances it may take place, but under those which accompanied the estrangement of Prince William from the family circle, the pain of separation was more acutely felt. On supper being over, and the members of the family were about to retire to their respective apartment; the King on presenting Prince William with a bible, addressed him in the following terms, " You are on the eve, my dear boy, of leaving the residence of your parents, to enter into the duties of a profession, in which I will not conceal it from you, that you will be obliged to undergo many privations, and be surrounded by many dangers. Let me impress it strongly upon your mind, that obedience to your superior officers is your first, your principal duty. By knowing how to obey, you will learn how to command, and think not that the high station in which you were born, absolves you from the performance of even the most menial duty attached to the rank which you may hold in the ship. Expect not that because you are the son of the King of England, that you will be treated with greater respect than what is shown to the other officers of the same rank as yourself. You will in every respect be subject to the same discipline, and the same routine of duty, as the other officers, and

I have issued my private commands to the officer, under whose orders you will be placed, that all distinction of rank shall be waived, and that the title of Prince be lost in the common name of the sailor. In presenting you with this book, I consider it the best gift which a father can make to a son, in the situation in which you are about to be placed; in the midst of the dangers by which you will be surrounded, place your confidence in that God who can rule the tempest, and turn the sword of the enemy from you. You will, I fear, meet with many, who will turn your pious devotions into ridicule, but be not diverted by their sneers, from the performance of your duty to your God, and rest assured, you will thereby gain the respect and esteem of your superiors, and what you will find still more valuable to you, you will enjoy the consciousness of inward piety and rectitude, and which will carry you through the hour of trial and danger, with cheerfulness and composure. Now, go, my son, may the God of battles be with you, and should it please him to return you safe to the arms of your parents, may they receive you without a stain upon your honour—may you return to them an ornament to the glorious profession to which you are about to belong, and it will be a proud day in the life of your father, if by your courage and your skill, you may have contributed to the defeat of the enemies of your country, and to the security of your father's Crown."

It was on the 15th of June 1779 that Prince William was rated as a midshipman on board the *Prince George* of 98, guns then bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Digby at Spithead. With the view of removing from his mind as much as possible, all idea of the superiority of his rank, his equipment was rather of a secondary character, than such as might be supposed to be furnished to a son of the King of England. The ridiculous foppery of a court dress, was laid aside for the plain blue jacket and trowsers of the sailor, and the little three cornered cocked hat was abandoned for the slouched low crowned hat of a member of a middy's cabin. To say that Prince William expressed at first any particular pleasure at the situation in which he found himself, contrasting it as he did with the

royal splendour which he had just quitted, were to give him credit for a greater share of professional enthusiasm, than in reality belonged to him, or which could be expected from him. The transition from a power of command, to a state of the most unlimited obedience, from the power of control, to a station of direct submission, was too sudden to be immediately relished by a youth, who though possessing one of the principal requisites for his profession, namely courage, had in secret, argued the point with himself, touching the necessity of his entering a profession at all, considering the prospects which his rank in life held out to him. There is however one anecdote related of him, on his introduction into the midshipman's cabin, which shows that he had treasured up the counsels of his father, and that he was determined to act in conformity with them. Being seated at the midshipman's table, the youngsters of it did not know how to address him. Although they knew him to be a son of the King of England, yet there was a spirit of independence about them, which would not let them look upon him in any other light than their equal, subject in every respect to the same duties as themselves, and his superiors in rank according to the date of their commissions. There was something in the title of "your Royal Highness" too high sounding for them, and one of them, possessing a little more effrontery than the others, asked him "by what name he was rated in the books?" "I am entered," replied the royal youth, "as Prince William Henry, but my father's name is Guelph, and therefore if you please, you may call me William Guelph, for I am nothing more than a sailor like yourselves." This trait of affability gained him the esteem of his youthful associates, nor did he by any after-conduct ever forfeit it.

Another anecdote that is related of the young Prince, is strongly corroborative of his natural generosity, and high-mindedness. A quarrel once arose between him and a brother midshipman; high words passed between the parties, till at length the Prince's opponent, losing all command of his temper, struck the Prince a severe blow on the face. He was a weak,

delicate boy, considerably younger than William Henry, so that retaliation would have been perfectly safe. But his Royal Highness with that patient forbearance, which characterized his after life, scorned to take advantage of a circumstance like this. While his youthful companions were standing round in mute expectation, some hoping for, others dreading an affray, the insulted Prince calmly observed, that he was quite sure his friend would speedily regret having been guilty of conduct so ungentlemanly, and that, therefore, he was content to wait for an apology till his passion had subsided. As the courage of the young Prince was beyond question, and his superiority over his antagonist in personal strength most manifest, joined to the fact, that the quarrel had been none of his seeking, this could not fail to excite the admiration, and call for the applause of the juvenile heroes, who are not slow to appreciate, however, backward they may be to imitate an example of generous forbearance. The offender whose principal fault was an infirmity of temper, was so moved at the noble conduct of the Prince, that he instantly asked pardon for his rashness, and the affair was apparently forgotten.

Many years afterwards, we believe about the time that his Royal Highness was appointed Lord High Admiral, the quondam midshipman, whose promotion had not kept pace with his merit, chanced to come in contact with his royal shipmate. On hearing his name, his Royal Highness instantly inquired whether he was not the hero of the scene which we have just described, and on being answered in the affirmative, his Royal Highness with great good humour referred to the particulars of the occurrence, and from that day to the day of his death, his youthful foe never wanted a friend. The illustrious benefactor, and the grateful object of his bounty, have now alike yielded to the last mortal enemy; but the memory of them lives after them.

A few days after Prince William was received on board the Prince George, she weighed anchor for Torbay, there to join the channel fleet under the command of Sir Charles Hardy. The whole was then to sail to the westward, with the

view of preventing the French and Spanish squadrons from forming a junction. In this, however, as has been previously mentioned, they did not succeed. The enemy being then nearly double in the number of their ships, and relying on their superiority, vauntingly crossed the channel and came in sight of Plymouth, just as a convoy of stores was entering the harbour from Portsmouth. From some reason, which was never properly explained, the enemy did not molest the convoy, but permitted it to pass into the Sound without the slightest molestation. The whole coast was in a state of alarm, and it was confidently expected that Plymouth would be taken by surprise, as at that time it was in a very bad state of defence. The enemy were at one time close in shore, and so much did the beauty of Mount Edgcumbe strike the Spanish admiral, that he declared he should claim it as his part of the prize, if they succeeded in carrying the town.

The gasconading of a Spaniard is proverbial, and put a Spaniard and a Frenchman together, and they will conquer the whole world, if boasting could assist them in the achievement. Plymouth was already in the possession of the Frenchman, and the Spaniard was comfortably and nobly domiciled at Mount Edgcumbe; but they knew that Sir Charles Hardy was at sea, and they also saw the fortifications of Plymouth bristling with cannon, ready to pour out their contents upon the invading ships, and judging that they should most probably place themselves between two fires, they very prudently resolved not to expose themselves to any fire at all, and sheered off down the channel, to the great astonishment and satisfaction of the garrison and inhabitants of Plymouth.

On the arrival of the Prince George at Plymouth, she was placed under the command of Admiral Rodney, Admiral Digby's division being about to be sent with other vessels to throw supplies into Gibraltar, the whole being under the command of Admiral Rodney, as Commander-in-Chief.

During the stay of the Prince George at Plymouth, Prince William paid a visit to his royal parents at Windsor, a measure that by no means met with general approbation, and was

considered by the youthful associates of the Prince as an act of favouritism not exactly consistent with the rules and discipline of the navy. The necessity of the step was by no means apparent, and as for the expediency of it, it was a very questionable point. The circumstance of leave of absence being about the same time refused to another midshipman, whose father had just died, occasioned no little ill blood in the cock-pit of the Prince George, and the royal midshipman came in for no little share of the irony and ridicule of his messmates in going to see his mother, at the same time, that during his absence an additional duty would be imposed upon them, to which they did not consider they were in any degree bound to submit, whilst he was taking his pleasure at Windsor. Prudently speaking, it was certainly not a very politic act on the part of the royal parents, at a time perhaps, when he was beginning to be accustomed to the privations and discipline of a man of war, to bring him back again to the scenes and splendour of royalty, with which, if he drew the comparison with his situation on board a ship, the latter would not rise very high in his estimation. It was like bringing a boy from school to his home, when the pleasures of the latter are so keenly enjoyed, that the discipline of the former becomes more hateful and irksome.

Prince William rejoined his ship about the end of November, and during the voyage to Gibraltar, he performed all his duties punctually, according to the orders issued by his superiors; and perfecting himself, by the most assiduous study in the science of naval tactics.

On their passage out, they fell in with a Spanish fleet of store ships under convoy of seven men of war, and captured the whole, in number twenty-two. One of the captured vessels was named the Prince William in honour of his Royal Highness.

This may be considered as the first affair in which his Royal Highness "fleshed his maiden sword," and as he is particularly mentioned in the despatch of Sir George Rodney,

we shall give the account of it, in the gallant Admiral's own words.

" Sandwich at sea, January 9th, 1780.

" Lat. 41°, 44' N. Long. 14°, 25' W.

" Cape Finisterre, E. N. E. 176 leagues.

" Yesterday at daylight, the squadron of ships under my command, descried twenty-two sail of the line in the north east quarter. We immediately gave chase, and in a few hours the whole were taken. They proved to be a Spanish convoy, which sailed from St. Sebastians the 1st of January, and was under the protection of seven ships and vessels of war, belonging to the royal company of Caraccas, viz :—

The Guipuscuan	84 guns.	550 men.
The San Carlos	32 —	200 —
The San Rafael	30 —	153 —
The Santa Teresa	28 —	150 —
The San Bruno	26 —	140 —
The Corvette San Fermin	16 —	80 —
The Lan Vincento	10 —	40 —

" Part of the convoy was laden with naval stores and provisions, for the Spanish ships of war at Cadiz, the rest with bale goods belonging to the royal company. Those loaded with naval stores, and sale goods, I shall immediately despatch for England, under the convoy of his Majesty's ships, the America, and Pearl. Those loaded with provisions, I shall carry to Gibraltar, for which place I am now steering, and have not a doubt that, the service I am sent upon will be speedily effected.

" As I thought it highly necessary to send a sixty-four gun ship, to protect so valuable a convoy, I have commissioned, officered, and manned the Spanish ship of war, the Guipuscuan, of the same rate, and named her the Prince William, in respect to his Royal Highness, in whose presence *she had the honour* to be taken. She has been launched only six months, is in every respect completely fitted for war, and much larger

than the *Bienfaisant*, Captain Macbride, to whom she struck.

"I beg leave to congratulate your lordships on this event, which must greatly distress the enemy, who, I am well informed, are much in want of provisions and naval stores."

The supplies on board this squadron, were destined for Cadiz, to enable a Spanish squadron to reinforce the French in the West Indies. Their object was, however, totally defeated, and our valuable possessions in the West Indies, particularly the island of Jamacia, which was in a very defenceless state, preserved from the attack of the enemy.

Admiral Rodney then continued his course in search of a Spanish squadron, which was reported to be cruising off Cape St. Vincent, and on the 16th of January, they fell in with the Spanish fleet, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, commanded by Don Juan de Langara. Prince William was now on the eve of a real naval engagement and during the whole of the preparations which are carried on on board of a man of war, previously to battle, and which are well calculated to shake the courage of the youthful heart, Prince William maintained the greatest coolness, and addressing himself to Lieutenant Montgomery, who was standing at his side, said "Won't we give these haughty dons a sound thrashing."

The Spaniards were under easy sail at the time, as if without any apprehension of an enemy being so close to them; some of them, indeed were lying to, and appeared to be rather cruising about for pleasure, than in danger of a victorious enemy. The weather was foggy, and, therefore, it may be conjectured, that they really did not see their enemies, who were in reality, close upon them with every sail set, and who had taken the lee-gage, in order to prevent them from retreating into their own ports. The Spaniards, however, no sooner found themselves in the immediate vicinity of an enemy, than they began to sheer off, under a press of sail, when Rodney hung out his signal for a general chase. It was near dark,

before the Sandwich, Admiral Rodney's ship, could approach and engage. Rodney ordered the master of the Sandwich to lay him well up alongside the largest ship he could see, or alongside the Admiral, if he could discover one. The four headmost ships being well coppered, and sailing fast, were soon up with the enemy, and in action. The engagement began in a very rough gale, and in a very short time, the San Domingo of 70 guns blew up, and all on board perished. A second ship struck almost immediately, and about two in the morn a third, called the Monarca, the headmost of the enemy, lowered her flag. The Phoenix of 80 guns, Admiral Langara's own ship, and three of 70 guns each, were taken and secured. Considerable danger was, however, now encountered, from a stormy sea, and a lee-shore close upon the enemy's coast, and not far from Cadiz. One of the ships, the San Eugenio, a prize, got upon the rocks, but was saved by the Spaniards; another, the San Julian, was run ashore and lost, but the crew was saved, and the English, who had boarded her. The rest of the squadron escaped in a shattered condition. Sir George Rodney's force was certainly much superior; yet his skill and courage were not less eminently displayed in the attack, which the violence of the storm, the darkness of the night, and the vicinity of a lee-shore, rendered extremely dangerous.

The weather continued very rough, and the larger ships of the fleet, the Sandwich and Prince George, were in imminent danger, and were forced to make sail to avoid the rocks of St. Lucar. On the following morning they fortunately got into deep water, and joined the convoy off Cape Spartel.

The following is a list of the Spanish ships :

Phoenix, the Admiral's ship	80 guns	-	700 men taken.
San Augustin	70	—	600 — escaped.
San Justo	70	—	600 — —
San Lorenzo	70	—	600 — —
San Julian	70	—	600 — taken but lost.
San Eugenio	70	—	600 — — & run ashore.
Monarca	70	—	600 — — —

Princessa	70 guns.	600 men taken and run ashore
Diligente	70 —	600 — — —
San Domingo	70 —	600 — blown up.
Santa Gertrude	26 —	escaped.
Santa Rosalia	28 —	—

Rear Admiral Digby, in the *Prince George*, knowing the harbour better than the *Sandwich*, led the way into the bay of Gibraltar. The weather was very tempestuous, many of the ships were driven to the back of the rock, and it was not until the 26th of January, that the whole of the ships were safely anchored in the bay.

The character of the British sailor is, that he is a lion in battle, but that to a vanquished foe, he is humane and kind. A want of humanity to their prisoners of war was never a characteristic of the English nation; whereas on the contrary, the English prisoners in the prisons of Spain, had always been treated with a cruelty, at variance with every claim to the character of a civilized people. National enmity contributed much to affix this stigma on the Spanish character, but religion contributed still more. The English were looked upon as a band of heretics, whom to torment and maltreat, raised them in the good opinion of all the saints, the pope, the virgin Mary, and God. The Spanish prisons were sinks of filth and offal, inimical to the prolongation of human life; the fare of the poor prisoners was scarcely sufficient to support life, and many fell a victim to the privations which they endured. It was, therefore, no wonder that Langara expressed his surprise at the treatment which he saw shown by the English admiral towards the Spanish prisoners, and particularly towards the wounded, whose cases were attended to with all the skill and humanity, which were evinced towards the British sailors. Admiral Rodney expressed his anxious desire to obtain an exchange of prisoners, but it was the bigotted and crooked policy of the Spanish government to interpose every obstacle to that reciprocity of honourable feeling which ought to exist between two civilized nations, and which forms the chief distinction between them and the more savage governments. It was the

narrow minded opinion of the Spanish government, that if they retained our sailors in their prisons, we should not be able to man our ships, not considering at the same time, that if we retained theirs, they could not man their own ships, and they further proceeded upon the erroneous principle that the very nature of our impress service evidently showed that sailors were not to be had in England, but upon compulsion, whereas in Spain they were to be procured in any numbers, and therefore they rated the value of an English sailor in comparison with the Spanish one, in the proportion of three to one. In the negotiation, however, which they set on foot with Admiral Rodney for an exchange of prisoners, they condescended to lower their demands, and adjusted the balance by putting two Spanish sailors in one scale, and one English sailor in the other. To this proposition, however, Admiral Rodney gave his most decided negative, and after some time spent in negotiating, he succeeded in obtaining the freedom of as many English sailors as he had taken Spanish ones under Langara. It was also arranged with the Spanish government, that in future all Englishmen who should be made prisoners by the Spaniards, should experience the same treatment as the Spanish prisoners received from the English.

The exchange of prisoners being thus satisfactorily arranged, Don Juan Langara and his officers were released from their parole of honour, and although the Spanish nation is not very sensitive of any honourable act, except what is committed by themselves, yet, it condescended to acknowledge this act on the part of the British admiral as redounding highly to his honour, and to that of the country to which he belonged.

Previously to Langara leaving the fleet, he paid a visit to Admiral Digby, on board the Prince George. The midshipman on duty was Prince William Henry, and at the close of the visit, when Langara was about to take his leave, Admiral Digby issued his orders for the boat to be got ready. After the lapse of a few minutes, Prince William entered the cabin to announce that the boat was in readiness, and the Spanish Admiral could not refrain expressing his astonishment at

seeing the son of the King of England acting as a common midshipman, and he remarked to Admiral Digby, that Great Britain merited the empire of the seas, when the humblest stations in her navy were filled by Princes of the blood.

The above anecdote is recorded on the authority of Colonel Drinkwater, in his history of the siege of Gibraltar; but its authenticity has been questioned by those who have a thorough knowledge of the Spanish character, and particularly that of Don Juan Langara, who was, perhaps, the last man in Spain, who would publicly state that Great Britain possessed the empire of the seas.

The pride of the Spaniard, however, was not to be humbled by the hearty drubbing which he had received, and when he made the report to his government of the result of the battle, he did not attribute the loss of it to any superior bravery or seamanship on the part of the English, but to the elements, that would not let him fight, as it was his wish to do. His government believed him, and awarded to him its thanks for having fought so well, considering that the elements had allied themselves with the English against him. It is, however, certain that the Saints and Saintesses, after whom the greater number of the Spanish ships were christened, fell many degrees in the good opinion of the Spaniards, under the persuasion, that if they had performed their duty, as Saints and Saintesses ought to have done, the English ships would have been blown out of the water. It was, however, no little satisfaction to the Spanish nation to find that not one of the ships named after their favourite saints, was carried into an English port, and it is certainly a curious coincidence, that all the Sans and Santas escaped or were lost, and only those ships which bore a common name, reached the English shores as prizes.

It was not only during the battle, but in his conduct after it, that Prince William gained the good opinion not only of his superior officers, but of the crew in general. Amongst the latter, there was an old weather-beaten tar, whose visage was bronzed with the sun of a hundred different climes, and to whom Prince William particularly attached himself, on account of the bluff-

ness, and general eccentricity of his character, by which he obtained the soubriquet of "the old Commodore." At the age of six he entered as a cabin boy on board the *Royal William*, and remained in that ship, until she was declared unfit for service, and was converted into a sheer hulk at Plymouth. Contrary to the general habit of the sailor, an oath was seldom or never heard to issue from his mouth, "by the *Royal William*," being the utmost extent to which his swearing was carried. It was undoubtedly this association of the name of his old favourite ship, with that of the royal midshipman on board, that prompted him on every occasion which presented itself, to be the foremost, to render Prince William any service, which could render his berth comfortable to him. His general manner of accosting him was, "Well my *Royal William*, what can I do for you?" It was this characteristic bluntness of the sailor that pleased Prince William, and when the ship's crew were mustered after the action to ascertain the number of the killed and wounded, he missed the old commodore in the ranks, and on inquiry, he found that he had been severely wounded, having one of his legs shot off. Prince William immediately hastened to the berth of his old favourite, who no sooner saw his Royal Highness, than he exclaimed, "well, my *Royal William*, I am now a sheer hulk for life, my starboard timber's gone, and I shall go no more aloft." Prince William took the old veteran by the hand, and told him not to despond, for he would take care that he had a comfortable berth found him for the remainder of his life; and he kept his word, for on the arrival of his ship in port, he made immediate application for the reception of the old Commodore into Greenwich hospital, into which he was received as soon as his wound was sufficiently healed to admit of his removal. Prince William allowed him five shillings a week, which was punctually paid him to the hour of his death; and to the last, he continued to swear, "by the *Royal William*," that Prince William Henry was the trump of a sailor.

In his general conduct on board, Prince William distinguished himself by his condescension and affability, at the

same time, it must be admitted, that his companions in the cockpit soon gave him very distinctly to understand, that they considered him as their equal, as far as their character as sailors was concerned; and on one occasion, in a moment of ill humour, when he shewed a disposition to give himself some high airs, and made an allusion to the dignity of his rank, as the son of the king, one of the midshipmen exclaimed, "Avast there, my hearty, the son of a w——e is as good a fellow here, as the son of a King." This we believe was the only instance in which he met with any rebuke on account of an allusion to his rank. His manliness of bearing and general affability gained him the respect and esteem of all his superiors and messmates, and with the common sailors, his very presence on board, appeared to instil into them a spirit of enthusiasm and patriotic pride, which rendered them doubly formidable to any foe, who might be so unfortunate as to come within reach of their cannon.

Those persons who are in the least acquainted with the cockpit of a man of war, as it was arranged at the time when Prince William entered the service, must know well, that it was no place for practical joking, without receiving a return of the compliment, and frequently in a rougher manner than that in which it was given. It was a place in which all consideration of personal rank was entirely laid aside. Etiquette in the cockpit of a man of war was as much out of place, as in one of the lodging-houses in St. Giles', nor in many respects was even that common degree of gentility or good breeding observed, which might have been expected from youths, who belonged to some of the first families of the kingdom; but who considered that coarseness and vulgarity became them better as sailors, than the refined and polished manners of the gentleman. The place itself was not the most inviting in the world, and the scenes which were generally exhibited in it was a perfect chaos of those articles generally worn by its inhabitants, upon which the cheering light of day never shone. The lamp was like the everlasting burning one of the vestal, or the holy one in the cathedral of Rheims, with this difference only, that the flame of the latter is kept

alive by some miracle known only to the holy purveyors of oil, and the lamp in the cockpit of a man of war requires to be replenished, unless the inmates prefer to live in a state of cimmerian darkness. At a subsequent period the berth of the midshipmen was changed to the gun-room, for it was found that the air of the cockpit, which was never renewed by ventilation, was highly prejudicial to the health of the embryo heroes, and was in itself sufficient to instil a disgust of the service into the breasts of the young midshipmen on their first introduction to such a real dungeon. In the gun-room, however, there was the same confusion of lumber, living and dead, and whilst one midshipman was comfortably snoring in his hammock, the remainder were playing at all sorts of games, and exercising their tricks upon each other, and in regard to the latter, no one showed greater adroitness than Prince William, in fact, he was always full of fun and mischief. He, however, frequently caught "a Tartar," and generally received "a Rowland for his Oliver." One of the tricks he played, nearly ended in a pugilistic encounter, at the prospect of which all the youngsters were highly delighted. The antagonist of the Prince was named Sturt, the son of a gentleman of property, in Dorsetshire. "I'd teach you better manners, sir, if you were not the king's son," said young Sturt. "That shan't stand in the way," replied the Prince, "I'll fight you over a chest." Sturt declined the contest, because he was very much the Prince's superior in age and strength. On this a reconciliation took place immediately, and they shook each other by the hand.

From the various anecdotes related of the young Prince, he appears to have been rather of a pugnacious disposition. One day or rather night, the Prince stole in the dark to the hammock of a tough young sailor boy, and cut it down by the head, so that the slumbering inmate found himself with his feet elevated in the air and his head on the ground. The lad, however, soon gained his natural position, and resolutely attacked the Prince before he could make his escape. A regular battle ensued in the dark, his Royal Highness making an obstinate resistance. The boy at length found out who was his antago-

nist, and the Prince on the following day made him a present of some money for his alacrity in attacking him, and as a compensation for the mischief he had done. His Royal Highness had also a regular set-too with Lieutenant Moodie of the Royal Marines, the lieutenant having said upon some provocation, "If it was not for your coat, I would give you a basting." Upon which the Prince replied, "My coat shall not stain my honour," and pulled it off. They then fought desperately, until a superior officer interfered, and ordered them to desist. They then shook hands, and his Royal Highness, with the true spirit of a sailor, said, "You are a brave fellow, *though you are a marine*, you may always count me as a friend."

We give the latter anecdote on the authority of common rumour, we, however, cannot refrain from expressing our strong disbelief of that part of it, in which the Prince is made to cast an unjust and illiberal imputation on his antagonist, on the score of his being a marine. At the close of the contest, it was not likely that Prince William would make use of such an offensive remark, which an officer of that truly noble corps would have considered himself bound to resent, under whatever circumstances it might have been uttered. It may, indeed, be true that the marines did not, at that time, stand so high in public estimation, as they do at present; but still, in our opinion we totally exonerate Prince William, from having uttered the ungracious speech imputed to him.

During the stay of the fleet at Gibraltar, Prince William went frequently on shore, having been introduced to the governor, and other high authorities of the place. That celebrated fortress was then undergoing a complete survey, and several improvements were making for the defence of it, on the supposition that it might have to entertain a long siege by the Spaniards. Prince William carefully inspected all these improvements, and particularly the batteries, which had been erected during the blockade, previously to the relief of the fortress by Sir George Rodney.

It may easily be conceived that in the unguarded moments of

youth, with a natural proneness to mischief, his Royal Highness did not steer clear of the commission of many juvenile indiscretions, which although distinguished by considerable annoyance and inconvenience to particular individuals, yet they could not be said to bear the stamp of actual vice. A sailor on shore is at best, but a motley kind of an animal; prudence seldom stands at the helm, and the tacks which he makes, are sometimes of so eccentric a character, that he is often obliged to be taken in tow, to prevent his being totally wrecked on the rocks of folly. Prince William had been long enough in the navy, to invest himself with some of the characteristic traits of a sailor, and it was in many respects, fortunate for him, that he could throw off the dignity of his rank, and assimilate his manners to those of his associates. One of the junior lieutenants on board the Prince George, was a member of the noble family of St. Albans, and Prince William entertaining a partiality for young Beauclerk, a friendship was cemented between them, which was uninterrupted during the remainder of their life. The senior midshipman also belonged to a noble family, and, perhaps, there was a love of nobility and rank, lurking in the breasts of the three youthful heroes, which co-operated more than any other cause, to cement those bonds of friendship between them, which were never broken during their naval career; and being well worthy of each other in regard to personal character, were the source of mutual satisfaction and delight.

That three such high-blooded youths could be long ashore without being guilty of some excesses, can only be supposed by those who judge of human nature by a particular standard, without taking into consideration the peculiarity of circumstances into which an individual may be thrown, and the particular condition in which he stands in society. A youth emancipated for a time from the strict discipline and confinement of a ship, is like an unbroken steed turned into a meadow, in which his frolics, and his gambols, will most probably occasion some damage, but, which, if not accompanied by a

vicious temperament, will soon be corrected by a little seasonable discipline.

There are certain taverns or saloons in Gibraltar, which are by no means renowned for the purity of character which is there displayed by the female sex, and it must be confessed that the black piercing eye, and the voluptuous form of the Spanish ladies possessed sufficient attractions to induce the youthful sailors to repair to their haunts, where under the influence of the Tuscan grape, they got themselves into many scrapes, some of which were likely to be attended with very serious consequences. On one occasion, a party of five young men were carousing at one of the tables, when Prince William and his two noble associates entered the room. They had not been long seated, when one of the five in a most rude and unjustifiable manner, especially in the presence of three naval officers, expressed his opinion, that Rodney had not given so good an account of the Spanish fleet, as he ought to have done, considering the force he had under him. On hearing this, young Beauclerck went up to him and told him, that if he did not immediately retract his words he would punish him on the spot. The upstart braggadocio, presuming on the superiority of their numbers, declared he would not retract his words, and further, that he considered it an act of direct rudeness, in any one interfering in their conversation, and that he had a right to express his opinion, and would do it. On this, without any further ceremony, Beauclerck gave him such a blow on the nose, that the blood flew in all directions; a general row ensued, and others coming up to the assistance of their townsmen, the three youngsters were secured and delivered over to the civil power. The rank of one of them was soon ascertained, and the circumstance soon spread over the whole of the garrison, that a son of the King of England was in custody. Admiral Digby was immediately despatched by Sir George Rodney to investigate the business, and on the circumstance transpiring that a gross insult had been offered to the young officers, which was impossible for them to look over, the order was made for their instant liberation, and a stoppage put to

any further visit on shore, except in the company of a superior officer.

This was, however, not the only scrape which Prince William fell into, but they were all the effect of juvenile indiscretion, unaccompanied by the display of any actual vice, and they merely subjected him to a reprimand from his superior officer, who in this respect, treated him with no greater ceremony, than any of his brother messmates.

Gibraltar having been effectually relieved by Sir George Rodney, he left that place on the 13th of February, and a few days afterwards parted company with Admiral Digby, who was despatched home with the prizes. He was also the bearer of despatches from Rodney to the government, stating, that he had sent home the prizes, as fine ships as ever swam. "They are now," he added, "completely refitted, manned, and put in line of battle, and I will answer for them, they will do their duty as English men of war, should the enemy give them an opportunity."

On the homeward passage, Admiral Digby was so fortunate as to fall in with a French convoy bound to the Mauritius, consisting of two ships of sixty-four guns each; two large store ships, armed *en flute*, two frigates, and about thirteen sail of transports, with warlike stores and troops. Three of the convoy were taken with the *Prothee*, one of the sixty-fours; the *Ajax*, however, and the rest escaped, owing to the want of some light vessels to pursue them.

On the arrival of the *Prince George* in port, Prince William set off for London, where he arrived on the 8th of May, and was heartily welcomed by his family. The following day, the Prince was formally introduced to the King by the Earl of Sandwich, to present the flags captured from the Spanish Admiral Langara, and the other prizes. Colonel Drinkwater makes mention of this circumstance, in the following terms.

"When that youthful hero, Prince William, on his return, laid his early laurels at the feet of his royal father, he presented at the same time, a plan of the garrison, in the relief of which he had made his first essay. In that plan were de-

lineated the improvements which the place had undergone, and the new batteries that had been erected on the heights since the commencement of the blockade."

The connexion of Prince William with the naval service, made him at that time, a special favourite with the people. The profligacies of his two elder brothers had already begun to excite the public attention; and the public drew the line of comparison between them and the youthful sailor, who was gallantly fighting the battles of his country, whilst they were running the round of libertinism and debauchery; and, therefore, in proportion as the former rose in the good opinion of the public, the latter deservedly fell, and fell also never to regain the position which they had lost. The Prince of Wales was then on the eve of his majority, and the public, no doubt, felt great delight on receiving the information that his Royal Highness, was an excellent musician, regularly attending the catch and glee clubs, and employing the energies of his mind, in the composition of some additional stanzas to the glee of "the Happy Fellow," or "By the gaily circling glass," in fact, it was eulogistically said of him, that he was a musician among princes, and a prince amongst musicians.

Very different, indeed, was the life which Prince William led. He had been present at a naval battle of some consequence to the national welfare, under the peculiar circumstances in which the country then stood. The American war, one of the most unpopular that this country ever engaged in, depressed the spirit of the people, and the formidable attitude which the French and Spanish navy exhibited, and the extraordinary vigour which was shown in the equipment of their fleets, excited a degree of alarm throughout the whole country, which vented itself in loud denunciations of the policy of the Ministers in prosecuting a war, which was easily foreseen would end in disaster and disgrace. The news of a victory on the territory of America, was received in this country with the utmost coolness and indifference, as it was considered rather a pledge for the continuance of the war, than a step towards a general pacification. The victory of

Rodney acted in some degree, as an impetus to the spirits of the people, who properly looked to the navy as their best bulwark in the hour of danger, and their safeguard against the encroachments of the enemy. The name of Rodney became as familiar to the lips of an Englishman, as the name "of his household gods," and as the poets and poetasters of the day could not possibly allow such a glorious opportunity to escape them of exercising their talents; it may be naturally concluded, that in the multitudinous effusions which appeared in "the poets corner" of the daily prints and magazines, the name of Prince William was generally associated with that of Rodney. Mr. Pye, the Poet Laureat, of course, led the poetic train, astounding the public with his empyrean flights, and raising their enthusiasm with his thundering alexandrines. Others were of the Della Cruscan school, the Rosa Matildas, and Hafizs of the day, who, in effusions like the following, sounded the royal hero's praise.

Now last, not least in love, the Muse
Her William's name would fondly chuse
The British youth among.
Still may the sailors love thy name,
And happy wealth and blooming fame,
Awake the future song.

So in the spring the promis'd rose
First buds, and budding gently blows
Beneath the morning dew;
Till nourished by a warmer ray,
The blushing leaves their sweets display,
And fragrance ever new.

E'en now the sea-green sisters bind
A wreath around thy growing mind,
And deck their favourite son.
E'en now the Bourbon colours meet,
Which laying at thy father's feet,
Thou tell'st how bravely won.

It, however, did not require the poet's aid to render Prince William a favourite with the people, and when it was publicly announced, that it was his intention to visit Drury Lane Theatre,

crowds flocked to the theatre to see him, and considerable danger was encountered on account of the pressure.

During his stay on shore, Prince William joined his royal brothers in their amusements, and it may be added in their indiscretions also. Vauxhall and the Rotunda at Ranelagh Gardens were their favourite places of resort, where frequently they were seen engaged in broils, by no means creditable to their rank and character. Ranelagh Gardens were at that time the rendezvous of all the elegantes of fashion, and proud indeed was the female who could boast of being selected as the companion of one of the handsomest men of the age. It was, however, frequently in disguise that the royal brothers committed their juvenile follies, and the masquerades, which were at that time far more fashionable than they are at present, were the grand scenes of their libertinism. A ludicrous circumstance has been mentioned connected with these frolics, which we have heard related by one of the parties, who was present. At a masquerade in which the Prince of Wales appeared in the character of a Spanish grandee, accompanied by four of his esquires, he paid particular attention to a nun, who appeared to be under the protection of a youthful sailor. The assiduities on the part of the grandee, were evidently not much relished by the fair Ursuline, and the gallant tar threatened instantaneous chastisement, if any further provocation were given. The grandee, however, was not to be daunted, and he was very ably supported by his esquires, who boasted of the high and noble descent of their master, declaring it to be an act of the greatest condescension in him to hold any parley with a common English sailor. Some high words arose, and some taunting expressions were used tending to imply the suspicion, that the fair nun possessed no real pretensions to the character, which she had assumed. At last, some allusion having been made to the ladies of Portsmouth Point, the choler of the sailor could no longer brook the indignity, and a general row was the consequence. The constables were called in, and the disputants in a posse were marched off to the watch-house, the Spanish grandee leading the way in all his gorgeous finery. On

arriving in the presence of the constable of the night, the culprits were called upon to disclose their real characters. The grandee unmasked, as did also the sailor. "Eh ! William, is it you ?" exclaimed the grandee, who was no other person than the Prince of Wales. "Eh ! George is it you," exclaimed the sailor, who was no other person than Prince William. The whole of the party burst into a loud laugh. The constable was confounded, when he saw before him the heir apparent to the throne, and the youthful hero, who had fought under Rodney. A guinea satisfied the scruples of the constable, and the royal youths retired to complete the frolics of the night.

Royalty was begining about this time to fall to a discount, and there were not minds wanting at this period, who used every effort to degrade royalty, and attempt to persuade the whole world, that Kings were the oppressors of mankind, and that monarchy was an establishment for the aggrandizement of a few, at the expense and to the detriment of the many.

That the actions of the Princes of the blood royal, contributed at these times, not a little to degrade royalty in the estimation of the people, is to be gathered from the records of the times ; yet on the other hand, it must be admitted, that from the nature of things, the actions of Kings and Princes are subject to a publicity, from which the actions of private men are exempt from their multiplicity and obscurity. From the nature of man, which is imperfect, many actions, even of the best, are unfit to meet the public eye, and still more of them are liable to be misrepresented or misinterpreted.

No great difficulty occurred in painting in black characters, the actions of men subject to general observation ; and with the malignant disposition which had gone abroad, venial errors were converted into intentional and serious crimes, foibles were converted into vices of a deep dye, and even the innocent and unavoidable amusements of an idle hour, were held out as proofs of ignorance and imbecility.

The many-headed multitude propagated with avidity, or listened with attention ; and the exaggeration so common in such

cases, assisted in colouring the picture. The temporary, but complete triumph of the enemies of the Princes, gave additional success to calumnies propagated with such uninterrupted effort, and unfeeling ferocity, so that the lower classes, who in former times, looked up to princes with respect and awe, now viewed them with that untempered anger and contempt, which the ignorant are so apt to feel for fallen greatness.

The conduct of George III. towards his sons, even when they were verging fast towards their majority, was that of parental severity carried to an extreme, and it must be admitted, that as far as the world has been made acquainted with the secrets of palaces and the habits of royalty, the inference must be drawn, that Kings are a most immoral and defective class of human beings. It would seem that Kings are almost always indifferent or hostile towards their children, and are thus deprived, perhaps, of the greatest happiness of which our nature is susceptible. The vices and crimes of Kings, public and private, may, perhaps, be traced greatly to the want of the moralizing influence of these best affections of our nature. Paul of Russia, hated his eldest son, and lavished all his affection upon the human monster, Constantine, his second son. George I. of England, cordially hated, abused, and ill-treated his eldest son, George II., and the only excuse made for the brutal Monarch, was his suspicion that the son was not his own. We might almost wish that the suspicion were well founded, as it might be some apology for his private assassination of Count Konigsmark, of whom he was jealous.

Francis I. of Austria exiled his eldest son to Bohemia, and George II. of England cordially hated his eldest son, and took every opportunity of evincing his disgust, whilst the son was by no means slow in exhibiting his hatred of his father. This son, who died suddenly as Prince of Wales, had a most sovereign contempt for his eldest child, afterwards George III., and always considered him to be what he turned out to be in life, an obstinate, wrong-headed, self-willed creature. Whether George III. were legitimately born, is a matter of great doubt,

as his mother was notoriously profligate ; but certain it is that he possessed the family propensity of the father, hating the child. We need only refer to the chancery suit, in which it was decided that the father had grossly cheated the son in his minority, and he afterwards combined with the son to pay the award by cheating the people ; nor need it be brought to our recollection, how the father and son lived at daggers drawn, until the death or insanity of the parent.

Kings are really, after all, very singular beings.

A high independence of character is only to be acquired by an extended intercourse with the world ; and it must be acknowledged, that William IV. was indebted to that frankness and openness of disposition, which he evinced in his maturer years, to his having been emancipated at an early age from the trammels of that paternal control to which he would have been subjected, had he remained in one of the palaces of his father. The period when a young man of illustrious rank and princely fortune, attains his majority, is one of the most important epochs in his life. Our young nobility, educated for the most part at schools and universities, have, when they come of age, acquired a tolerable share of experience in the world. Their companions in the outset of life, are generally those with whom they have associated at school, and their previous habits of thinking and acting for themselves, which our public seminaries are so admirably calculated to teach, fit them to enter on the great stage of the world, with credit and advantage.

With the royal princes, however, the case was wholly different. They had been educated, indeed, under the ablest masters, and their progress in all the useful, and many of the ornamental branches of learning, reflected equal honor on the diligence of the teachers and the talents of the pupils ; but a knowledge of real life formed no part of the system of the education of the royal princes, and at the time when Prince William was entered upon the books of the navy, a more inexperienced youth in the ways of the world, never left his father's house.

He had passed his life, comparatively, in a state of seclusion and restraint, and even before his real character had had time to develop itself. The juvenile indiscretions, therefore, which he committed during his temporary residence with his family, and into which he was in a great degree led by the example of his elder brothers, must not be attributed to any innate viciousness of disposition, but to the almost irresistible temptation by which he was surrounded, and the facility which his elevated rank afforded him of gratifying to the utmost, any propensity to which his juvenility might impel him. We shall here purposely avoid the exposition of many of those acts of youthful indiscretion, which the caterers of the vitiated taste of the public collected and published at the time, and which were the result of that love of mischief, for which his Royal Highness was always distinguished. We can only further say in extenuation, that the princes cannot conceal their conduct as ordinary men may; they are, therefore, in a worse situation, than if their conduct were concealed, and their hearts laid open. Every act ought not to be attributed to a bad intention, and we should, therefore, carefully distinguish between those acts which may be the immediate result of juvenile folly, and those which take their origin in direct moral turpitude, and an absence of every principle of religion and virtue.

The dissipated life which Prince William led during his stay, was, perhaps, the cause of his Royal Father hurrying his departure, as he saw that the examples which he had before him, would, perhaps, unroot every virtuous principle within him, and eventually render him unfit for the performance of the arduous duties of the profession to which he had attached himself.

The channel fleet was at this time assembling at Portsmouth, and on the 19th of May, Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, Commander-in-Chief of the channel fleet, died at Portsmouth, where he was buried a few days after, with the usual state upon such occasions. Admiral Geary succeeded to the command, hoisting his flag on board the Victory, having under

him, Vice-Admiral Barrington, second in command; Vice-Admiral Darby, third in command; and Rear-Admiral Digby, fourth, in the Prince George, which ship Prince William joined on the 24th of May.

In the month of June, Admiral Geary sailed from Spithead with twenty-three sail of the line, and was joined at sea by some others, to cruise in the Soundings, for the purpose of preventing a junction of the French and Spanish squadrons. On the 4th of July, the fleet discovered and gave chase to a French convoy, twelve sail of which were overtaken and captured. They were from St. Domingo bound to France; the remainder with *La Fier* of 50 guns, effected their escape under cover of a thick fog. The value of the captured ships was estimated at one hundred and twenty-six thousand pounds.

On this occasion, the first captain of the flag ship, was the gallant Kempenfelt, who in the *Royal George* at Spithead

“ ————— went down,
With twice four hundred men.

On the 18th of August, Admiral Geary returned to Portsmouth with the channel fleet, and resigned his command. It was offered to Vice-Admiral Barrington, who had been his second, but that brave and excellent officer thought proper to decline accepting it; Vice-Admiral Darby who stood next in command was, therefore, appointed.

On the day that Admiral Geary struck his flag on board the *Victory*, he gave a dinner to the captains of the fleet, to which, Prince William Henry was invited. On the occasion of his father's health being drank, his Royal Highness rose, to the surprise of all present, and made a very neat and appropriate speech. It was the first that he ever made in public, and it shall, therefore, be here inserted.

“Admiral Geary, and Captains of the Fleet,

“ You may, perhaps, deem it presumptuous in me to present myself to your notice on this occasion, to return you my most sincere thanks for the loyal

manner in which you have drank my royal Father's health. As a father, I am proud to speak of him with all the fulness of filial affection, and I am certain that there are few monarchs, who have swayed the sceptre of these realms, to whom the title of the father of his people is more justly due. Involved as the nation is at present in a most unnatural war, for it cannot be considered in any other character than that of a child fighting against its parent; it becomes every one to join heart and hand to bring the rebellion to a speedy and fortunate issue, and to crush the insidious enemies, who have so dishonourably to themselves entered into an alliance with the revolutionists, with the hope of reducing this great and noble nation to the lowest rank in the scale of nations, and with the avowed intent of wresting from it its foreign possessions and distressing its trade and commerce. I am proud to say that the safety, the glory and honour of the country depend upon its navy, and when I see myself surrounded by such men as are here present, I have no fear for the stability of my Father's crown, the integrity of his foreign possessions, or the safety of my country. We are now fighting single handed, the combined naval powers of France and Spain; it becomes us not to underrate a gallant and enterprising enemy; but in awarding them the merit which belongs to them, I consider that our merit will be the greater, if we obtain a victory over them, and which I make no doubt will always be the case, whenever they will give us an opportunity of trying our strength with them. For myself individually, I shall consider those days as the proudest and the noblest in my life, in which I may be called upon to shed my blood in the defence of my Father's flag, and should I ever be called upon to lead his fleet against his enemies, my first study shall be to imitate the example of that brave and noble officer, who has done me the honour this day to invite me to his table, and whose retirement from the command of the channel fleet must be a source of regret to all, who have had an opportunity of witnessing the high degree of nautical skill, which he has displayed on the most trying occasions; his determined bravery in the hour of battle, and his general devotedness to the cause of his country. I request you will accept of my apology for this intrusion upon your time, and if I have not delivered myself with the graces of elocution, I am certain that I have spoken with all the sincerity of a sailor's heart, who glories in the profession to which his Father has appointed him, and who, he most sincerely hopes, will never be induced by any dishonourable act, unworthy of the British sailor, or the rank in life to which he was born, to sully the flag under which he fights, or tarnish the character which belongs to him as a British subject. I hope, I am not out of order in requesting you to fill your glasses, and drink to the health of Admiral Geary."

The applause lasted some minutes after his royal Highness had concluded his speech, and on Admiral Geary returning thanks on his health being drunk; he paid some well-deserved compliments to the character of his Royal Highness, in which Admiral Digby cordially joined, nor were they the fulsome

adulations of the courtier to the royal rank of the young hero ; but the spontaneous effusions of a heart, which possessing a high degree of merit of its own, knows how to appreciate it in others.

It was frequently a subject of complaint, joined with no little share of ridicule at the frequent and almost periodical returns of the channel fleet to port, it seldom keeping the sea longer than two months, when it was found *necessary*, or as it may be more aptly expressed, *convenient* to return to port, for the purpose of refitting. In the present state of our navy, such a practice would not be allowed, but under circumstances of the most pressing nature ; the sailing of the channel fleet was looked upon more as a temporary cruise, and the enemy knew well how to take advantage of this regular absence of the English fleet from their shores, for they generally succeeded in effecting a junction with their allies, or they sent out their small flying squadrons, which were seldom heard of until they made their appearance in a distant quarter of the world, where they committed all imaginable injury upon our commerce, frequently devastating the sea port towns of our colonies, and enriching themselves with the plunder of the inhabitants. It was their frequent return to port, which occasioned the stinging epigram upon Lord Howe, when he was commander of the channel fleet.

“ Lord Howe he went out.
Lord ! how he came in.”

When the channel fleet under Admiral Geary came to an anchor at Portsmouth, the sickness amongst the men was truly alarming. A kind of epidemic appeared to rage throughout the whole of the fleet, there being at one time above three thousand on the sick list. It was calculated at the time, that had the fleet circumnavigated the globe, the amount of sickness could not have been greater. In the midst of it all, however, Prince William enjoyed the most perfect state of health, not having a single day's illness, during the whole of the two months cruise. It must, however, be generally remarked, that with

the exception of an hereditary complaint, to which the royal family are subject, and some people affirm that there are *two*, it must be admitted, that a family with better or more wholesome constitutions could not be found in England, than the royal family exhibited in their youth, before it was worn down and emaciated by vice and debauchery.

If, however, Prince William escaped the contagion of sickness, he was not exempt from the perils incidental to his profession, for his life was at one time in considerable danger when in a storm off Cape Finisterre, the Prince George, and the Duke of 90 guns were driven so close to each other, that a collision was momentarily expected, which if it had taken place, would in all probability have sent both ships to the bottom. It was a most trying and anxious moment; all the expedients were tried, which the highest nautical skill could suggest, and after the most strenuous exertions by the respective crews, the impending danger was averted, and the ships and the men providentially saved.

On the 28th August, the Prince George set sail again from Spithead on a cruise, with twelve sail of the line and two frigates, for the protection of the homeward bound West India trade. Notwithstanding, however, this apparent activity in sending out different squadrons to sea, the disasters which befel the maritime commerce of the country at this particular juncture was of the most serious and alarming nature. The channel fleet was cruising off Cape Finisterre; Admiral Digby was at sea with a powerful squadron, and Vice Admiral Darby was in another part of the channel in the *Britannia* of one hundred guns, with a formidable fleet under his command, and under the powerful protection of these respective fleets, a rich and considerable convoy, attended by the *Ramilies* and two frigates, sailed from Portsmouth, and were intercepted by the combined fleets under Don Lewis de Cordova. The *Ramilies* with the frigates, and a few merchantmen escaped; but more than fifty sail were carried into Cadiz. Besides the immense value of the merchandize, a number of the ships were loaded with naval and military stores, for the settlements in their respective places of

destination. About the same time, an account was received of the capture of fourteen ships of the outward bound Quebec fleet, by some American privateers off the banks of Newfoundland, and this concurrence of losses spread a general gloom throughout the nation; the people were dissatisfied with the administration of affairs both at home and abroad, and the public despondence was at this period, not a little increased by an alliance which had been entered into by the northern Powers, under the name of "the armed neutrality," and by the disposition which was evinced by Holland at the same time to come to an open rupture, on the first ground of complaint which could be well established.

Admiral Digby's fleet kept the sea for about three months, during which time he caught a *glimpse* of the enemy's fleet, which, under a Nelson, or a Codrington, would have ended in obtaining a full view of them, and conducting them afterwards into a British port; for, although there was no actual deficiency of personal bravery in the British navy, yet, the hostile fleets frequently obtained a *glimpse* of each other, and immediately afterwards, either darkness or a fog came on, and when the morning light appeared, or the fog had dispersed, the glimpse was gone also, and the English fleet then regularly returned into port to refit, or for a fresh supply of provisions. A fleet leaving an English port, and being obliged to return into port in two months for provisions, would at the present day, be the precursor of the dissolution of the Board of Admiralty, and justly expose them to the odium of the whole nation.

It was in some respects, fortunate for the future interests of the British navy, that the son of the King of England became himself an eye-witness of many of the glaring abuses, which existed at this time in the administration of the naval affairs of this country, for although the lowness of the rank which he held, prevented him from openly exposing them, yet he treasured them in his memory, and afterwards turned his observations to good account for the benefit of his country. The character of his Royal Highness, was, indeed, now beginning to settle itself into something of a definite kind, and his

obliging manners, openness of conduct, and perfect absence of all the assumptions, connected with his high rank and station, became the admiration of his fellow-midshipmen, as well as of their most brotherly attachment. He would never suffer the adulations of any individual to be dealt out to him, even his address of Royal Highness, was far more honoured in the omission, and upon all occasions, the Prince took more pleasure in being placed on a level, and sharing in the fun and frolic, as well as in the duties of his messmates, as if he was no more than their equal in private life. He was generous in the highest degree, and cheerfully shared his more ample mess provision with the whole berth. His Royal Highness was allowed a thousand a year for his table, and by that singular obliquity of judgement in many matters, for which George III. was distinguished, added to some penny-wise, and pound-foolish notions, which at times crept into his brain, he only allowed his son two hundred more, when he commanded a ship of his own. The Prince never allowed the poorest midshipman of the mess, to feel that he was differently circumstanced from the rest. His kindness to all was uniformly the same, and the consequence was, that every one exhibited towards him that esteem and regard, which result from right conduct, and urbane bearing. Every one of his messmates regarded him with the strongest attachment, which was won by the personal conduct of his Royal Highness in the intercourse of duty and companionship. The private seamen were wonderfully charmed with his affability, and he naturally stood the foremost in their esteem. His Royal Highness being free from pride, and forgetting in good humour the accidental circumstances of his birth, and more than all, being given to the humour and the frolic, which the commonest seaman knows how to feel from sharing it himself, were bonds of strong attachment on their part to any officer, though he might not be one of so elevated a rank in society, but with such a one, they told most effectively.

Perhaps, no two brothers formed a more striking contrast

in their dispositions, and pursuits, than George, Prince of Wales, the heir apparent to the Crown, and Prince William Henry, a common midshipman on board of a man of war. The latter was, indeed, exempt from many of those temptations to which his elder brother was daily and hourly exposed, and which gradually rendered him one of the most accomplished libertines of his age. In no period of the history of this country, was the odious vice of gambling carried to such an extraordinary height as it was when the Prince of Wales was on the eve of his majority. He frequently lost more at one nights play, than the whole annual income of his sailor brother, and it became a passion so deeply rooted in the right reverend Father in God, the Bishop of Osnaburg, that it followed him through life, and at last reduced him to the most abject state of pauperism and disgrace; the scandal of his name, the contempt of his nation. At the period of which we are now writing, the most desperate doings were carried on at the gambling table, which was regularly frequented by the royal Princes, but from the contamination of which, Prince William was fortunately preserved. The principal performers at the hazard table, and at faro, were several of the most talented men of those days, and the associates of the royal Princes. On the authority of Lord Lauderdale, the immense sum of five thousand pounds was staked on a single card at faro, and on authority equally credible, we find the appalling fact of Mr. Fox having played at hazard for twenty-two consecutive hours, losing at the rate of five hundred pounds in each hour. So infatuated, indeed, was this justly celebrated, though too often ill-judging man with the passion for deep play, that he was once heard to declare, that the greatest pleasure in his life, was to play and win, and next, to play and lose; and this man was the bosom friend, the adviser of the heir apparent to the Crown of England. This much, however, may be said of Mr. Fox, that no imputation of unfair play was ever attached to him, even in those days, which were those of the gambling royal Princes, the first Lord Barrymore, Sir

John Lade, and others, whose splendid patrimonies were absolutely devoured by the sharks of those times, in little more than three years.

We cannot in this place, refrain from touching upon the character of an individual, who unfortunately became the companion of the illustrious object of these memoirs, when he was Duke of Clarence, and who contributed not not a little, to involve him in that disgrace, which with the conduct of his royal brothers, contributed much to bring royalty into disrepute, and to attach a stigma upon him, which required a length of time to wipe off. This individual was the celebrated Matthias Byrne, an Irish adventurer, of neither birth nor education; so deficient was he, indeed, in the latter, that he was not able to endite a common business letter. His having volunteered his services, however, to Lord Lyttleton, in a quarrel that nobleman had with *the* Fitzgerald of those days, commonly called the fighting Fitzgerald, which occurred in a crowded assembly in Vauxhall Gardens, gave him a slender introduction to a certain class of persons of ton, which his native assurance enabled him to make the most of. And this was all that was wanted, for he was a skilful and successful gambler, which, by enabling him to play the *gros jeu*, in a certain circle to which he had access, did more for him in six months, with the help of his assurance, than the Lyttletons, and all their interest could have done for him in any other way, in six years. Not only the doors of the nobility, but the saloons of royalty were no longer shut against him. He was received at the tables of the great, and the greatest amongst the great did not scruple to grace his luxuriously supplied board in return. He has been heard to boast of having had at one time at his table, two Princes of the blood, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Clarence, four Dukes, three Duchesses, besides Ministers from foreign Courts, and others of high distinction, and those of both sexes. But the attraction was neither for his society, for there was nothing there to attract, nor his dinners. It was the mania for deep play at that memorable epoch, and this in either sex. that brought the strange and ill-

assorted congregation together. Sitting down one evening to play piquet in private, he found himself the winner of a hundred thousand pounds. Being aware of the inability of his antagonist to pay the whole sum, and suspecting, if he could not pay the whole, he might pay none, he designedly suffered him to recover all he had won from him, except ten thousand pounds, which he received. In consequence of this masterly manœuvre, the witty Mr. Hare gave him the name of XENOPHON O'BYRNE, from his retreat with the ten thousand. These things were in the mouths of men some forty or fifty years back, and it may not be amiss to exhibit such disgusting scenes, independently of their connexion with the Duke of Clarence, as the Greeks did their helots, to the rising generation, and with the same end in view. It was an opinion of *the* Lord Chesterfield, that ten times more people are ruined by the adoption of vice, than from natural inclination to it, and gaming may be truly classed under the head of adopted vices, the catalogue of which, it is to be feared, is the longest of the two.

From this passing sketch of cards, dice, and billiard balls, we pass to other scenes in which a different ball was used, although in one respect they were similar, for both had to do with *cannons*. About the middle of December, Admiral Darby, with Admiral Digby, second in command, returned to Spithead, without any particular occurrence having taken place during his cruise, in fact it was one of those useless manifestations of power, which produced no benefit to the country, for the English fleet seldom ventured *out* of the channel, and it was not *in* the channel that an enemy of any formidable description was to be found. In fact, some of the captains of the British navy, were at this period, not very highly celebrated for their love of fighting, as was particularly evinced in the case of the *Isis* of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Evelyn Sutton, who on his passage from the Nore to Spithead, fell in with the *Rotterdam*, a Dutch ship of war, of fifty guns, when after a short action, both ships, as if by consent, mutually sheered off, and very coolly pursued their respective courses.

It cannot be disputed, that at this period, the Board of Admiralty was one of the most venal and corrupt that ever guided the naval affairs of the country. Every thing was carried by the power of favouritism, and particular ships were allowed to make their summer campaign, as it has been ridiculously styled, and then to remain in port until the following spring, although at the very time, perhaps, the enemy's fleets were scouring the ocean, destroying the commerce of the country and carrying the sinews of war to the transatlantic belligerents. Of this kind of summer campaigning ships, was the Prince George, the trial ship of Prince William Henry, and, perhaps, neither Admiral Digby, nor his crew entertained any objection to be riding comfortably and snugly at Spithead, until Prince William had passed his Christmas holidays with his royal parents in the magnificent halls of Windsor. It is certain, that the Earl of Sandwich protested in very strong terms against these periodical absences of his Royal Highness from the duties of his ship; and he argued that they were likely to instil into him a dislike for the naval profession, rather than contribute to his advancement. The Queen did as much as tell my Lord Sandwich to mind his own business, and not to interfere in a matter, which in no way concerned him;—that it was the will of the King, that his son should enjoy some relaxation from his arduous duties, and especially, as he himself had expressed a wish to take leave of his brother, the bishop of Osnaburg, who was about to leave England for some time to learn the military art in Germany. The Earl of Sandwich was not the most polished courtier in the purlieu of St. James, and on retiring from the presence of her Majesty, he was heard to say. “If the Queen does not know her duty, I know mine.”

We have in a previous part of this work cursorily hinted at the great advantage which this country has derived from the military talents and prowess of the royal family, especially of the Duke of York, who because he had been sent to be instructed in the military art in the first school of Europe, was consequently deemed fit and capable to command an army against the experienced officers of France. His Royal High-

ness took with him to the court of Berlin, in the capacity of a tutor, a worthy superannuated colonel of the name of Greville, who had risen gradually to his rank by favouritism and influence; and he had never seen any actual service, but by his suppleness as a courtier, he was well calculated to be a bear-leader at one of the proudest courts of Europe. Instruction, however, by no means implies the acquisition of knowledge, for there are some faculties so obtuse, so impervious to every thing having any affinity to intellectual brightness, that a ray of knowledge imparted to them is refracted like the beam of light from the block of marble. George III., if he had possessed a common degree of penetration, must have seen the bias of the disposition of his son Frederick, long before the time appointed for the commencement of his military scholarship, and further, George III. could not be ignorant of what was well known throughout all Europe, that the court of Berlin was at the period of the Duke of York visiting it, one of the most profligate and immoral of all the European courts. The reigning monarch himself was, in morality, a decided latitudinarian, the females of the court were notorious for their departure from the commonest rules of chastity and decorum, and the courtiers, who buzzed about them, were men immersed in debauchery and licentiousness. And was this a proper court at which to fix the residence of a young prince for a considerable length of time, who had in him by nature the seeds of the most dangerous vices, and which only wanted opportunity and encouragement to spring up into a most baneful luxuriance. The Duke of York was sent to Prussia, to fit him for being placed at the head of the English army, and when occasion required it, to command it in the day of battle. He, therefore, attended all the reviews, paid some attention to the evolutions of the Prussian infantry, then supposed to be the best disciplined in Europe, he admired some of their cumbersome, harlequin uniforms and having thus amused himself in the morning, he was certain to be found at the gambling table in the evening, or paying his devotions to some of the celebrated beauties of the court, whose favours were a direct purchasable commodity; but

who possessed the art of assuming the guise of virtue, to render the possession of them more desirable. We have only to cast a retrospective view upon the achievements of the Duke of York at the head of a British army in France and Holland, to arrive at once at a just conclusion of the great advantage which the country derived from a seven years' residence of the Duke of York at the court of Frederick the Great. The truth appears to lie in the circumstance that his Royal Highness did not possess capacity sufficient for the complicated and arduous duties of a military commander in the face of an enemy, or if he did possess the requisite capacity, it had been completely stultified in him by his gross addiction to sensual enjoyments, and to a fatal adherence to those vicious propensities, which brought him at last to beggary and disgrace. The Duke possessed in an eminent degree the family virtue of courage; but it is a mistake fatal to many brave men in this instance, that there was a supposed royal road to the military genius, required for leading armies through a successful campaign. The Duke of York was better acquainted with the strategy of the faro table, than he was with that of the field of battle; at the former, however, with all his skill, he was a decided loser, losing that frequently which was not his own, and at the latter, he was also a deplorable loser, losing that which he never afterwards recovered, that is, if a man can be said ever to lose that, which he never possessed.

Colonel Greville was commissioned to see that the very best masters in the art of war, which the Prussian service could produce, were to be selected as the instructors of the future Alexander of the British empire; but unfortunately for the royal pupil, the colonel in his selection of the ablest tacticians, forgot to take into his account, that some degree of respectability of character was required in the instructions of a royal youth, not the most eminent in the world for a strict adherence to the maxims of morality; nor did the too easy Colonel Greville ever take into his consideration, that an individual may be an excellent tactician, and yet a very bad man. And unfortunately for the royal duke, the two characters were very intimately

blended in two of the individuals to whom the instruction of the royal duke was entrusted. One of them was one of the most expert engineers in the Prussian service, and no one was better calculated to impart to his royal pupil the entire strategy of a siege; but on the other hand there was not a more skilful adept in the art of undermining female virtue, or taking it by assault, if a good opportunity presented itself. Thus in the day-time he taught his pupil the tactics of war, and at night the tactics of women, and there is very little doubt existing as to which science he exhibited the greatest proficiency.

In the departure of the Duke of York for the continent, for the purpose of being germanized in his manners and habits, the Prince of Wales lost the brother and friend of his youth, and the parting between them was of the most affecting nature. In regard to Prince William, he had been for some time estranged from them, nor at any time, having a different place of residence, did he ever stand with his elder brothers on those intimate terms of reciprocal friendship for which the connexion between the Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnaburg was distinguished. A copious stream of tears is said to have fallen down the cheeks of the former on taking leave of his brother, and also that Prince William was much affected at the parting scene. A description of such milk-and-water sensibilities may do very well for the pages of a novel, but they are sadly out of place, and out of character also, when they are meant to apply to George Prince of Wales on the occasion of the separation from his brother.

“ 'Tis rare that prince's cheeks are stain'd with tears,
They feel not for the woes of other men ;
But in their own iniquities immersed,
All human griefs become their mockery.”

The season of festivity for Prince William was drawing to a close, and as the Prince George was one of the ships destined for the relief of Gibraltar, his return to his ship was an act of immediate necessity. The birthday of his royal mother was celebrated on the 18th of January, by a splendid ball which was given at St. James's, at which Prince William danced al-

most the whole of the evening with the Hon. Miss Julia Fortescue, one of the rising beauties of the British Court. The charms of this truly angelic girl made a deep impression upon the heart of the youthful sailor, and it subsequently transpired, that an affection had taken root in her heart for Prince William, which was obliged ultimately to yield to the unnatural and severe provisions of the Marriage Act. The Prince of Wales and Prince William, were at this time, similarly situated in regard to the affections of their heart, the former having placed them on the beautiful Lady Sarah Campbell, and the latter on Miss Fortescue. The affection was returned on both sides, and yet it was well known by all the parties, that they could never be united to each other, by the ties of wedlock. George III. stepped in between them, with his odious and tyrannical Marriage Act. It was the sacrifice of the happiness of his children, to a false aristocratical notion of royal legitimacy, as if royal legitimacy had not entailed a greater misery upon every country, in which it is fastidiously revered, than any other of the political institutions by which the royal dynasty is to be supported. Legitimacy was a very tender subject for George III. to enter upon, and he boasted of the possession of it upon the same principle, that the man boasts the most of his honour, who is conscious to himself that he has a very small portion of that commodity belonging to him. No law could be more pernicious in its effect upon the general morals of society, than that which prevents the sons of a British King from contracting marriage without permission demanded, and which if demanded, is certain of being refused, and especially when it is well known, that such permission never is to be expected for any of those marriages of the heart, those contracts of love, which nature allows, and in which it places the supreme felicity of mankind.

Such a law could only emanate from a Monarch who was utterly deprived of all foresight as to the consequences which might ultimately arise, and although he did not live to see half of the disgrace which has been brought upon almost all the

branches of his family, not even excepting some of the female ones, by his odious enactment, yet he saw enough in the connexions which his two elder sons formed, to give any one but himself, an abhorrence of such an oppressive law.

The occasional aberrations of young men of rank and fortune, before they arrive at that period of life, when they become fit for the marriage state, are comparatively of little importance; they are generally secret, and at all events have little more effect on society, as operating in the way of example, than the play of school-boys, or the tricks of madmen. But Princes without the prospect of ever entering into the marriage state, are driven to do from necessity, and in a permanent manner, what men of rank only do in a casual way. They are forced to continue in their riper years, those practices, which youth only can excuse, except where the law of nature is inverted by the law of man.

The British Princes are condemned to celibacy, that is, they cannot chuse a partner for life amongst that honourable rank of society, in which they would naturally find one possessed of education and virtue. They cannot live like husbands, or if they do, it is one of those forced, ceremonious marriages, in which the heart is never consulted, but merely the *prospect* of a perpetuation of the family, in two instances of which, the prospect was rendered abortive, namely the Duke of York and the Duke of Clarence. Their children cannot inherit either the property or the respectability enjoyed by their father, and in every respect, the religious and moral law is infringed in their persons. But we have heard it said, this is the price they pay for being Princes. Yes, indeed, and who gave the Government or the nation any right to impose that price? Are they Princes with their own consent? Are they not born like other men, and, therefore, by the Constitution of this free country, have all the rights enjoyed by their fellow subjects? It is as much an infraction of the Constitution of the country, as if it were enacted that the child born to a peasant, was to be a slave. The whole feudal system had nothing

more tyrannical in its nature than this law, the only difference is, that it extends no further than to the Royal Family, whereas the feudal despotism extended far and wide; but it is not the extent of the operation in which consists the justice or injustice, or the wound inflicted on religious and moral principle, but in the nature of the law itself.

No nation ever preserved liberty, or was prosperous long after its manners became corrupted, and nothing tends more to preserve purity of manners than respect for the marriage bed, without that, the bonds of society are loosened and the last age is always more degenerate than that which preceded it. The history of Rome affords ample proof of this, and no other people had so regular a rise, so high an ascent, or so perceptible a decline as the Romans. Amongst that great people, nothing important was effected by chance or accident; the moral and physical causes of their rise, their grandeur, and their fall, are all as evident as the connexion between cause and effect could well be. From a consideration of the whole, nothing is more certain than that when their manners were pure and virtuous, they rose; when they grew vicious and licentious, they began rapidly to decline. The periods are as distinctly marked, as in the age of a plant, or of an animal, and, therefore, the conclusion is not vague, but certain, and it is shortly this, that on purity of manners depends the prosperity of a state, and on holding sacred the ties of marriage, depends in a great measure, the purity of manners amongst a people.

Another and important truth, that is learned from the history of all civilized countries is, that the example of the higher ranks influences those below, and that, therefore, the greatest importance ought to be attached to giving good examples by the higher classes.

In a free country, manners are of more importance in many cases, than laws, for they have no influence on the conduct of men where laws cannot interfere, and no vice is ever prevalent, unless it can, by some concurrence of circumstances

be freed from that reproach, opprobrium, or contempt, which are more terrible than the minor punishments inflicted by law.

The expedient or invention of not permitting Princes to marry with subjects is but a recent one, before that was adopted, and even when it was adopted, people were ignorant, and acted on principle and from motives, which they would now consider as the most ridiculous. This is similar to the laws made against the Roman Catholics, which at the time might be wise, but which a more enlightened age have annulled. The wars of York and Lancaster, are just as incompatible with the present times, as the burning of the Protestants at Smithfield; neither the policy, nor the manners of this age, would admit of a repetition of such things.

Some laws are made for permanent, and some for temporary or occasional purposes. The laws against Catholics were of the latter sort; they were to prevent certain evils, which the existing manner of thinking gave reason to apprehend; when that manner of thinking ceased, then the law might have been revoked, as we extinguish our light when the day appears, or as the traveller lays aside his arms of defence, when returned from his journey.

It is not a little singular that the human mind is so framed, that where there is no hope, there is seldom any desire, but amongst so many beautiful and accomplished women, who at the period of which we are now writing, graced the British Court, it was by no means an improbable case, that at least some of the Princes would find one, on whom to fix his affections, and whose affections he might gain, could he pay his addresses as other men; on the other hand, neither Lady Sarah Campbell nor Miss. Fortescue could ever hope to see themselves the acknowledged wives of the royal Princes, and therefore the assiduous attentions of one of the Princes to any particular lady, was tantamount to the ruin of her character.

We have been led into this discussion of the principles and propriety of the royal Marriage Act, by the effects which have displayed themselves, and *are about to display themselves* in

certain branches of the Royal Family, which morally and politically speaking are of paramount interest to the country. If we consider the condition in which that act placed the heir apparent to the Crown, we find that it rendered him both a bigamist and an adulterer; if we direct our look to the Duke of York, we find him living with a prostitute, in a state of separation from his wife, his marriage being one of *state necessity*. If we look to the Duke of Clarence, the consequences of his connexion with Mrs. Jordan are now beginning to show themselves in the ejection of his illegitimate offspring from the court of Queen Victoria, and their probable departure from the country altogether. If we look to the Duke of Sussex, we see his legitimate offspring bastardized by the act of his father, and which politically considered, is attended by some curious circumstances. The Marriage Act of George III. does not extend to Hanover, and there is no law existing in that country which dissolves the marriage of the Duke of Sussex, or illegitimatises the children of that marriage. On the event of the present King of Hanover, and his son dying without issue, the Crown of Hanover devolves to the Duke of Sussex, and at his death, the present Colonel D'Este as the legitimate son of the Duke in Hanover, though illegitimate in England would ascend the throne; thus the political paradox would be exhibited of an individual sitting on the throne of a continental power, and exercising all the privileges of monarchy, who in his native country could not inherit an acre of land, who bears the name of D'Este by courtesy and not by right, and who is deprived of many of the political privileges of the meanest subject.

We will willingly draw the veil over one of the female branches of the royal family, who in an estrangement from the world and in solitude is deploring the power of nature over law. To the unnatural Marriage Act is she indebted for the hermit life which she is now leading, a stranger from the court of which she was once a distinguished ornament, and repudiated by society as a fallen being. These are thy glories, George III., these thy triumphs over the laws of God and nature. It is this

thy triumph which now throws such a depressing gloom over the political horizon of the country. We are no flatterers nor sycophants of a court. We listen with indignation to the pompous eulogies which are so profusely scattered around, of the benefits to be derived by the nation from the government of an inexperienced girl of eighteen years old, we know well what they all mean, as well as the purpose which they are meant to serve. But weak as our affection has hitherto been for royalty, that weakness of affection has now been considerably increased, as we have a convincing proof before us, that the affairs of this country can be carried on as well without a monarch as with one, for it is an actual burlesque upon the government of this country, monarchically speaking, to hear of the ministers of the country having an audience of her Majesty to take her commands on certain points, on which she cannot but be profoundly ignorant—to see the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Lord Chancellor prostrating themselves to receive her Majesty's commands respecting church preferments, of which her Majesty knew not a tittle before the said Archbishop or the said Lord Chancellor presented themselves before her—to see Lord Hill bending before her, himself bending with the load of promotions in the army for individuals, who as far as Majesty knows anything of them, may or may not know the difference between a bayonet and a sword—all these things shew us that monarchy is after all but a name, for which the people are called upon to pay most enormously, and that the ministers of the day, are in fact, the sovereigns of the country.

From this digressive matter, which has in a certain degree been forced upon us, by the relative situation of the Princes of the blood royal at that important period of their life, when the affections of the human heart are beginning to unfold themselves, we return to Prince William, and in the language of the sailor, to "the girl of his heart." The grave has now closed upon her, and she is beyond our censure or our praise, but a more lovely creature never blessed the earth with her presence. Her family, at the time of her first acquaintance with Prince William resided in Piccadilly, fronting the Green Park, and as

the royal family resided at St James's during the winter, many a stolen interview did he obtain with her, at which, he little thought of the inseparable barrier, which the love of royal legitimacy, inhabiting his father's breast, had placed between them. It was not, however, to be supposed, that situated as Prince William was, surrounded by a hundred eyes, and the greater part in the heads of females, who are ever on the alert to satisfy their curiosity on any subject, with which the least mystery is concerned, could not long remain undetected in his stolen interviews, and they, having come to the knowledge of a few of the antiquated gossips of the palace, the information was privately communicated to the Queen; and the pride of the Mecklenburg Strelitzes was aroused to the highest pitch at the bare thought of one of her sons forming an attachment for any female below the rank of a German princess, who, if we may judge by the samples which have been imported into this country are a race of women the most deficient in personal beauty, or any of those charms that captivate the human heart, that can be found in Europe. The transgression which Prince William had committed was communicated to the royal father, who congratulated himself on his wisdom in the enactment of the Marriage Law, and forgetting that he himself had in his youth formed an attachment for a person of much more ignoble birth than the object of his son's affections, and which, as some *living witnesses* can attest, went considerably further than the connexion had as yet gone between Prince William and Miss Fotescue, he thought, (but wisdom is not always the attendant on the thoughts of kings,) that the most efficacious method of eradicating from his son's breast so dangerous a propensity as that of love, was to hurry off to his ship, where he he would have other subjects to think of and other scenes to engage his attention than the Green Park of London, and the beautiful form of Matilda Fortescue. Kings are powerful beings; but where the affections of the heart are concerned, and which they wish to bring under their control, they are powerless and impotent. The lovers were to be separated,

but

Heaven taught letters for some wretch's aid.
Some banished lover, or some captive maid.

And a correspondence was established between them, which was carried on for some time, and the fervent breathings of Matilda's love, cheered the young sailor on his midnight watch, and stamped a pride and nobleness on his character, which is ever the attendant of a virtuous love.

It was not to be expected that Prince William could leave the palace of his father, without a severe reprimand for the high transgression which he had committed in entertaining an affection for a lady, whom the laws of his country would never allow him to marry, without the consent of himself and his Privy Council. Prince William, however, could not be made exactly to comprehend what business the Privy Council had to interfere between him and his private attachments; they concerned himself alone, and he did not know how he was to be made responsible to a set of strangers for those acts, on which his happiness in life depended, and respecting the objects, by which that happiness was to be promoted or confirmed, he, certainly, was a better judge than any other person could possibly be. "I should think it," said Prince William, "a great act of presumption in Admiral Digby telling me what I shall eat, or what I shall not eat, and I deem it equally an act of presumption in the Privy Council, dictating to me whom I shall love, or whom I shall not love."

These high independent sentiments were rather grating to the ears of the haughty monarch, who could never brook the slightest infringement or inroad upon his royal prerogative or parental authority, and he tried to convince his son, that he, as the son of the King of England, was subject to other laws, particularly in regard to marriage, than any other of his subjects, and that it was an act of great imprudence in him, not to call it by a harsher name, to trifle with the affections of a beautiful and virtuous girl, which if persisted in, could only lead to her misery through the remainder of her life.

Prince William listened to these admonitions of his royal father, with that attention which a person generally manifests, who is determined in his own mind to discard them from his thoughts altogether. He felt himself subject to a law superior to that of man, and by that he was determined that his conduct should be regulated.

It was the latter end of January that Prince William returned to his naval duties on board the *Prince George*, then lying at Spithead. He was received by his messmates and all the officers of the ship with the most hearty welcome, and ordering half a dozen of wine to be taken into the midship's berth, they passed the evening in joviality and mirth, although distinguished by many of those mischievous frolics, which perhaps under any other circumstances, would have led to wrangling, and perhaps to blows.

On the 25th of February, Admiral Digby, with six sail of the line, got under weigh, and steered down the channel on a cruise, which at that time was looked upon as a trip to sea for about three weeks or a month, and then return to port to refit and revictual. The utility or necessity of a considerable fleet cruising in a sea where no enemy was to be found, except a straggling privateer or a fishing cock-boat, when their services might have been of great avail elsewhere, became a subject of inquiry, and brought the existing Board of Admiralty into disrepute, by frittering away the resources of the country, when our foreign possessions were in the most imminent danger of being captured by a vigilant and enterprising enemy.

Spain was at this time so intent upon the reduction of Gibraltar, that she scarcely seemed to have another object in the war. The stupendous works which she raised before the place, were covered with the most formidable artillery that had ever perhaps been known in any siege, but all her efforts could not prevent timely relief from being conveyed to the garrison. Prince William had been engaged in the relief of it, under Rodney, and he was now about to assist in accomplishing the same purpose under Admiral Darby, who sailed on

the 13th of March with the Channel fleet, having under his command, 200 sail for the relief of that important fortress. He was joined by Admiral Digby, in the Prince George in the Channel, and a finer display of naval power had scarcely ever been seen by the oldest seamen. The equinoctial gales had set in, blowing furiously from the westward, and considerable difficulty was experienced in keeping the convoy together, or preventing some of them from falling into the hands of the sharks, as the sailors termed them, which consisted of a number of well-armed privateers, which hung about the rear of the fleet, with the hope of cutting off some of the stragglers, whose heavy sailing or damages committed by the wind might throw out of the protection of the men of war. From a series of contrary winds, the fleet did not reach Cape Spartel until the 11th of April, when Admiral Darby despatched the Kite cutter with a letter to General Elliot, informing him of the relief that was approaching him. The Spaniards had at that time a large fleet in Cadiz ready for sea, and considering the vast importance which they attached to the reduction of Gibraltar, it was a matter of surprise to all, that they did not push their fleet out to sea, for even if they avoided a general engagement, no doubt whatever existed, that they might have done great damage to the transports, if not scattered the fleet altogether. On the 12th, the whole of the convoy with four ships of the line, and some frigates for their protection, anchored in Rosier Bay, whilst the remainder of the squadron kept in the offing to protect them from any attack which might be made upon them by the Spaniards.

Mr. Gilpin, in his celebrated work on "Picturesque Scenery," presents us with an animated description of the appearance of the fleet.

"It was near day-break on the 12th of April, 1781, when a message was brought from the signal-house, at the summit of the rock, that the long expected fleet, under Admiral Darby, was in sight.

"Innumerable masts were first discovered from that lofty situation, but could not be seen from the lower part of the

Castle, being obscured by a thick fog, which had set in from the west, and totally obscured the opening of the straits. In this uncertainty, the garrison remained for some time, while the fleet invested in obscurity, moved slowly towards the Castle. In the meantime, the sun becoming more powerful, the fog rose, like the curtain of a vast theatre, and discovered at once the whole fleet, full and distinct before the eye. The convoy consisting of nearly three hundred vessels, were in a compact body, led on by twenty-eight sail of the line, and a number of tenders, and other smaller vessels. A gentle wind just filled their sails, and brought them forward with a slow and solemn motion. Had all the grand exhibition been presented gradually, the sublimity of it would have been injured by the acquaintance the eye would have made with it during its approach, but the appearance of it in all its greatness at once, before the eye had examined the detail, had a wonderful effect."

The ships were no sooner brought to their moorings, and the victuallers had begun to unload their cargoes, than the Spaniards opened a tremendous fire upon them from the batteries and gun-boats. Some idea may be formed of the tremendous power which the Spaniards had collected for the reduction of the fortress, by the circumstance alone, that not less than 1200 pieces of heavy ordnance, of various kinds, were pointed towards the garrison. The quantity of shot, shells, powder, military stores, and provisions, were so immense, as to exceed all credibility. The gunpowder alone amounted to 83,000 barrels. Twelve thousand French troops were sent as a reinforcement to the Spanish army. The Count d'Artois, the Duc de Bourbon, and many others of the distinguished nobility of France, were assembled in the allied camp, in order to partake in the glory which was expected to be derived from so illustrious an enterprize as the reduction of this fortress. Besides the combined fleet, forty gun-boats, with heavy cannon, many bomb-vessels, with each a twelve-inch mortar, and five large bomb-ketches, on the usual construction, were destined to second the powerful efforts of the battering ships;

three hundred large boats were collected from every part of Spain, which were to be employed in landing the troops, so soon as a breach could be made.

The garrison having been effectually relieved, Admiral Darby, with Admiral Digby, in the *Prince George*, second in command, returned to England, and on the 21st they arrived at Spithead.

Prince William did not on this occasion leave his ship, for report was current at the time that the French fleet were in the chops of the channel, and Admiral Darby sailed in pursuit of them, but they were not to be found.

The theatre of Prince William's services was now to be changed, and he was on the point of entering upon a scene of busier warfare, for Admiral Digby having accompanied Admiral Darby to a certain latitude; they parted company, and Admiral Digby, with the *Prince George*, the *Condor*, of 74, the *Lion*, of 64, and the *Perseverance*, of 36, proceeded to America, and on the 24th of August, the fleet arrived at Sandy Hook.

The arrival of Prince William at New York, was hailed by the inhabitants with every token of loyalty and personal esteem. He was the first of the royal family of England, who had set a foot on the American soil, and his appearance amongst the Americans at this time, operated as a talisman to revive their sinking loyalty, and to stimulate them to fresh exertions in their arduous contests with the revolutionists.

Shortly after the arrival of Prince William at New York, the loyalists got up an address to his Royal Highness, in which the customary fulsome adulation was poured upon him with the utmost profusion, and a great deal of nonsense uttered in regard to his appearance effecting a conciliation between all parties, and putting an end to hostilities. The wrongs of America were, however, of too deep a nature to be cured by the simple appearance of a branch of the royal family of Great Britain, and in some respects, it acted in an inverse ratio; for royalty at that time was by no means in high estimation with the majority of the American people; on the contrary, they had

determined to shake off their allegiance to the Crown of England, and, therefore, to them, it was rather a matter of dislike, than of approval, to see an individual amongst them, who was one of the inheritors of that Crown, and who was actually come among them with the sword in his hand, to enforce their obedience to a government which they repudiated.

To the address of the loyalists, Prince William made a suitable reply, that is, he thanked them for their expressions of loyalty to his Royal Father, and for their determination to uphold the dignity of his Crown. He further informed the loyalists, that he would take the earliest opportunity of communicating their loyal sentiments to his father, who would, no doubt, properly appreciate them, which in other words, was saying, that just as much notice would be taken of them, as of many hundreds of the petitions of the people of England, which are murdered on the table of the House of Commons, without the slightest chance of ever being resuscitated.

The adulation of royalty by the clergy, is one of the surest ways to preferment, whether it be on the shores of America, or in the vicinity of Lambeth Palace on the banks of the Thames, and accordingly, we find that on the first visit of Prince William to the Episcopal church at New York, Dr. Inglis, the rector, seized the very first favourable opportunity of descanting largely on the blessings of royalty, and the great advantage which every country enjoys, which is subject to its sway. He impressed upon his auditors, the remembrance of the inextinguishable debt of gratitude which they owed to the King of England in sending one of his sons amongst them, who came to heal all dissensions, and to rivet closer the bonds of amity between the mother country, and her revolted colonies. Of the real character of Prince William, it may be said with truth, that the worthy divine knew little or nothing; nevertheless, he informed them that the royal Prince, who was then amongst them, was the paragon of every virtue, the focus all that is great and noble in the human character; and he so bespattered the royal youth with his fulsome flattery, that he became nauseated with it, and although it is by no means an uncommon

trait in royalty to swallow the boluses of flattery as fast as they can be administered, yet Prince William had not been much accustomed to have them administered to him on the quarter-deck of a man of war; and, therefore, he felt himself in rather an awkward position, when they were poured down upon him with such an unconscionable profusion by the servile minister of the episcopal church of New York.

It may, or it may not have been the effect of the zealous endeavours of the worthy minister to impress upon his auditors, a proper idea of the transcendent advantages of royalty; but we find Dr. Inglis a short time afterwards in the elevated post of Bishop of Nova Scotia, and it was not long before another opportunity presented itself to him of advocating the cause of royalty, and of telling the inhabitants of Halifax, as he had done those of New York, of the enormous debt of gratitude, which they owed to the King of England in sending another of his well beloved sons, in the person of the Duke of Kent, to be the guardian of their liberties, and the promoter of their national welfare; but respecting which, the records of history give a very different account.

During the residence of his Royal Highness at New York, he took up his residence with the Commander-in-chief, and his habit of sauntering about the city without any guard, and even sometimes without a companion, with the view of seeing everything that was remarkable in the city, exposed him to a most daring attempt, to obtain possession of his person, on the expectation that such an event would bring the war to a more speedy termination. In this affair the character of Washington does not appear in the most favourable light, nor is there any authentic information extant, as to the manner in which the scheme against his Royal Highness was frustrated. The account of the conspiracy, however, was published in America, of which the following are the particulars:—

“When his present Majesty William IV. served in the British navy, he was for some time on the coast of the North American colonies, then in a state of revolution, and passed the winter of 1781 and 1782 in the city of New York. He is still

borne in lively recollection by many of the elder inhabitants of that city, as a fine bluff boy of sixteen; frank, cheery, and affable; and there are anecdotes still told of his frolicsome pranks on shipboard. Among these, is the story of a rough, though favourite nautical joke, which he played off upon a sailor boy, in cutting down his hammock while asleep. The sturdy sea urchin resented this invasion of his repose; and, not knowing the quality of his invader, a regular set-to of fisticuffs ensued in the dark. In this, it is said the Prince showed great bottom—and equal generosity on the following morning, when he made the boy a handsome present of money. His conduct, in this boyish affair, is said to have gained him the hearts of all his shipmates.

“The Prince manifested, when on shore, a decided fondness for manly pastimes. One of his favourite resorts was a small fresh-water lake in the vicinity of the city, which presented a frozen sheet of many acres; and was thronged by the younger part of the population, for the amusement of skating. As the Prince was unskilled in that exercise, he would sit in a chair fixed on runners, which was pushed forward with great velocity by a skating attendant, while a crowd of officers environed him, and the youthful multitude made the air ring with their shouts for Prince William Henry. It was an animating scene, in the bright sunny winter-days, so common in that climate, and probably it retained a place in his Majesty’s memory.

“While the Prince was thus enjoying himself in the city of New York, a daring plan was formed, by some adventurous partisans of the revolutionary army, to pounce upon him, and carry him off from the midst of his friends and guards. The deviser of this plan was Colonel Ogden, a gallant officer, who had served with great bravery in the revolutionary army from the very commencement of the war, and whose regiment at that time was stationed in the province (now state) of New Jersey.

“The present statement is drawn up from documents still preserved by the family of Colonel Ogden, a copy of which has been obtained from one of his sons. The Prince, at that time,

was living on shore, with Admiral Digby, in quarters slightly guarded, more for form, than security, no particular danger being apprehended. The project of Colonel Ogden, was to land secretly on a stormy night, with a small, but resolute force, to surprise and carry off the Prince and the Admiral to the boats, and to make for the Jersey shore. The plan was submitted to General Washington, who sanctioned it, under the idea that the possession of the person of the Prince would facilitate the adjustment of affairs with the mother country, and a recognition of the United States as an independent nation.

“The following is a copy of the letter of General Washington to Colonel Ogden on the occasion. The whole of the original is in the handwriting of the general :—

‘To Colonel Ogden, of the first Jersey Regiment.

‘Sir—The spirit of enterprise so conspicuous in your plan for surprising in their quarters, and bringing off, the Prince William Henry and Admiral Digby, merits applause; and you have my authority to make the attempt in any manner, and at such a time, as your judgement shall direct.

‘I am fully persuaded, that it is unnecessary to caution you against offering insult or indignity to the persons of the Prince or Admiral, should you be so fortunate as to capture them; but it may not be amiss to press the propriety of a proper line of conduct upon the party you command.

‘In case of success, you will, as soon as you get them to a place of safety, treat them with all possible respect; but you are to delay no time in conveying them to Congress, and reporting your proceedings, with a copy of these orders.

Given at Morris Town, this 28th day of March, 1782.

G. WASHINGTON.

‘Note,—Take care not to touch upon the ground which is agreed to be neutral—viz., from Rayway to Newark, and four miles back.’

“Before relating the particulars of this plan, it may be expedient to state, that the city of New York is situated on the point of an island which advances into the centre of a capacious bay. A narrow arm of the sea, vulgarly called the East River, separates it on the left from Long or Nassau Island; and the Hudson, commonly called the North River, separates it from the state of New Jersey. The British army was in possession of the city, and was strengthened by a fleet; but the opposite bank of the Hudson, which is about two miles wide, was under

the power of Congress, and the revolutionary army was stationed at no great distance in New Jersey, in a winter encampment of wooden huts.

“The party that should undertake this enterprise would have to embark in boats for the Jersey shore; and it was essential that the whole affair should be accomplished between sun and sun.

“The following is the plan intended to be observed, copied literally from the original, in the handwriting of Colonel Ogden:—

“It will be necessary to have four whale-boats, (which can be procured without cause for suspicion;) they must be well manned by their respective crews, including guides, &c.; besides these, one captain, one subaltern, three sergeants, and thirty-six men, with whom the boats can row with ease.—N.B. It is known where the boats are, and that they can be collected without suspicion, with their oars-men; and it is taken for granted the owners will not object; though, for fear of giving the least cause of alarm, nothing has yet been said to them.

“The time of embarkation must be the first wet night after we are prepared. The place is not yet agreed on, as it will be necessary to consult those skilled in the tides, previous to determining, which must be put off until we are as nearly prepared as possible, for fear of inferences being drawn from our inquiries. We must, however, set off from such part of the Jersey shore as will give us time to be in the city by half-past nine. The men must be embarked in the order of debarkation.

“The Prince quarters in Hanover-square, and has two sentinels from the 40th British regiment, that are quartered in Lord Stirling’s old quarters in Broad-street, 200 yards from the scene of action. The main guard, consisting of a captain and forty men, is posted at the City Hall—a sergeant and twelve, at the head of the old slip—a sergeant and twelve, opposite the coffeehouse: these are troops we may be in danger from, and must be guarded against. The place of

landing, at Coenties Market, between the two sergeants' guards, at the head of the old slip, and opposite the coffee-house.

"The order of debarkation to agree with the mode of attack, as follows :—

"First—Two men with a guide, seconded by two others, for the purpose of seizing the sentinels, these men to be armed with naked bayonets, and dressed in sailors' habits: they are not to wait for anything, but immediately execute their orders.

"Second—Eight men, including guides, with myself, preceded by two men with each a crow-bar, and two with each an axe—these for the purpose of forcing the doors, should they be fast—and followed by four men entering the house, and seizing the young Prince, the Admiral, the young noblemen, aides, &c.

"Third—A captain and eighteen to follow briskly, form, and defend the house, until the business is finished, and retreat a half gun-shot in our rear.

"Fourth—A subaltern and fourteen, with half of the remaining of the boat's crew, to form on the right and left of the boats, and defend them until we return: the remainder of the crews to hold the boats in the best possible position for embarking.

"Necessary—Two crow-bars, two axes, four dark lanterns, and four large oil-clothes.

"The manner of returning as follows :—

"Six men with guns and bayonets, with those unemployed in carrying off the prisoners, to precede those engaged in that business, followed by the captain (joined by the four men from the sentry) at a half gun-shot distance, who are to halt and give a front to the enemy, until the whole are embarked in the following order :

"First—The prisoners, with those preceding them.

"Second—The guides and boatmen.

"Third—The subalterns and fourteen.

"Fourth the rear."

That Washington not only abetted but approved of his plan, is evident from several letters of his which were written about

this time. That Washington was in many respects a great man cannot be disputed, nor can it be disputed also, that in many instances, he was a very little man indeed. It was the opinion of many of the people of America, and the sentiment has been echoed in this country, that there have appeared in the world only four truly great men, namely, MOSES, GUSTAVUS, KING ALFRED, and GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQUIRE, for so the Americans themselves, though averse to all titles and distinctions, dubbed their General. In the office, in the conduct, and in the achievements of the three first, we do, indeed, perceive a striking resemblance. Moses, though not a king like Alfred and Gustavus, was a ruler appointed by God, and like the two monarchs, he rescued his countrymen from the degrading and painful yoke of a foreign power; but we can scarcely find words to express our indignation at the impudence and ignorance of those, who in defiance of notorious facts, have placed Washington on a footing with those illustrious and wonderful men. Washington was not a king, as Gustavus and Alfred were, neither was he like Moses, a ruler appointed by God, but a ringleader first appointed by a miserable rabble for the paltry consideration of fifty pounds, given by him to a committee of safety in Virginia. Washington, so far from rescuing his countrymen from a foreign yoke, invited foreigners to invade his native country, and actually did, with the assistance of those foreigners, subdue the loyal subjects of his sovereign, and compel them to submit to a yoke, which they hated, and under which they now groan.

We are, however, not going to enter into an analysis of the character of Washington, no further than it is connected with the infamous attempt on the liberty, and perhaps the life of the illustrious subject of these memoirs. The following extract from his letter will shew the interest he took in the conspiracy, and that he had emissaries in New York, who forwarded to him the most correct information on the subject. In one of his letters, he quotes a paragraph from a secret despatch, dated March 23d, which had been transmitted to him by one of the New York spies:—

“Great seems to be their apprehension here. About a fortnight ago a great number of flat boats were discovered by a sentinel from the bank of the river (Hudson’s), which are said to have been intended to fire the suburbs, and in the height of the conflagration to make a descent on the lower part of the city, and wrest from our embraces his Excellency Sir H. Clinton, Prince William Henry, and several other illustrious personages, since which great precautions have been taken for the security of those gentlemen, by augmenting the guards, and to render their persons as little exposed as possible.”

In another letter, dated Newburgh, April 2d, 1782, General Washington observes—“After I wrote to you from Morris Town, I received information that the sentries at the door of Sir Henry Clinton were doubled at eight o’clock every night, from an apprehension of an attempt to surprise him in them. If this be true, it is more than probable the same precaution extends to other personages in the city of New York, a circumstance I thought it proper for you to be advised upon.”

The murder of Major Andre will always remain a blot upon the character of Washington, and the part which he took in the kidnapping of Prince William will always stand in record against him, as one of the most despicable acts of his life. That the capture of Prince William would have been advantageous to the Americans there is no doubt, but on the other hand, the hazard with which the undertaking was attended, was perhaps greater than the advantage which would have been derived from the possession of his person. It is certain that Washington had instructed Colonel Ogden, if he succeeded in his enterprise, to treat his prisoners with all becoming respect; but even this stretch of clemency did not take away the sting from the transaction, it was no more than every person was entitled to, who might be taken in honourable warfare. It was his duty, as belonging to a civilized nation, to treat his prisoners with mercy and respect; and, therefore, his show of clemency towards Prince William, as contained in his orders to Colonel Ogden, was nothing more than pretence and hypocrisy.

It is a singular feature in the character of man, that with the noblest actions is generally allied a certain portion of weakness and inconsistency. No one will deny that Buonaparte was one of the greatest men which this age, or any other, has produced, and yet with all the greatness of his exploits, there was often mingled a littleness of character, which on the casual observer could not fail to make an unfavourable impression. Man is not like the albatross, whose wings never tire, and which preserves its altitude above the earth, as if it scorned to tread upon it; man in the grandeur of his actions, may soar for a time into the heaven of heavens, but the tension of his mind becomes too powerful for him, and he sinks at last to the lowliness and humility of the mere common character. Newton was a great man, and yet few men committed more childish actions. Montaigne, who knew every recess of the human heart, and whose mind was a matchless example of intellectual power, was continually committing some foolish action, which involved him in difficulties and embarrassments. The virtues and vices of an individual generally appear in an equal proportion of strength—where the former are strong, the latter will be strong also; wisdom and folly are frequently allied in the same person, and whether he be a Washington or a Gustavus, a Newton or a Napoleon, we shall still in the midst of the most shining virtues, discover those defects and blemishes, which belong to the mediocre character, and which are always considered as its decided criterion.

The service in which Prince William was now engaged, was rather of a severe nature, for Admiral Digby had not his flag flying upon any particular ship, but moved it as the occasion required, he having a considerable number of small vessels under his command, which were employed as cruisers against the enemy's privateers, which swarmed in those seas, and which carried on a kind of piratical war against the commerce of this country. These cruisers were in general very successful, and some very distinguished actions were fought; but, it was not a kind of warfare which suited the taste of Prince William, and he, therefore, requested leave of Admiral Digby

to go on board the Warwick 50 gun ship commanded by Captain Elphinstone, afterwards Lord Keith, and he sailed in that vessel on a cruise off the coast of Virginia, in company with the Lion of 60 guns, Captain Fowkes, and the Vestal, and Bonette frigates. Whilst this squadron was off the Delaware, it had the good fortune to capture a French frigate, a corvette, and their prize. This, we believe, was the last piece of service in which Prince William was engaged on the American coast, and the account of it shall, therefore, be given in Captain Elphinstone's own words, extracted from his despatch to Admiral Pigot, dated at sea September 22d, 1782.

“I have the honour to inform you, that in the evening of the 11th, some strange vessels were discovered from on board his Majesty's ships Lion and Vestal, which were chased in consequence of my signal, and occasioned our separation. On the morning of the 12th, five sail were seen from off the deck; two were to windward, whose appearance led me to think they were enemies; the three to leeward, I had every reason to believe, were his Majesty's ships under my orders; these circumstances induced me to chase to windward. About seven in the morning I was joined by the Bonette sloop. Captain Keats informed me, that the ships to windward were men-of-war, and had declined to answer the private signals which he had offered them the night before. Thus joined, we continued the chase, tacking occasionally until nine, when a third ship stood across from the eastward, shewing signals unknown to me, and firing guns. So soon as he found his signals were not answered, he changed his course, as I did my chase; this latter being the nearest and leewardmost. At twelve o'clock the chase hoisted French colours, and soon after struck. It was the Sophie from Bayonne to Philadelphia, with a cargo on board, armed with twenty-two nine-pounders, one hundred and four men, completely fitted for war, and quite new. From the prisoners I learnt that the Sophie had parted from L'Aigle and Gloire, two French frigates, having a brig under their convoy, for America; and that the frigates had many passengers of rank on board, with a large sum of money. By this

time the *Lion* and *Vestal* were at no great distance. I sent an officer to desire Captain Fooks to use every effort to gain the *Delaware*, and there to anchor in such a situation as would most effectively prevent the enemy from entering; and that I would follow in his Majesty's ship the instant the prisoners were shifted. At this time the wind was out of the river, blowing strong.

"On the 13th, at daylight, the enemy were seen at anchor without Cape Henlopen light-house, with his Majesty's brig *Raccoon* in company, their prize. The signal was made to chase; the enemy weighed, and ran into the river. At this instant the wind shifted to the eastward, which enabled the *Warwick* and *Vestal* to weather them. Being thus cut off from the proper channel, it remained only for the French commodore to determine whether he would bring-to, and engage a superior force, or attempt finding a passage among the sand banks, called the *Shears*, where his Majesty's ships, by reason of their drawing more water, might not be able to follow them. He chose the latter, and ran up the false chaunel, where I did not hesitate to follow; for though the risk was great, the object was considerable. Unfortunately, neither of the King's ships had a pilot; here the enemy had an advantage, as I am well informed the pilot of the *Raccoon* had not honesty enough to resist the offer of five hundred louis d'ors, and that he took charge of their ships. About twelve o'clock I was obliged to anchor, on account of shallow water, and was joined by the *Lion*, *Bonetta*, and *Sophie* prize-ship. The enemy anchored at the same time. The boats of the squadron were ordered out to sound, and the *Bonetta*, Captain Keats, to go ahead, and lead in the best water. In this manner we kept sailing and anchoring, as circumstances permitted, until the 15th, the enemy all this time retiring with the same precautions.

"At three in the afternoon, the signal was made to weigh; soon after the enemy were under sail, evidently in great confusion, changing their course frequently on account of shallow water. About six in the evening, the *Bonetta* made the signal for being in shallow water, and very soon after to anchor im-

mediately, which was done in four fathoms and a half. A boat then came on board to inform me, that it was impossible to advance further; however, to counterbalance this mortification, we had the satisfaction to see the largest of the enemy run aground and stick fast. I sent Mr. Lock, first lieutenant of the Warwick, with orders to Captain Fooks of the Vestal, and Captain Keats of the Bonetta, that they should run upon each quarter of the enemy, as near as possible, and attack. Mr. Lock after having delivered my orders, was directed to take command of the Sophie, now furnished with one hundred and fifty men from the Warwick and Lion, and join the attack. In justice to these officers, I must acknowledge that my orders were put in execution with a celerity and address that does them credit. The Vestal ran aground close on the starboard quarter, the Bonetta within two hundred yards on the larboard quarter; and the third ship, placing herself under the stern, the French commodore found himself obliged to surrender, on the Vestal's beginning to fire, not having a gun to bear on any of our ships. Thus, owing to the good conduct of the captains and other officers, employed on this service, and the activity of the men, was *L'Aigle* of forty guns, the finest frigate ever sent forth from Europe, taken possession of, for his Majesty. She was commanded by Comte La Touche, bearing a broad pendant; an officer of great reputation, and if I may be allowed an opinion, who made great exertions to extricate himself from his difficulties; he cut away the masts, and bored the bottom, before she struck. *L'Aigle* mounts twenty-eight guns on the main deck; twenty-four pounders and twelve nine-pounders on the quarter-deck and forecastle; with upwards of six hundred men on board. The Baron Virminil, commander-in-chief of the French army, Monsieur de Montmorency, Duke Lauzun, Vicomte de Fleury, and some other officers of rank, escaped on shore in the same boats which took away a great part of their treasure; but two small casks, and two boxes, have fallen into our hands; the *Gloire* drawing less water than *L'Aigle*, got up the river. So soon as the King's ships were got off the ground, and in safety, every body was employed to

save the prize, which, with much labour, under the management of Captain Fooks, was effected on the 17th. On the 20th, in running down the bay, I observed two brigs, which had been prevented from getting up the river, in the act of landing their cargoes. I ordered the *Vestal* to dislodge the people on board, and send the boats to burn them, which was done."

The Warwick now returned to Sandy Hook, and about the same time, Sir Samuel Hood arrived there from the West Indies, with the view of intercepting the *Marquess de Vaudreuil*, who then lay at Boston ready to start for the West Indies.

In consequence of some orders sent out expressly by his Majesty, Prince William was removed from the Warwick into the *Barfleur*, which was commanded by Sir Samuel Hood. It has been publicly stated, that this removal was resolved upon by the King, to prevent any possibility of another attempt being made to kidnap the Prince; but a moment's reflection will be sufficient to show that the King could not have the slightest reference to that circumstance. The squadron under the command of Captain Elphinston, was what was termed in the navy a flying squadron, having no particular service to which it is attached; but generally keeps the sea to catch up any straggling vessels, which might fall in their way, and seldom coming into port, but for the temporary purpose of refitting. It was not, therefore, probable, that so long as Prince William remained on board a squadron of this kind, any danger to his person could be apprehended; but the removal of Prince William arose from no other cause than to perfect him in naval tactics. Some fault had been found with the progress which Prince William made in nautical science, during his service on board the *Prince George*, arising from the incompetency of his nautical tutor, who was Mr. James Williams, the first lieutenant on board the *Prince George*. He had been originally a foremast man, and by his steadiness, sobriety, and general seaman-like qualities, had gained the good opinion of Admiral Digby, who promoted

him step by step, until he attained the rank of first lieutenant. At this time Mr., afterwards Sir Richard Goodwin Keats, was second lieutenant on board the *Prince George*, and in fact he had served in that capacity during the whole time that Prince William was on board of her. As a seaman, Mr. Williams was perhaps superior to Mr. Keats; but from his contracted education, and the general vulgarity and coarseness of his manners, and conversation, he was not exactly the individual fitted for the tuition of a Prince of the royal blood. On the other hand, Mr. Keats had received a very liberal education under his father, who was a clergyman and master of the grammar-school at Tiverton, which being combined with great affability and pleasing manners, rendered him a fit person to perfect Prince William in every branch of his profession.

On the 23d of November, Sir Samuel Hood sailed from Sandy Hook, with twelve sail of the line, for Jamaica.

It was on this service that Prince William and the immortal Nelson first became acquainted. The latter was then in command of the *Albemarle* frigate, and only 24 years of age, and in the month of November he arrived at Sandy Hook, where Sir Samuel Hood was then lying in the *Barfleur*, with Prince William on board. He requested Sir Samuel to grant him leave to serve in his squadron, which after some difficulty was granted. When Nelson waited on Admiral Digby, the latter said to him, "You are come on a fine station for prize-money." "Yes, Sir," replied Nelson, "but the West Indies is the station for honour."

The following is the account of the first interview of Prince William and Nelson, as it was related by the former himself, when he was Duke of Clarence, at Bushy Park:—

"I was then a midshipman on board the *Barfleur*, lying in the Narrows off Staten Island, and had the watch on deck; when Captain Nelson of the *Albemarle* came in his barge alongside. He appeared to be the merest boy of a Captain I ever beheld, and his dress was worthy of attention. He had on a full-laced uniform, his lank unpowdered hair was tied in

a stiff Hessian tail of an extraordinary length; the old-fashioned flaps of his waistcoat, added to the general quaintness of his figure, produced an appearance which particularly attracted my notice, for I had never seen any thing like it before, nor could I imagine who he was, nor what he came about. My doubts were, however, removed when Lord Hood introduced me to him. There was something irresistibly pleasing in his address and conversation; and an enthusiasm, when speaking on professional subjects, that shewed he was no common being. Nelson, after this, went with us to the West Indies, and served under Lord Hood's flag, during his indefatigable cruise off Cape Frangois. Throughout the whole of the American war, the height of Nelson's ambition was to command a line-of-battle ship; as for prize-money, it never entered his thoughts; he had always in view the character of his maternal uncle. I found him warmly attached to my father, and singularly humane. He had the honour of the King's service, and the independence of the British navy, particularly at heart, and his mind glowed with this idea as much when he was simply Captain of the Albemarle, and had obtained none of the honours of his country, as when he was afterwards decorated with so much well-earned distinction."

Sir Samuel Hood remained in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, with his fleet moored in order of battle, in daily expectation of a visit from the French, who, he had learned, had sailed from Martinique in great force, for the attack of that island. On the 14th of January the Admiral received intelligence that the Count de Grasse, after beating to windward for some days, without being able to gain ground from the strength of the winds, had relinquished his plans and bore away for St. Christopher's. On his arrival at that island the Marquis de Boullie landed with 8000 troops, and took possession of a great part of the island. General Fraser, with his small army of 600 men, were obliged to retreat into the fort of Brimstone Hill. Sir Samuel Hood, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, resolved by a sudden and unusually bold stroke, to sail and attack the enemy's fleet at anchor. For this purpose

he put to sea from Carlisle Bay with 22 sail of the line, and proceeded to Antigua, where he took on board some provisions, with the 28th, and the two companies of the 18th regiments of foot, under the command of General Prescott. On the evening of the 23d, Sir Samuel sailed from St. John's Road, and stood under an easy sail for Basse Terre, preceded by the Convent and Lizard frigates. At the break of day the signal was made to form the line of battle, for the purpose of bearing down more effectually to attack the enemy, who was at anchor in the road. Unfortunately the *Alfred* ran foul of the *Nymph* frigate in the night, and received so much damage, that it became necessary for the fleet to lie to the whole day to repair it.

The *Nymph* was in a much worse condition, being almost cut in two; she was ordered to return to Antigua. The advanced frigates chased and captured the *Espoir*, a large French cutter, laden with shells and ordnance stores for the besieging army. The delay occasioned by the above accident, gave the French Admiral timely notice of the approach of the British fleet. The Count de Grasse instantly got under weigh and stood to sea, thinking thereby to secure all the advantages which his superiority in numbers would give them.

At day-light on the 25th, the enemy's fleet was observed about three leagues to leeward, formed in order of battle, consisting of 29 sail of the line. Sir Samuel Hood instantly perceived the great advantages to be derived from this movement, and carried on every appearance of an immediate and determined attack, which drove the enemy farther to leeward, and at a greater distance from the shore. By this excellent and well-judged manœuvre, the British Admiral pushed for Basse Terre, and in the evening anchored his fleet in line of battle a-head in Frigate Bay. The Comte de Grasse disappointed in his object, and apprehensive that all communication might be cut off with the army, made a most furious attack upon the rear of the British fleet, commanded by Commodore Affleck, but that gallant officer made so noble a defence, and was so ably supported by his seconds, the Hon.

Captain Cornwallis in the *Canada*, and Lord Robert Manners in the *Resolution*, who kept up an incessant fire, covering the other ships of the division, while they brought up in their stations, particularly the *President*, whose wheel was shot away, and the rudder choaked by a shot, which had lodged between it and the stern-post. The enemy finding they could make no impression on the resolute firmness of the British Commanders, bore up and stood to sea. The *Solebay* frigate of 28 guns, Captain Charles Holmes Everett, being closely pursued by a French ship of the line, ran ashore on Nevis Point. The French Admiral ordered two frigates in to attack her, upon which Captain Everett retired with his crew on shore, and set fire to his ship; she soon after blew up.

The following morning at eight o'clock, the French fleet stood in, as if determined to force the British line, which they attacked with great violence from van to rear, without making the least visible impression on it; they then wore and stood to sea. Sir Samuel Hood having observed that the rear of his fleet were too much exposed, took the opportunity to change their position, and directed the seven ships in his rear to extend themselves in a line towards the town of Bass Terre, forming an obtuse angle; by which means no one part of the fleet could suffer a partial attack. The Comte de Grasse not yet discouraged, renewed the engagement in the afternoon, directing his attack principally against the centre and rear divisions; he was again repulsed, and suffered more material damage than in the preceding battle. The *Ville de Paris* was seen the next morning upon a heel for several hours, repairing and plugging up the shot holes, which she had received between wind and water. The loss on board the French ships must have been considerable. It is said, that above one thousand were sent to St. Eustatius. The British had seventy-two men killed and two hundred and twenty-four wounded.

On the 14th in the morning, the French fleet, which had kept the sea or at times anchored in Old Road, stood in and anchored off Nevis, their force consisting of thirty-four sail of the

line, having been joined by the *Triomphante*, *Brave*, and three other ships of the line.

It became no longer necessary for the British fleet to continue in its present situation, which was useless and dangerous, not only from the superiority of the enemy's fleet; but that they were preparing to erect gun and mortar batteries on a commanding hill opposite the shipping. Sir Samuel Hood accordingly issued orders to the captains of the fleet to slip or cut their cables without signal at eleven o'clock at night, the sternmost and leewardmost ships first, and so on in succession, and to proceed under an easy sail, until directed otherwise by signal. That the orders might be punctually obeyed, the captains were directed to set their watches by the Admiral's time-piece. This was performed with the utmost order and regularity, without being molested or pursued by the French fleet, which was lying within five miles, and must have witnessed the excellent manœuvre of the British Admiral. Soon after the islands of Nevis and Montserrat fell into the possession of the French.

On the 19th February, Sir Samuel Hood anchored in St. John's Road, Antigua; and on the same day Sir George Rodney arrived at Barbadoes from England, with several sail of the line; and on the 25th he joined Sir Samuel Hood off Antigua, and three days afterwards, three more sail of the line arrived from England. The fleet being united, the Admiral proceeded to St. Lucia for the ships to refit, and to complete their water. On the 14th March he put to sea, from thence to cruise, and endeavoured to intercept a large French convoy, which was expected to arrive from Europe; but notwithstanding the vigilance of the frigates, which were stationed to look out for it, the enemy had the address to keep close under Guadaloupe and Dominique, by which means they effected their escape into Fort Royal Bay on the 20th and 21st, unperceived by any of the English ships.

Sir Samuel Hood on the occasion of the victory of Rodney over the French fleet under Comte de Grasse, was made

an Irish peer ; and in the early part of the year 1738, he arrived with his fleet at Port Royal, Jamaica, after having cruised some time off this peninsula. On the arrival of the *Barfleur*, the inhabitants of Port Royal presented a respectful address to his Royal Highness Prince William, to which he made a suitable reply. During his stay at the island, he was treated with the most distinguished marks of attention by all ranks of people. The merchants planters and other inhabitants, as a further compliment, raised a corps of cavalry for the express purpose of attending his Royal Highness, to which they gave the name of Prince William Henry's regiment.

Nelson on writing home to one of his friends, thus speaks of Prince William whilst he was at Jamaica :—

“ My situation in Lord Hood's fleet must be in the highest degree flattering to any young man ; he treats me as if I were his son, and will, I am convinced, give me any thing I can ask of him. Nor is my situation with Prince William less flattering. Lord Hood was so kind as to tell him, (indeed, I cannot make use of expressions strong enough to describe what I felt,) that if he wished to ask questions relative to naval tactics, I could give him as much information as any officer in the fleet. He will be, I am certain, an ornament to our service. He is a seaman, which you could hardly suppose, with every other qualification you may expect from him ; but he will be a disciplinarian, and a strong one. A vast deal of notice has been taken of him at Jamaica ; he has been addressed by the Council, and the House of Assembly was to address him the day after I sailed. He has levees at Spanish Town ; they are all highly delighted with him : with the best temper, and great good sense, he cannot fail of being pleasing to every one.”

On the 12th March, Lord Hood sailed with the squadron on a cruise off Cape François. On the 6th April he received intelligence of the preliminaries of a treaty of peace having been signed. At the same time M. de Belcombe, the governor of the cape, sent an officer to the squadron, with an invitation to his Royal Highness Prince William Henry, requesting he would honour the cape with his presence, and also inviting

Lord Hood to enter the harbour with his British squadron. The latter was declined; but his Lordship directed the Blood hound sloop of war to receive on board his Royal Highness, and to carry him into the harbour. Upon his arrival, he was received with every honour due to his exalted rank, above six thousand French and Spanish troops lined the streets through which he passed to the governor's house, where he was entertained in the most magnificent style. A field-officer's guard was ordered to be mounted, four sentinels placed at the door of his apartments, and the parole for the night was given by his Royal Highness. On the 7th, his Royal Highness left the cape, and returned to the squadron. The forts and ships of war saluted with twenty-one guns each, on his quitting the harbour.

Lord Hood immediately bore up and proceeded to Jamaica, where the squadron arrived on the 12th. Soon after his Royal Highness Prince William Henry received the following letter, from Don Galvez, the governor of Louisiana, and commander-in-chief of the Spanish troops at Cape François.

“ Cape François, April 6th, 1783.

“ Sir,—The Spanish troops cantoned throughout the country, have not as the French had the happiness to take up their arms to salute your Royal Highness, nor that of paying you their marks of respect and consideration which are your due.

“ I have in confinement at Louisiana, the principal person concerned in the revolt at Natchez, with some of his accomplices. They have forfeited their parole and oath of fidelity. A council of war founded on equitable laws has condemned them to death; and the execution of their sentence waits only my confirmation as governor of the colony. They are all English. Will you be pleased, sir, to accept their pardon and their lives in the name of the Spanish army and of my king? It is I trust, the least present that can be offered to one prince in the name of another: mine is generous and will approve of my conduct.

“ In case your Royal Highness deigns to interest yourself for those unfortunate men, I have the honour to send enclosed, an order for their being delivered the moment any vessel arrives at Louisiana, communicating your pleasure. We shall consider ourselves happy if this can be agreeable to you.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ (Signed)

B. D. GALVEZ.”

To this letter his Royal Highness sent the following answer by Captain Manly Dixon, in the Tobago sloop of war :—

“ Port Royal Jamaica.

“ Sir,—I want words to express to your Excellency my just sense of your polite letter, of the delicate manner in which you made it delivered, and your generous conduct towards the unfortunate. Their pardon which you have been pleased to grant on my account, is the most agreeable present you could have offered me, and is thoroughly characteristic of the bravery and gallantry of the Spanish nation. This instance increases, if possible, my opinion of your Excellency's humanity, which has appeared on so many occasions in the course of the late war.

“ Admiral Rowley is to despatch a vessel to Louisiana for the prisoners : I am convinced they will ever think of your Excellency's clemency with gratitude ; and I have sent a copy of your letter to the King, my father, who will be fully sensible of your Excellency's attention to me.

“ I request my compliments to Made. Galvez, and that you will be assured that actions so noble as those of your Excellency's, will ever be remembered by

“ (Signed) WILLIAM HENRY.”

Admiral Rowley accordingly despatched a sloop of war to Louisiana, and the prisoners were brought to Jamaica.

The following are the circumstances by which these unfortunate Englishmen fell into the power of the Spanish Government, and who would certainly have been executed, had it not been for the truly noble conduct of Don Galvez, and the very timely appearance of Prince William in that particular part of the globe.

About the middle of August 1779, Don Galvez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, having collected the whole force of his province at New Orleans, set out upon an expedition against the settlements on the Mississippi ; and as they had no cover, but a newly constructed fort, defended by five hundred men, they could not long resist the efforts of a well-provided army of four times that number. Don Galvez extending his views to the conquest of all West Florida, concocted a plan of operation with the Governor of the Havannah, in pursuance of which he was to be assisted by a considerable embarkation from that place early in the ensuing year.

Accordingly in the year 1781, Don Galvez made further

advances into West Florida, and being at length reinforced by a powerful fleet and army from the Havannah, completed the conquest of the whole province, by the reduction of Pensacola, on the 23th May. General Campbell, the governor, acquired no small reputation even in misfortune, by the judicious and spirited defence of the place for two months, with a motley garrison of 950 men, against a fleet of fifteen sail of the line, and a land force almost ten times the number of the besieged. According to the terms of the capitulation, the garrison were to remain as prisoners, until regularly exchanged. Some of them were sent to the Havannah; but the majority of them were sent to Natchez, in Louisiana, on their parole. The inhabitants of Natchez were, at the time, very much displeased with the prospect of coming under the Spanish yoke, and some of the prisoners taking advantage of that dissatisfaction, joined in a conspiracy with some of the prisoners from Pensacola to seize upon the place, and expel the Spanish authorities. The plot, however, was discovered, and the ringleaders of the conspiracy were arrested—tried before a court martial, and condemned to death.

The departure of Don Galvez for the Havannah, delayed the sentence being put into execution; and on his arrival at Cape François, he wrote his celebrated letter, to Prince William, and perhaps a finer trait of the Spanish character is not on record.

It may appear incredible, but it is a matter of history, that some individuals were to be found, calling themselves politicians, who imputed a degree of blame to Prince William in accepting the lives of his countrymen, from a noble and generous enemy; and that he ought to have left them to their fate, on the principle, that they were guilty of a most dishonourable and traitorous act, for which they richly deserved to pay the forfeit of their lives. We know not on what principle of humanity or international law, such a revolting cold-blooded action could have been recommended. Under ordinary circumstances, the breach of parole is an inexcusable crime: but in the situation in which the English prisoners were placed at Natchez, death

was almost to be preferred to the agonizing life, which they were constrained to lead. The inhumanity of the Spaniards towards their prisoners of war had become proverbial, and situated as the belligerents were at that time, a considerable period might elapse, before the English could take a sufficient number of Spanish soldiers to send to Natchez, in exchange for the English there confined. They were daily falling victims to the tropical heat of the climate, and under the influence of desperation, they might have been tempted to commit an act of rebellion, which under any other circumstances, perhaps, they would never have thought of. It must also be taken into consideration, that although the garrison of Pensaloca, when it surrendered to Don Galvaz, was nominally an English one, yet that in reality, it was as motley a troop as ever stood upon a rampart. It was a mixture of natives and foreigners, Indians and Europeans, some of whom had no allegiance to any particular country, and who would fight under any flag, and for, or against any cause, in the proportion to the amount of the pay which was awarded to them. It must also be borne in mind, that the English soldier had not then acquired that respectability of character, which now belongs to him. He knew something of discipline; but he was at the same time impressed with the strange notion, that his superiors were little better than himself. Regularity was at that time by no means a part of the character of an English soldier. The manner in which they were dispersed in quarters before the barrack system was in vogue, naturally produced a laxity of discipline. They were very little in sight of their officers, and when they were not engaged in the slight duty of the guard, were suffered to live every man his own way. He was more a citizen of the world than a soldier. The equality of English privileges, the impartiality of our laws, the freedom of our tenures, dispose us very little to the reverence of superiors, and perhaps there is no civilized being on the earth, (for we throw the satrap of the Indian despot, and the slave of the African chief wholly out of the scale) who thinks, or acknowledges his superiors less than an Englishman. He is born without a master, and looks not on

any man, however dignified by land or title, as deriving from nature any claims to his respect, or inheriting any qualities superior to his own. This principle was particularly exemplified in the case of Prince William. It was not his rank which gained him the respect and esteem of his messmates, for they paid very little attention to it, and had it not been for his general affability, and the absence of all presumption on account of his exalted station, he would have been like a hunted dog in the midddy's cabin; even a casual allusion to his rank, was sure to bring down upon him the ridicule and sneers of his messmates, and although there might have been a few, who, for private purposes and under the influence of a mean and slavish spirit, might have truckled to the scion of royalty, yet he saw that haughtiness was not a coin which passed current amongst the majority of his messmates, and, therefore, he very wisely and politically never carried it about with him.

In regard, however, to the charge against Prince William, that he should not have given his sanction to rebellion and treachery, by accepting the lives of his countrymen from the hands of an individual, who had been a brave and successful enemy, but who now that the sword was sheathed, showed himself to be actuated by the noblest virtues, it carries on the face of it something so desperately wicked, that it scarcely needs the pains of refuting it: Prince William enjoyed the proud consciousness of having acted consistently with humanity and justice, and from some circumstances that afterwards transpired, he had reason to congratulate himself in having spared the life of one man, who at a future period rendered him a most essential service.

On the sailing of Lord Hood with the squadron for England, Prince William left the *Barfleur*, and went on board the *Fortunee* frigate, accompanied by the *Albemarle*, Captain Nelson; she immediately parted company, and proceeded to the Havannah.

On the 10th of May the squadron arrived off the Mero Castle, and on the 12th, as it passed in the order of battle in sight of the Spanish fleet, Admiral Don Solano saluted with

19 guns, which was returned by Lord Hood with an equal number. On the same morning the *Fortunee* and *Albemarle* frigates, which had been attending his Royal Highness, came out of the harbour, and soon after were followed by the Prince in Don Solano's barge, attended by the Spanish Admiral and all the Captains of the squadron in their respective barges. His Royal Highness was received at this place with every mark of respect due to his high rank ; he reviewed about 5000 Spanish troops, visited the dock-yard, Mero Castle and every fortification. Upon his going from and returning to the shore, a royal salute was fired from the forts and ships of war in the harbour. His Royal Highness was lodged in the house of Don Solano during his residence there.

The house of Don Solano was at this time the resort of all the fashionables of the Havannah, and Prince William had here an opportunity of beholding some of the Spanish beauties in the fullest grace and voluptuousness which the female form can exhibit. Don Solano himself had two daughters, who bore away the prize of feminine beauty, and being about the same age as Prince William, were his constant companions to all the places which he had visited, and in many instances were his cicerones. Prince William was however no adept in the Spanish language, although he spoke the French with considerable fluency, and by means of the latter he was enabled to carry on a conversation with his charming attendants, one of whom, had his residence been long protracted at the Havannah, would most probably have driven all the Fortescues out of his head, and perhaps out of his heart altogether. Donna Maria Solano was one of those grand, commanding figures, which history has painted to us a Cleopatra or a Messalina. She was of the age of sixteen, in the zenith of her beauty, and was of course the reigning toast of the youthful officers of the Spanish army, as well as of all the hidalgos of the Havannah. The attention which Prince William paid to her were of the most marked description, and as it was supposed by many of her suitors, that she averted her looks from them to bestow them upon the more favoured royal youth, the natural jealousy

of the Spaniard was roused, and it is a question whether his Royal Highness would have seen England again, had it not been for Captain Nelson, who plainly saw the danger that impended over his royal friend, and urged his immediate departure.

During the stay of Prince William, he received some despatches from England, amongst which was a small package from his Royal Father, which on opening, was found to contain one of the gold medals which had been struck at the expense of the Royal Society, to perpetuate the memory of Captain Cook. The King had sent it to his son, to stimulate him in the prosecution of the arduous profession which he had adopted, and to hold it before him as a proof of the respect and veneration which a grateful country pays to those eminent individuals, who by their skill and talents have contributed to place the English name the foremost in the rank of civilized nations.

On one side of the medal was Captain Cook, with this inscription.

"Jac Cook Oceani Investigator accerimus."

under the head in small characters

"Reg. Soc Lond. Socio Suo."

On the reverse, appears an erect figure of Britannia, standing on a plain; the left arm rests on an hieroglyphic figure; her spear in her hand, and her shield placed at the foot of the pillar; her right arm is projected over a globe, and contains a symbol expressive of the celebrated circumnavigator's enterprising genius. The inscription—

"Nil intentatum nostri liquere."

and under the figure—

"Auspiciis Georgii III."

The gold medals were thus disposed of—

One to his Britannic Majesty—which was sent to Prince William Henry.

One to the King of France, for his great courtesy in giving a specific order to his naval commanders, to forbear showing

any hostility to the resolution and discovery, and to show Captain Cook every succour in their power, in case they fell in with him.

One to the Empress of Russia for her great hospitality to Captain Cook, when he touched at Kamschatka.

One to Mrs. Cook, the Captain's relict.

One to be deposited in the British Museum.

And one to remain in the College of the Royal Society.

During the stay of his Royal Highness at Jamaica; he had by the affability and suavity of his manners, gained the esteem of all the inhabitants. The following letter was written by a midshipman of the Torbay to his friends in England, in which a striking instance of the good-heartedness of Prince William is pleasingly depicted. Such anecdotes confer high honour on one, who may be supposed to have had a number of objects to keep his attention alive, and divert him from the cares of the unhappy.

"The last time Lord Hood's fleet was here, a court-martial was held on Mr. Benjamin Lee, midshipman, for disrespect to a superior officer, at which Lord Hood sat as President. The determination of the court was fatal to the prisoner, and he was condemned to death. Deeply affected as the whole body of midshipmen were at the dreadful sentence, they knew not how to obtain a mitigation of it, since Mr. Lee was ordered for execution, while they had not time to make an appeal to the Admiralty, and despaired of a petition to Admiral Rowley. However, his Royal Highness, generously stepped forth, drew up a petition, to which he was the first to set his name, and solicited the rest of the midshipmen in port, to follow his example. He then himself carried the petition to Admiral Rowley, and in the most pressing and urgent manner begged the life of an unhappy brother officer; in which he succeeded, and Mr. Lee was reprieved. We all acknowledged our warmest and grateful thanks to our humane, brave and worthy Prince, who has so nobly exerted himself in preserving the life of his brother sailor.

Prince William and Captain Nelson were now to be

separated for a short time, the former sailing in the *Fortunee* for England, whilst the latter was despatched to St. Augustine, to take on board the English, who had been detained there since the surrender of Florida. Having accomplished this service, he sailed for England where, he arrived only one day before the Prince, who landed at Spithead on the 26th of June 1783.

CHAPTER II.

At this particular juncture of the life of Prince William, his country appeared in an humiliated state. The independence of America was virtually recognised by England, and a resolution against offensive operations having passed the house of Commons; the war in the colonies, during the continuance of which, the national debt of the mother country had been increased £100.000.000, was in fact at an end. The original purpose of France being accomplished, she could have no motive to persevere in a contest, the expense of which was enormous, and the farther success uncertain. Spain after extraordinary exertions, having failed in both her grand objects, the recovery of Gibraltar, and the conquest of Jamaica, had little reason to flatter herself that her future efforts would be more effectual than the past; and Holland would neither have the inclination, nor the ability to continue the war alone. During the negotiation with France and Spain, protracted chiefly in consequence of the demand in which Spain for some time persisted of the cession of Gibraltar, provisional articles were signed on the 30th of November, by which the thirteen provinces were declared free and independent states, and by a boundary line drawn much in their favour, the country southward of the lakes on both sides of the Ohio, and eastward of the Mississippi was ceded to them with a full participation of the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In return, the Congress engaged to *recommend* to the several states, to provide for the restitution of the confiscated estates of the loyalists, but the recommendation eventually proved nugatory and useless, and this unfortunate portion of his Majesty's subjects emigrated in great numbers to the wilds of Nova Scotia and the Bahamas.

Parliament was opened on the 5th of December with a speech from the throne, in which unfortunately there was more true meaning than is generally to be found in King's speeches, for the King deplored the dismemberment of the empire, which had become a matter both of policy and prudence, but he testified a *hope* as a remuneration for the loss of the most valuable appendage of the British Crown, that religion, language, interest, and *affection* would yet prove a permanent tie of union between the two countries. Addresses were in the usual style of sycophancy and falsehood, voted in both Houses without a division; but some severe remarks having been made in the House of Peers, on the inconsistency of the Minister, who had at a former period so strongly opposed the recognition of American independence, his lordship declared that he had exerted every effort to preserve America to this country, that he had not voluntarily yielded up their independency; he had merely submitted to the controlling power of necessity and fate. "It was not I," said he, that made this cession, it was the evil star of Britain: it was the blunders of a former administration, it was the power of revolted subjects, and the mighty arms of the house of Bourbon;" and if he had added, it was the mulish obstinacy, and the love of war of the King of England, his picture of the truth would have been more complete.

This subject may on the first blush of it, be considered as having little or no bearing on the life and character of William IV., but the very reverse is the case. The American revolution was a school in which the Princes of the blood royal of England, who in the course of succession might be called to the throne of England, could read many an instructive lesson on the system of government. Young as Prince William was, he could not but perceive, that an American, drawing in with his first breath a just abhorrence of those aristocratic and ecclesiastic privileges, which had held Europe in perpetual warfare, oppression, and misery, and the American States having happily defeated the arts of Britain to introduce them under

any pretences, or in any forms, it might be expected that their Constitution would be a considerable improvement on that of England, and as such, be of great value to a Prince, who would in a short time be admitted into the upper House of Parliament, and who would enter it equipped with that knowledge of the foreign forms of government, which would enable him to improve that of his own country, and reform those abuses which a degenerated, and aristocratic ministry had not only perpetuated, but increased.

On the emancipation of America, she exhibited several extraordinary characters, some of whom fell under the immediate cognizance of Prince William, and his faculties must have been astute indeed, if he could not derive some advantage from the examples which daily passed under his observation. He was witness of the dangerous effects of favouritism in the selection of the commander of an army; he saw it exemplified in the selection of Sir William Howe, in America, on the same principle that he saw it so fully exposed in the choice of his own brother to the command of an army against such a general as Dumouriez. There is not an error more pernicious in the regions of credulity than to ascribe great events to reputed great men. The Americans became free by exercising a very moderate portion of passive prudence, and that prudence was the offspring of necessity. Washington acted the part of Fabius, because he had not the army of Fabius, for the Americans would often have fought, and by fighting have lost their country.

We will not so far assert that Prince William penetrated deeply into the causes of the American Revolution. His youth, his profession, his absence from the seat of the English Government, were considerable drawbacks in the scale of his attaining a correct knowledge of the disputes which had arisen between the American colonies and the mother country, but this much he had acquired, namely, the conviction that the oppression was on the part of England, and that the American revolution was in fact completely concocted in England, and that its principal authors were Lord Bute, Lord North, Lord

Sackville, and Mr. Jenkinson. The American war originated in parliamentary jobbing, and its great purpose was to transfer enormous masses of English property into loans, funds, and taxes, in order to form that corrupt ministerial phalanx, called the monied friends of government. While that faction, like a malignant disease, was draining the vital substance of Britain, and armies and navies were merely its ramifications, the Cabinet of France obeyed the sentiments of the French nation, without intending to gratify it, and America obtained its liberty.

There was however another very important question which the settlement of the American independence brought before the consideration of Prince William, and that was the establishment of a republic in opposition to a monarchical state, which was at total variance, with the acknowledged governments of Europe, with one exception only, and that was Switzerland. Personally speaking, Prince William had not an enemy, which in the opinion of some persons is tantamount to saying that he had no merit, but as one of those who had fought against the independence of America, he had many. It scarcely however amounts to a political problem whether William IV., when Prince William, and acting as a subordinate officer in a man of war, did not imbibe certain principles from his observations on the causes and effects of the American revolution, which ultimately exhibited themselves in the staunch reformer of the political evils, which threatened altogether to endanger the existence of the British Constitution, and place the people under the dominion of a detested oligarchy. In general the rust of education clings to an individual with all the tenacity of the most violent caustic compound, but fortunately for Prince William, and still more fortunately for the nation, over whom he was called to reign, he was thrown at an early period of his life into those relations of society, where he discovered the instability of the principles in which he had been educated under the high aristocratical regime of his parents, and their direct incompetency to promote or confirm the happiness of a people. It was therefore by no means improbable, that the seeds of that character were sown in him, which afterwards

displayed themselves in so luxuriant a manner, as the Reform Monarch of Great Britain.

At the close of the war, Prince William had acquired considerable knowledge not only in the practical, but theoretical principles of his profession, and he had also witnessed the inferiority of our navy to that of France, particularly in the construction of our ships. It may, however, be said, that the men, who were at that time at the head of the naval department, seemed more willing to exert their influence to keep all those at a distance from them, who had any improvement to make, rather than to encourage and patronize them. Even the interest that Prince William possessed, frequently failed of producing any change in the administration of naval affairs, or diverting those who were at the head of them from their deeply-rooted prejudices, or their antiquated system of government. On one occasion, Lieutenant Berkeley, who had served with Prince William as a midshipman on board the *Prince George*, applied to his Royal Highness to lay before the Board of Admiralty, an improvement in the building of ships, by which the rate of sailing could be increased. Prince William undertook the commission; but at the same time gave Lieutenant Berkeley very slender hopes of any good accruing from the application. Nor was his Royal Highness wrong in his conjecture. The plan was submitted to the Board, and the answer was, "That they had got from the arsenal at Toulon all the information which they wanted." The information might, indeed, have been obtained; but it lay in the chests of the Admiralty, useless and neglected.

During the time that Prince William was at Jamaica, he had frequent opportunities of conversing with Captain Maxwell, who then commanded the Arab sloop, respecting his new code of signals, which had been highly approved of by several of the most eminent commanders of the British navy; and so pleased was his Royal Highness with the simplicity and excellence of the new system, that he promised Captain Maxwell on his return to England, to use his utmost influence in procuring their general adoption in the British navy. On the return of

Captain Maxwell and his Royal Highness to England, on the conclusion of the war, the latter was reminded of his promise, and his Royal Highness consistently with his general character, faithfully kept his word. At this time one of the most influential women at the British court, was the celebrated Duchess of Gordon, to whom Captain Maxwell was nearly related, and supported by a prince of the blood royal, and a beautiful and talented woman, who would have made a most skilful diplomatist at any of the European courts, Captain Maxwell doubted not of success. To his great surprise, however, and not less to his mortification, the Admiralty refused even to look at the invention, observing that they were satisfied with the code of signals which they had, although it may be added, that it is well known to every officer in the British navy, that the French were in possession of the key to our signals, and had taken advantage of that knowledge in several instances in the late war.

At the beginning of the late war with France, Captain Maxwell renewed his application to the Board of Admiralty, to which he was stimulated by the Duke of Clarence; and there being men at that time at the head of the Admiralty, of a different calibre than those who presided over that department at the close of the American war, the invention met with the attention which it deserved, and with some alterations was adopted throughout the whole of the British fleet.

This supineness on the part of the Board of Admiralty in the admission of any improvements, was the cause of many serious complaints on the part of Prince William to his Royal Father, but the loss of the American colonies so rankled in the royal breast, that it was only a son, or some individual standing very high in his confidence, who dared to approach him with any complaint of the administration of the affairs of the country. Independently, however, of the loss which his Crown had experienced of its most valuable jewel, his Majesty of England, after riding his hobby-horse for the recovery of the American colonies to death, had just mounted another, of a more peaceable and harmless nature, for he had become one of the first

farmers in the country, and the choice of his tups and his bulls engrossed his attention, more than the improvement of his navy in the times of peace, without which, he would not have a tup or a bull to graze upon his lands. He was also at this time, particularly and most royally employed in the art of button making, which obtained for him from the good people of Birmingham, the sounding title of a great and patriotic Monarch, for as George III. wore buttons on his coat, the result of his own mechanical powers, no one, who had any pretensions to be included in what is significantly styled "the fashionable world," could appear without buttons of a similar kind. The manufacturers of Birmingham took advantage of this servility of "the fashionable world," and, perhaps, in no era of the history of Birmingham, were such large and rapid fortunes made, originating from apparently so trifling a cause as the King of England falling in love with the art of button making. History, however, is not deficient in many instances in which the people of a country have prospered from the whims or weaknesses of their monarchs. Louis XIII. of France was deaf, and always appeared with a speaking trumpet suspended to his neck, and, therefore, out of compliment to so *good* a King, the whole tribe of courtiers wore speaking trumpets also, and the rage for speaking trumpets extended rapidly to those, who wished to be thought to belong to the Court, and as they are in general a very numerous body of persons, the manufacturers of speaking trumpets could not keep pace with the demand for the article, and many thousands had reason to bless the weakness of their King, when they had no ground whatever to bless him for his greatness. Nadin, the Schah of Persia was so afflicted with a natural defect in his neck, that his head nearly reclined on his right shoulder, it became, therefore, the fashion of the Persian Court, that every person should appear with his neck awry, and in proportion to the obliquity of the head, so was the claim of the individual to the height of his rank in "the fashionable world." There are, however, other Courts than that of Persia in which an obliquity of the head prevails, and we have only to look at the present day, to

the hereditary legislators of this kingdom, to discover a greater obliquity of the head, than ever displayed itself at the Persian Court.

Considering therefore the patriotic pursuits of George III., at the period of which we are now writing, no wonder need be excited at the obliquity of the head, which he evinced in discarding from his attention the many appeals which were made to him for the improvement of his navy, a service on which the very safety and existence of his crown depended. It must however be remarked, that on certain subjects, George III. was one of the most inaccessible monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of England, with the exception perhaps of his son George IV, even with his children he could scarcely ever so unbend himself, as to lose the monarch in the father. Every thing was to be performed according to the rules of etiquette, and when Prince William returned from his naval campaign, he was obliged to go through the ceremonious ordeal of a presentation, before he could be said, to be legitimately entitled to be received at court. In the different plans, which Prince William had to propose to his royal father, either on his own suggestion, or the result of the skill or the invention of others, he had to undergo the ceremony of a formal introduction, as if he were a common subject presenting a petition. It was no wonder then, that Prince William declined in many instances to be the agent of others in laying before his father the merits of any particular improvement, for in the first place they met with the repulsive notice of an indifferent person, and in the second, Prince William despaired of ever meeting with that countenance and sanction from his royal father, which could even lead to a recommendation of a trial of the improvement, by persons competent to decide upon its merits. The head of George III. was at that time impregnated with the idea that England excelled all other nations in the mechanical arts, and in many branches of science, one of the consequences of which was, that according to his opinion the English stood in want of no further improvement. Geo. III. was an adept in the calculation of compound interest; a

science, of which not one of his sons ever knew the first principles, but in regard to political economy, he was lamentably deficient, and it is a self evident proposition that a man cannot teach that to others, of which he is himself ignorant. It however fortunately happened that William the IV. was thrown in the early part of his life into the society of many individuals, who although brought up and educated for the naval profession, yet, who had turned their minds to other subjects, and who had attained a proficiency in many of the departments of human science, which would have conferred a high degree of credit, even upon a professor. It must on the other hand be acknowledged that the aptitude for learning was not one of the predominant traits in the character of William the Fourth, when he was a youth, and there were particular subjects to which he never could be brought to pay the slightest attention. He had a great dislike to poetry, and it was not until his imagination had become inflamed by the battles of the Iliad, that he could be brought to confess that there was anything in poetry worth reading. His favourite department of literature was the drama, and many a tedious night have he and his messmates changed into one of fun and laughter, by their attempts to enact some of the scenes of Shakespeare, particularly those in which the gallant Falstaff performs his deeds of valour, and in which Prince William always took the part of the libertine Hal. One of their most favourite was the third scene in act the third of the "Merry Wives of Windsor," in which Prince William and his friend Beauclerk, with the assistance of some dresses borrowed from the sailor's wives enacted the part of Mrs. Page and Mrs. Ford; the character of Sir John Falstaff being filled by Lieutenant Storey, who being rather stout in stature, contrived with the assistance of a certain quantity of junk, to exhibit outwardly the rotundity of form for which the humorous knight was conspicuous. These scenes generally ended in some frolic or piece of mischief of which Prince William was generally the inventor, and on one occasion when the bucking basket scene was enacted, his Royal

Highness concocted a plan, which was the cause of much merriment to all but the unfortunate sufferer. The orlop deck was chosen as the theatre in which the characters of the immortal Shakespeare were to be represented, and no busier scene could the dressing-rooms of the royal theatres exhibit, than what was to be seen amongst the young naval heroes of the Prince George, equipping themselves for the enacting of the bucking basket scene. The equipment of Falstaff was always a source of particular fun, and a considerable drain was always made upon a heap of junk, which lay in the corner, for the purpose of properly stuffing the knight. A hanmock was chosen to represent the bucking basket, and the heap of junk was to represent the Thames, into which the amorous knight was to be thrown. The midshipmen of the Prince George are not the only persons who have murdered Shakespeare in the enactment of his inimitable scenes, and although they had no authority in the original for the visible immersion of the gallant knight, "into the muddy ditch, close by the Thames," yet they differed from Stevens, Malone, and Warner and Warburton and all the other commentators of Shakespeare, and thought that it would add vastly to the interest of the scene, were the immersion of the knight into the Thames, to be visibly and substantially exhibited. Now it struck Prince William, that if the gallant knight were really thrown into "the muddy ditch," he would not emerge from it, without a considerable portion of the mud adhering to him. It therefore became the stage-manager of the orlop-deck of the Prince George, who was no other person than Prince William himself, to devise some means by which the counterfeit of the amorous knight, was not to rise from the Thames of the orlop-deck of the Prince George, or in other words the heap of junk, without exhibiting certain outward and visible signs of his immersion. Unknown to the representative of one of the most inimitable characters which Shakespeare ever drew, Prince William with the co-operation of Beauclerk, secretly threw over the junk a considerable quantity of pitch, about half an hour before the performance was to begin. All went

on most classically, each was perfect in his part, which is more than can be said of some other actors, and Mrs. Page and Mrs. Ford, succeeded in cramming the junk-stuffed Falstaff into the hammock. The "muddy ditch," was close at hand, and little dreaming of what was to follow his egress from the hammock, the redoubtable knight rolled over and over on the junk, Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page kindly assisting him in his circumvolutions. When the time was come for his appearance "in the room in the Garter-Inn," he found to his unutterable dismay, that he was not only stuffed with junk within, but by some means which he could not account for, the junk without, stuck so close to him in every part of his body, that he appeared more like Cannibal in the tempest, than Sir John Falstaff, the chosen companion of the heir apparent to the Crown of England; the pitch had in every respect performed its duty, like every Englishman in the Battle of Trafalgar, and perhaps a more ludicrous figure never presented himself to an audience, than did the Falstaff of the Prince George to his mischievous companions.

This was only one of the many ludicrous scenes which were enacted in board the Prince George, arising from the strong attachment which Prince William entertained for the drama, and which ultimately led him into a connection with a celebrated actress, which forms one of the most interesting epochs of his life.

If it had been the good fortune of Prince William to have constantly associated with such men as Captain Nelson, or Captain Maxwell, Captain Keats, and other officers, who were then the rising hopes of the British Navy, many of the errors of his exclusive education would have been remedied, and his character have acquired that intellectual superiority, which would have placed him as the foremost of the Royal Family. His elder brothers were in reality novices in the world; for although they were destined from their exalted rank to mingle largely in the world, yet the view of that world was not to be opened to them, until they were so firmly bound in the chains of court etiquette and royal prejudices, that they

did not know how to steer themselves through the world, and were made the dupe of every pirate, who hung out false colours to delude them. How different were the men, with whom Prince William associated, and some idea may be formed of their intellectual power, by the following remarks of Captain Maxwell, in reply to an apology on the part of Prince William, in not being able to succeed with his father, in obtaining his patronage to those improvements, which had been recommended to the Board of Admiralty.

After deploring the lukewarmness of the King of England in patronizing the various improvements suggested for the British navy, he goes on to state in a letter addressed to Prince William, February 10th, 1783.

“There is a feeling of a want of all further improvement in those nations which stand the first in power, and such a feeling is one of the principal causes of the revolutions of nations, for it makes a nation become stationary, till those who were behind it, get to be the first. In the energy of the mind, or in its apathy, the exertions of men originate, and that energy or apathy is regulated by circumstances, and lays the foundation for perpetual changes. The very steering of a ship is performed at the present time on wholly different principles than were adopted half a century ago, and it is by no means an improbable conjecture, that our present method of steering will soon be exploded for one more consistent with the rules of practical science. (Captain Maxwell’s conjecture has been verified.)

“It may, however, appear strange that moral propensities should counteract and regulate physical power and means, and I trust that in the mention of moral propensities, your Royal Highness will acquit me of all personal allusion, for I speak generally, not individually, yet nothing is more certain, nor are any operations more constant and perpetual, than those which depend on this very controlling power of the moral over the physical world. So great are the advantages of wealth and power, that were there not a counteracting principle, they would never be wrested from those in whose

possession they once were, but so different is the case, that they are perpetually changing masters; the energy of those who want, triumphs over the advantages enjoyed by those who have property amongst individuals, and the same is the case amongst nations. To this is to be attributed the conduct of those, who are at the head of the naval department, who feeling, or ought to feel, that it is in many respects inferior to that of some other maritime states, have despised the improvements offered to them, and neglecting the advantages which we possess, have permitted others to get before them, and it is to be hoped that the eyes of the Lords of the Admiralty will be open to the humiliating lesson which France and Spain have taught us, and that our posterity will have reason to rejoice, that such a lesson was so forcibly impressed upon us.

The time is not far distant, when the voice of the people will be paramount in this country, (written in 1783) and that the improvements in the administration of their affairs will depend on other persons, than that of the sovereign or a junta of men, who preside over the most important branch of the public service, without being in possession of the slightest skill or talent to guide them in their decisions. The Lords of the Admiralty know nothing of guiding themselves by practical maxims. The Romans combatted the effects of luxury and greatness, by adhering for a long period to maxims; at last they forgot the maxims; the virtuous republic became a voluptuous empire, and from a voluptuous nobility, the chiefs of that empire were soon reduced to the state of forlorn exiles, driven from their country, and forced to take refuge among barbarians, whom they had despised.

I know that your Royal Highness is not unacquainted with one of the most profound inquirers of our times (we believe Captain Maxwell alludes to Burke) who observes, that he will not take upon him to say that states, and empires have the same gradual rise, vigour, and decay, with the individuals of which they are composed; but that the history of mankind shows, that they have all their periods of rise, exaltation, and

decline. Now the case seems to be, that with the individual, the progress is fixed by the ordinary term of human life, and though it may extend a little longer, or be cut off something shorter, its limits are nearly fixed by the physical nature of man; whereas nations composed of individuals constantly renovating are perpetual, as existences; but subject to use, vigour and decline, as to wealth, power, and prosperity; but this progress is lengthened or shortened not as in individuals by physical strength, but by the conduct and exertions of those persons of whom it is composed, and though there may be a tendency, there seems to be no necessity for that decline that has hitherto always taken place, and transferred wealth and power from the borders of the Nile and the Euphrates to the Tiber, from the Tiber to the Tagus, the Scheldt and the Helder, and from thence to the Thames; a tendency to change, which if not counteracted, may make a further transfer of wealth and power to the Chesapeake and Delaware, and in time to the uninhabited places on the Ohio and Mississippi. (And the transfer has been for some time in actual progress.) Such revolutions then originate not in any necessary order of things, but from men permitting their moral conduct to be influenced by their relative situations, and one of the first causes of decline is, *when the rulers of a nation cease to value or reward talents and abilities.* The second is, when the nations not yet risen so high with far inferior means, begins to triumph over that which neglects to employ its means."

These were solemn and important truths, to instil into the mind of a Prince, whose succession to the throne, although it might appear as a contingency, not very probable to happen, considering that he had two unmarried brothers verging towards that period of life, when a crooked and unnatural state policy would compel them to sacrifice the affections of their heart, on the shrine of Royal Legitimacy, yet as materials for reflection, they could not but prove highly valuable, and imparted to the mind of Prince William a tone of thinking, which has seldom been found in an English Prince.

At the time of the arrival of Prince William in England,

the royal family were residing at Windsor, but on his alighting at St. James', a despatch was immediately sent off, and on the following day the whole of the Royal Family were collected at St. James' to welcome the noble sailor to his native land. Even at this meeting, when it might be supposed that all form and ceremony would be waived, and royalty merged in parental affection, the King would not dispense with any of those forms of court etiquette, which are in their very nature ridiculous, but which between father and son, degenerate into an actual abuse of human reason, and an alienation of the most gratifying feelings of our nature. We laugh at the forms and ceremonies of certain Courts, which in the plenitude of our national pride we call barbarous and uncivilized, but if a savage had been placed in the Court of George III., and certain forms had been explained to him, which are therein performed, he would have returned to his country with no very high opinion of the sense or intelligence of the vaunted British Court. It may be the etiquette of royalty, never to rise on the introduction of a visitor, but to behold a father and mother on the happy return of a son, who had escaped so many dangers of the battle and the breeze, sitting in all the trebly starched stiffness of royalty to receive him, may have tickled the depraved taste of the courtier and gratified to its fullest extent the german attachment to ceremony and etiquette, but we envy not the situation of those, who are obliged to cauterize the sweet feelings of parental love, and exhibit themselves to their surrounding parasitical crew as beings, from whose breasts the possession of a throne has chased those exquisite emotions of affections on which human happiness is founded.

It might have been supposed that on the arrival of the King and Queen at St. James', an immediate interview would have taken place between them and their son; but a regular notice was sent to the latter, conveying to him the information, that at one o'clock his parents would be ready to receive him. This circumstance excited no surprise in the breast of Prince William, for he knew it was consistent with court etiquette; but his

brothers not being bound by the same fastidious rules hastened immediately to the apartment of Prince William, and most cordial and hearty was their meeting. On the Bishop of Osnaburg approaching to shake hands with him, Prince William could not refrain from bursting out into a laugh at the singularity of the bishop's dress. His coat was a bright gamboge yellow, with large steel buttons, his lower garments of light blue kerseymere, and his waistcoat of a puce colour, richly embroidered; the pockets, as was then the fashion, covering a considerable portion of the lower dress. It was a costume so different from any that Prince William had lately been accustomed to behold, that he was almost inclined to believe that his brother had assumed it, for the purpose of creating a little mirth, by rendering himself as much like a merry-andrew as he could. But Prince William was soon undeceived, for he found it was a peculiar favourite dress of the bishop; and there is an anecdote extant, that when the Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnaburg resided at Kew, the former had made an appointment with a celebrated youthful beauty to meet in one of the avenues of the grounds at Kew, and to obviate all chance of detection, she was to be rowed over the Thames at dark from Brentford. The Bishop of Osnaburg, "in his cursed yellow coat," as the Prince of Wales afterwards always called it, accompanied his royal brother to the place of assignation, it having been made a preliminary by the fair one, that the Prince should bring a friend with him, for their acquaintance had as yet been of a very short standing, and was only progressing towards that point, which in a short time gave her the claim of being the first victim to the libertinism of the Prince of Wales. The Prince and the Bishop had not long perambulated the avenue by the river side, before they saw the boat push off from the landing place at Brentford, with the fair one on board, closely wrapped up in her cloak.

She was not long before she was landed on the Surrey shore, and the trio had not been long together, when unfortunately one of the ladies belonging to the establishment allured by the fineness of the evening, or as scandal reported

it at the time, for a purpose very similar to that for which the youthful beauty had crossed the river from Brentford, directed her steps, prompted by some evil genius, towards the spot where the royal brothers and their fair companion were conversing. There are no data existing by which we should be warranted in drawing the conclusion, that the faithful lover of the lady of the household was also to be rowed over from Brentford, or that she had any cogent motive for directing her steps towards the exact place where the lovers were in conversation, but according to her own report, she was very much startled on beholding something of a yellowish nature moving up and down between the trees. In the opinion of the lady it could not possibly be a ghost, as ghosts have always immemorially chosen white as their outward dress, and, therefore, it might be her lover. With this impression on her mind, she hastened towards the spot, when to her unutterable dismay, she discovered that she had been lured to the place by the yellow coat of the Bishop of Osnaburg, and that she had most disloyally and rudely broken in upon the privacy of the royal brothers, and under circumstances also, not of the most agreeable nature. She quickly retired, but to suppose that as a female she would not impart the particulars of her adventure to some confidential friend, under the pledge of the most profound secrecy, and that the confidential friend would not impart it to another confidential friend, under the same pledge, were totally to belie the nature of woman. Before twelve hours had elapsed, the yellow coat of the Bishop of Osnaburg was talked of by the scullery wenches as they were washing their dishes, and thence ascending through every grade of the household, it arrived at last to the ears of those to whose care the morals of the royal Princes were entrusted, and certain *sermones fideles* were immediately preached to them on the heinous crime which they had committed, and the stain, which had in consequence been affixed to their character. The degree of attention which the royal Princes paid to these admonitory sermons may be easily conceived, they were, how-

ever, productive of one effect, which was, that the Prince of Wales formed the resolution never to allow the Bishop again to accompany him on any similar expedition in his yellow coat, and the Bishop of Osnaburg also formed a resolution never to put on his yellow coat, when he had to meet a lady in the avenues of Kew Park.

It was not to be supposed that the Bishop of Osnaburg in his yellow coat, could present himself before his brother William, without rendering himself subject to one of those jokes, which sailors will pass on every occasion, which presents itself, and they seldom stop to inquire, by what degree of offence, they may be accompanied. "I was not, aware," said Prince William, to the Bishop, "that St. James Palace was like Greenwich Hospital." "Nor do I," said the Bishop, "know that any resemblance exists between them." "You are," said Prince William, "a decided proof that a great resemblance does exist, but I suppose you have been guilty of drunkenness, or some other vicious propensity; and they have punished you accordingly." "Drunkenness!" repeated the Bishop, looking at Prince William with surprise, "what do you mean? explain yourself—and tell me how, I have been punished for my vicious propensities." "Why," said Prince William, "do they not punish a pensioner at Greenwich Hospital for drunkenness, or other gross misconduct, by obliging him to wear a yellow coat, and he is then known by the name of a yellow admiral? Have I not then a right to suppose that you have in some way or other grossly misconducted yourself, and that they have put you on a yellow coat by way of punishment? but I am committing a breach of discipline, by speaking disrespectfully of my superior officer. I have been under the command of an admiral of the blue, the red, and the white, and now, if you please, I will sail under the command of a yellow admiral into the presence chamber of the King."

Arm in arm, the midshipman and the yellow admiral (for he was now known by no other name in the family circle,) proceeded to the presence chamber, where the former was formally

introduced to his royal parents by the lord in waiting, whilst the gallant sailor laid at his father's feet one of the flags which had been taken in the action with Don Juan Langara. This interview was a painful contrast between royal pride, and filial duty; it was the etiquette of royalty superseding parental affection, and was a convincing and irrefutable proof, that although Kings are born to govern, yet that very government requires from them, that they shall sacrifice their feelings as men, and become the mere instruments of convention and ceremony.

The qualities of individuals, concern chiefly themselves, and their connexions; an ordinary gentleman may have private virtues or vices, and he and they find refuge and oblivion in the grave. But a king has no character, that he can well call his own; he acts incessantly on the manners and morals of his subjects; all his proceedings affect the tastes or principles of the community, in a degree of which the precedents established by other men, are altogether incapable. Of a King, therefore, there is nothing sacred but his person, for we have a right to speak of those things of which we feel, and trace the results upon our own best interests. A King, in the truest sense, belongs to history, and his name and reputation fall within its stern grasp, from the hour at which the tomb receives his ashes.

There is a moral, no less than a political influence which a Monarch seldom fails to exercise over his people. Apart from prerogatives and political institutions, Kings reign over society in their persons and their habits, as they do by their Ministers over the state itself. Neither a Sovereign on the throne, nor a Prince in his palace, can enjoy an exemption from the first law of his regal existence, which places him on high for a constant spectacle, and a frequent model to others, nor can he grant to his subjects a license to free themselves from the fetters of sympathy and imitation, cast over them by the unavoidable ascendancy, whether it be for evil or for good of that Court, of which he forms the inspiring and moving power.

In the following remarks, we make no allusion to the immediate subject of these memoirs, but we are treating the matter abstractedly, and if it be alleged against us, that if at any time we expose the vices of a King, we are thereby bringing the individual into contempt, we simply answer, that we are not cognizant of any law, moral, political, or divine, which imposes upon us the obligation of selecting only the bright parts in the delineation of the character of an English Prince, and to be so imbued with a false spirit of charity and forbearance, as to huddle all his vices into the back ground, that neither their extent nor their enormity can be distinguished. A servile adherence, of this kind may suit the latitude of Madrid or Constantinople, but to an Englishman, his Prince is a part of his political property, and he becomes the object either of his approbation or his reproach, accordingly as he exhibits himself the votary of virtue or the follower of vice; he possesses the natural right, which is a part of his political inheritance, of passing his strictures upon the actions of his rulers, and although a sense of delicacy may restrain him, during the life-time of his Prince, from an exposure of his errors, yet he no sooner becomes the tenant of a tomb, than history steps in, and claims him as her own, and treats him as the meanest peasant of the land.

If we consult the chronicles of our country, we shall find that the tone of the people's mind generally harmonizes with the character of the ruling Monarch. The strenuous and elevated character of Elizabeth, formed the minds of her admiring subjects for deep reflection and vigorous action. That of James, so far as it had any influence, imbued them with his own appetite for solemn littleness, and the display of learning drawn from books, however indiscriminate and unprofitable. Charles II., by a course of audacious and systematic profligacy, transplanted into England every foreign vice. George I. and II., were strangers in the heart of England, of course, the country was little disturbed by their intrusion, or wrought upon by the coarse and vulgar stupidity of their vices.

If the Court of George III., had a powerful influence in maintaining the decencies of social intercourse through England; if his virtuous Queen, by her resolute contempt of vice, and vigorous exclusion of female profligates from her presence, did actually cover the cause of the adulteress with authorized and merited scorn; thereby awarding to female chastity, that worldly honour, which next to religion and her husbands and children love, is the surest guard of the matrons' virtue; if such were the respective meeds afforded at the Court of George III., to worth and impurity, it must be painful for us to speak of the opposite system, which prevailed notoriously, during the reign of his successor.

The profligacy of the Court of George IV., has become proverbial, and it must be acknowledged that a great portion of that profligacy is to be attributed to the want of a virtuous woman to preside over it. George IV. was a finished libertine, and as such he had no objection to see libertinism around him. As Prince of Wales, he too soon discovered that he was heir apparent to the Crown of England. The authority of his father, exercised over him with an unnatural strictness in his childhood, relaxed of necessity, as he advanced in years but vicious flatterers, those vultures, whose prey is the heart of Princes, lay in wait for the young adventurer, as he quitted the paternal roof, and when he was about to entrust his young bark upon the world, himself the pilot, and ignorant of the innumerable rocks, on which he might be wrecked.

Well would it have been for Prince William, as will hereafter be distinctly shown, had he continued to improve his mind and enlarge his sphere of knowledge on one of his father's ships, than have been thrown at this particular juncture into the society of his royal brothers, particularly the Prince of Wales. Amongst the various branches of knowledge which had been attempted to be engrafted on the minds of the Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnaburg, was the knowledge of the value of money; but no exertions on the part of their instructors, no examples which could be set before them, could instil into them, even the first rudiments of that science, and

thence some individuals were inclined to argue that they must have been deficient in the most ordinary powers of intellect which, as to one of them at least, was known to be an egregious error.

If it were thereby intended to establish the fact that neither of these Princes had ever been made conversant with the means through which money is lawfully procured, or with the uses to which it ought to be directed, the defect is unhappily too common to be incredible, in relation to persons of a rank so elevated that they need not labour for their bread.

Let the cause however, be what it may, the Prince of Wales soon acquired, if not an appetite for wasting money, a habit of prodigality, the most reckless.

To the last years of his existence, the woful spirit of waste and prodigality possessed the soul of George IV. As Prince of Wales, in the tawdry childishness of Carlton Palace, and in the mountebank Pavilion, with its grotesque clusters of pagodas, at Brighton, his Royal Highness afforded an infallible earnest of what one day was to be expected from him as a king, when his appetite for profusion, and the contempt for all that deserves the name of architecture should have reached their full maturity and perfection.

It may be alleged that the prodigalities and extravagance of the Prince of Wales, belong more particularly to his own history than to that of William IV.; and the allegation would be founded on truth, had the effects of those prodigalities been visited upon himself alone; but we are approaching an epoch in the life of William IV., in which those very prodigalities involved him in a transaction with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, which heaped disgrace upon him, and which rendered the names of the three royal Princes all over Europe, synonymous with that of a swindler.

In the delineation of the character of certain members of the royal family, we are by no means disposed to take any imaginary degree of virtue for a standard, but the fair English character, *such as it has been*; nor will we screen the selfish vanity of those, however exalted their rank, or however great their fortunes

may be, who possessed of the means of doing good, seem but to live for themselves, and to be utterly dead to the commonest calls of humanity.

In common life, looseness of morals, prodigality, and libertinism will always sooner or later find a check, for when properly exposed, they excite feelings of hatred, disgust, and contempt; but with the Princes of the blood royal of England, the direct contrary was the result; for no exposure, no public reprobation appeared to have the slightest influence in diverting them from the ruinous habits to which they had addicted themselves, and the consequences of which followed them to the latest hour of their life.

In comparison with some other modern nations, the English character stands preeminently high. Cowardice and treachery have brought on the ruin of most of the continental states; but amongst the public men of England, we have neither found a coward nor a traitor: and our enemies know that it is useless to seek for such characters amongst us. And even in regard to the Royal Family of this country, there exist some grounds of congratulation, for the public ear is no longer stunned with the reports of those atrocities, which brought royalty into disgrace, and which if persisted in much longer, would have led to the enactment of the same scenes, which were acted on the theatre of France; the catastrophe of which was the murder of the royal family on the scaffold.

It is a great misfortune for any youth, and still more so for one, who is placed on the top of the pedestal of human society, to be educated under parents, whose minds are fettered by prejudices, and who in the choice of the tutors for their children laid down a certain rule of tuition, the tendency of which was to perpetuate those prejudices in the minds of their children, and to make them the rule and guide of their conduct through life. The prejudice of high birth, has not, if properly examined, any thing substantial to stand upon; but it was a prejudice so strongly engrafted on the minds of the sons of George III., that every thing, in fact, was made subservient to it. It was held forth as an apology for their moral aber-

rations, and it was considered as an extenuation for the commission of actions, which would have doomed a common individual to public ignominy and contempt, and if the mind of Prince William showed itself superior to many of those prejudices, which distinguished his royal brothers, it must be ascribed to his early absence from his paternal home, and to his being thrown at an early age into the society of men, who had a different standard to judge of the worth of another, than by the star which glittered at his breast, or the garter which encircled his knee. That Prince William had by his intercourse with these men, divested himself of all prejudices attending on high birth, could not be rationally expected from him; but he was not long an inmate of his father's house, after his arrival in England from his naval campaign in America and the West Indies, before the ears of his parents were shocked with some liberal sentiments that issued from his mouth, relative to the standard by which he judged of his fellow man, with which rank and title had very little, or nothing at all to do. We must not, however, be supposed hereby to intimate that the royal parents of Prince William were dead to the excellences of moral worth, for in many respects, both of them were a bright and pleasing example of active virtue and goodness; but they were on certain points, the direct slaves of prejudice and antiquated habits. The court in which George III. had been educated, was one of open vice and profligacy; his mother was living in reputed dishonour with a Scotch adventurer, who had all the political tact of his countrymen about him in the promotion of his own interests; and his father, a weak and imbecile creature, was the promoter of such profligate scenes within the walls of Saville House, as were sufficient to destroy the germes of every virtue, which might shew themselves in the disposition of his son. Yet, notwithstanding these serious drawbacks upon his moral proficiency, his stupid and illiterate grandfather, George II., took particular care to have him inoculated at an early age with the virus of royal pride, and when he grew up, he became so blotched and scared with it, that it detracted considerably from some other beauties, for

which his character was distinguished. A German prince or princess without a superabundant stock of pride, would be a phenomenon in the menagery of the human race; and Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz, had perhaps the pride of a dozen princesses concentrated in her own person, which was quite a sufficient stock to bring with her into England, where it was not valued quite so highly, as in the mushroom principalities of Germany. Thus with two such examples of royal pride before him, it could not be expected that Prince William could escape the contamination, and to this very cause may be attributed the high and severe discipline which he maintained on board the ship which he commanded, and which was carried to that extreme of rigour, which made him any thing but a favourite with his officers and crew.

It was perhaps impossible for a young man to be thrown into two greater extremes than was Prince William, on his return from the West Indies. The transition from the orlopdeck of a man of war to the Court of St. James, must have been as striking as the sudden light of heaven bursting suddenly upon an individual, who had been for some time confined in total darkness. It was a sudden spring from a state of direct subordination to one of almost uncontrolled command; it was a bound from the disciplined sailor to the pliant and supple courtier, from dignity and honour, to sycophancy and intrigue.

On the passage from the West Indies to England, Prince William took great delight in the company of an English gentleman, a relative of the captain of the ship, who granted him a free passage to England. The eccentricity of his conduct, but still more the superior intellectual endowments which he possessed, rendered him a special favourite at the table of the captain, and many a sterling, but, perhaps at times, an unpalatable truth fell upon the ears of royalty, which inflicted, however, no further pain, than the salutary puncture of the lancet, with the view of effecting an after good. On the arrival of the ship at Portsmouth, this individual, who shortly afterwards shone as one of the most satirical writers of the day,

delivered to Prince William, a small package, saying to him, "The contents of this packet, if you know how to make a proper use of them, you will find of more essential value to you, than the most splendid jewel in your father's crown. Our very opposite relations in life, it is probable, will never bring us into social communion again, but if for the kindness and urbanity which I have received from your Royal Highness, during our passage home, the enclosed may be deemed worthy of being considered as some slight equivalent, or if the contents be in the slightest degree instrumental to the improvement of the mind of your Royal Highness, on certain points connected with your future conduct in life, I shall consider the hour which brought me into your society as a most fortunate one, and shall always recur to the remembrance of it, with the most heartfelt satisfaction."

Prince William broke the seal of the package on the first opportunity, and in an envelope, discovered the following epistle.

"THE ADVICE OF A MAN, WHO THOUGH NOT A COURTIER,
KNOWS WHAT A COURT IS."

"——— *Quid Leges sine moribus*
" *Vanae proficiunt?*

Hor.

"TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY, THIRD
SON OF THE KING OF ENGLAND."

"You are about to return to your father's Court, and Courts have always been remarkable for frivolity. I advise you in the first place, never to repose the smallest degree of confidence in any man there who professes himself your friend, though he may smile upon you, and embrace you, and promise you, aye, and confirm his promise with an oath. Believe no man there a sincere friend to you, and do you take care to be a sincere friend to no man. Nevertheless, you must pretend to love all you see, and shew the utmost suavity of manners and attentions to every individual. These attentions cost you not a farthing, therefore, you may be as lavish of them as you please. Pay your salutations with the softest smiles on your countenance, shake hands with the appearance of the most ardent cordiality, bow, and give way to all, stand cap

in hand, address every body by their titles of honour; bestow your praise without bounds, and dispense your promises most liberally.

"I would have you every morning, before you go to the Levee, or even that you are to be introduced to your father, which I understand to be the etiquette of the Court to which you belong, to practice in making up your face for the day at your looking glass in your private apartment, that it may be ready to assume any part in the farce, and that no glimpse of your real thoughts and feelings may appear, for such an act would in an instant absolve you from the character of a thorough bred courtier. You may study your gestures carefully at home, that in the acting of the day, your countenance, person, and conversation may all correspond and assist each other in keeping up your character at the court masquerade.

"These, believe me, your Royal Highness, are the elements of the courtier's philosophy, in the learning of which no man can be an apt scholar, unless he first of all divests himself of all sense of shame. Shame in a courtier, is like a blush on the countenance of a courtesan, it is forced and hypocritical; a true bred courtier leaves his natural face at home, and when he appears at court, he puts on a vizor and wears it constantly, until he is out of the atmosphere of a court, when he degenerates into his natural insignificance.

"If you attach yourself exclusively to the manners of a court, your dignity as a human being is sacrificed; on this subject your Royal Highness may take your lesson from the history of France, and it is my sincere wish, that in learning that lesson, you may be enabled to steer clear of the calamities which beset that kingdom by the pliancy and servility of courtiers. They idolized the hair of the women, whose head they afterwards cut off on which that hair grew, and if I be not misinformed, your royal mother once gave occupation to many hundreds of the subjects of her royal sire, by the colour of the gown which she wore, and a cursory remark which your royal father made upon it. The comparison was certainly rather strange, but it was, nevertheless, a royal one, and that is sufficient for the majority of courtiers.

"Your Majesty's gown is very like the colour of fleas!!! This sagacious remark was buzzed abroad, until every lady in the land became fidgetty, until she had dressed herself in a silk gown of a flea colour. The rage was caught by the men, and the dyers worked night and day, without being able to supply the demand for a flea colour. They nicely distinguished between an old and a young flea, and subdivided even the shades of the body. The belly, the back, the thigh, the head, were all marked by varying tints. This prevailing colour promised to be the fashion of the winter, but on a sudden, your royal mother left off the flea-coloured dress, and her courtiers wondered how they could possibly wear such an ugly colour.

"If we turn to the Court of France, we there meet very nearly with its parallel. The manufacturers of Lyons, presented the Queen of France with some patterns of new satins, of which in the exuberance of their loyalty, they wished to lay one at her Majesty's feet, as a proof of their devotion to her person. During the important period spent by her Majesty, in the choice of a particular satin, Monsieur happened to be present, and on her Majesty

at length fixing upon a particular colour, declared it was the very colour of her MAJESTY'S HAIR. Messengers were sent off on the spur of the moment, from Fontainebleau to Paris, to purchase velvets, ratteens, and cloths of this colour. The current price of an ell in the morning had been forty livres, and it rose in the evening to eighty and ninety. The demand was so great and the anxiety so eager, that some of her Majesty's hair was actually obtained by bribery, and sent to the Gobelins, to Lyons and other manufactories, that the exact shade might be caught and religiously preserved.

"I have now, your Royal Highness, given you two examples, of the servility of courtiers, and no two better examples can be taken, than from the Courts of St. James' and St. Cloud, the two reigning ones of Europe. But what country can flourish under the mean and adulatory spirit of the people, who imitate the whims and conceits of a Court, with more than apish mimicry. And to shew how little there is of truth and honesty in such servility, be it remembered that the nation so eager to catch the very colour of the Queen's hair soon afterwards, as I have before hinted, cut off the head on which it grew. Nothing silly, nothing overstrained can be lasting, because it wants a solid foundation. Let your father be careful, how he confides in Court compliments and the addresses of corruption. Mastiffs guard their master and his house better than spaniels.

"As an ostensible member of the court, you must not be idle, you must get scent of the various cabals and parties the court; but be not in a hurry to attach yourself to any of them, till you have duly reconnoitred. When you have found out your father's favourite, you have then your cue, remember to keep on the safe side of the vessel; it is only the lubber who goes to windward, when he is sick; the man who has a stiff neck, has no business at your father's court. But if your father's favourite be a down-right fool, do not scruple to flatter him, particularly on the extent of his knowledge, and should your father by some lucky means discover that he is a fool, by no means let your father know, that you had made the discovery before him. No man, and particularly a king, who according to the ridiculous law of England, can do no wrong, relishes to have his weakness exposed in the selection of his subordinates. Be assured, as soon as you have discovered what your father likes or dislikes, humour his fancy, and you may then guide him to whatever point you please. As often as you happen to be IN HIS PRESENCE, you must exhibit a face of apparently honest delight, as if you were transported with the privilege of being near the royal person. Consult your own interest in every thing, pay more court to enemies than friends—and if that interest be at variance with honesty and honour, be not over scrupulous—consult your interest, although those two virtues may be violated—follow these precepts, and you will become one of the most finished courtiers of the times."

He was indeed a bold man, who would dare to instil such precepts into the mind of the son of a king; but they are the precepts of a man, who knew the world, and not on its

most favourable side. He had read the volumes of the world with the same accuracy and advantage as he had read the volumes of his library, and by referring to Lord Chesterfield or the diary of Lord Melcombe, they will be found to be the very men, which Prince William was advised to become by his ironical and satirical friend. An individual may be corrupted by such means; but the people are not to be corrupted. They value truth, honour, sincerity, patriotism, and in their conduct often display them in their utmost purity. Shall courtiers then be listened to, when they represent the people as a swinish multitude, or as venal wretches? Shall courtiers, such as Lord Melcombe was, claim an exclusive right to direct human affairs, influencing senators to make and unmake laws at pleasure, and cry havoc when they please, and slip the dogs of war on the poor, either at home or abroad? Shall a whole nation be proud to mimic a court not only in dress, amusements, and all the vanity of fashion; but in sentiments, in morals, in politics, in hypocrisy, in religion, and in no religion at all?

Lord Melcombe and Lord Chesterfield were leading, able, and eloquent men, and considered in their day as ornaments of the court and the nation. But if they exhibit both precepts and examples of extreme selfishness, of deceit, and of a total disregard to human happiness; what may we think of their numerous dependents, under agents, persons attached to them by places, pensions, rewards, titles, expecting favours for themselves, their natural children, or their cousins to the third or fourth generation? Can we suppose these men to retain any regard for the public? Would they make any sacrifice to the general happiness of human nature? Would they assist liberty, or undergo trouble, loss, persecution in defence of the constitution? they themselves would laugh at the individual who would hold such a bizarre opinion, for they can be considered in no other light than as vermin sucking the blood of the people whom they despise.

Yet, these, and such as these are the men, the Lyndhursts, the Londonderrys, the Ellenboroughs, and the Castlereags, of the present day, who are indefatigable in declaiming against

the people, talking of the mischiefs of popular government, and the danger of admitting man to the possession of his inalienable rights. These and such as these, call all attempts at innovations, though evidently improvements, as bordering upon sedition. These are the alarmists, who cry out, "The church is in danger," in order to prosecute honest men, or to introduce the military to hack the backs of free-born Englishmen. The military are their delight and their fortress; and to compass their own base ends, they will not hesitate to bathe their arms in human blood, even up to the very shoulders. Their whole object is to aggrandize a power, of which they pant to participate, and from which alone, destitute as they are of merit and goodness, they can hope for lucre and distinction of vanity.

It is not to be supposed that the precepts of political wisdom, could obtain any great ascendancy over the mind of a royal youth at the age of eighteen, when the world was opening upon him with all the attractions and blandishments, and few of them, which were not within his reach. He had, indeed, seen the manners of many men and many cities; but his father's court was at this time, the focus of every thing appertaining to royalty in its fullest and most gorgeous sense. For the exclusion of female profligacy, it was a pattern for all the courts of Europe; but on the other hand, in regard to the male sex, the court of St. James' presented at this time an assemblage of the most desperate gamblers, and the most accomplished libertines, unequalled since the reign of Louis XIV. of France. There were men to be found in it of that depth of intrigue, though at the same time in possession of the most brilliant talents, who would stoop to any action, however, mean and contemptible, so that they ingratiated themselves in that quarter, where they supposed that their interests would be promoted. That the royal Princes would afford a rich prey to such vultures, may be conceived, and the results will soon display themselves from the attempts which these men made to build their own fortunes, on the ruin and wreck of the fame and character of their too credulous dupes.

Prince William had not been long ashore, before certain recollections arose in his mind of the scenes which he had passed in the company of a particular individual, the remembrance of whose angel features had often cheered him in the midnight-watch, and which could not be obliterated by the more commanding and splendid charms of the Havannah beauties. He felt within him all the magic force of a first love, a feeling that is never eradicated from the heart of man, but he soon discovered that parental authority, in its unlicensed severity, had in his absence been busily employed, and that a private communication had been made to the parents of the object of his affection, who having the certainty exposed to them that their daughter never could be the acknowledged wife of a son of the King of England, had removed her to the residence of a distant relative in the vicinity of Stirling in Scotland, where she finally married a branch of the Drummond family, and was entirely domiciliated in Scotland, never again to appear at that Court, of which she promised to be a most distinguished ornament. .

A British sailor is a migrating animal ; though he may for a time appear to revel in his pleasures on shore, he soon becomes satiated with them, and longs to return to his comparatively comfortless hammock, and to his wonted familiarity with those dangers, with which a maritime life is always attended. The splendid luxury of a palace, its chilling restraints, and tiresome ceremonies, did not exactly harmonize with the dispositions of Prince William, accustomed as he had been to the boundless freedom of a sailor's life, which in its continual round of variety, has such an impressive power over the human heart, and renders it eventually unfit for the performance of any of the regular and sober habits of domestic life. George III., from the crooked system of his education, had never seen any country but his own ; and he strongly felt the deficiency of that knowledge, in his intercourse with those foreigners with whom his exalted station brought him into almost daily association. A man who has never travelled, can lay little claim to being received in the rank of an enlightened character ;

his mind becomes warped by national prejudices, and not being able to institute any comparison between the degree of civilization, which exists in his own country, and that which exists in others; he forms to himself a standard, which is fallacious in its principles, and leads him continually into error on some of the most important points of national government. The secular Bishop of Osnaburg had been for some time on the continent, travelling from place to place, and the reports which were regularly conveyed to his royal father, of his astonishing progress in the knowledge of military tactics, had just as much relation with truth, as if they had reported that he was one of the most moral and virtuous Princes, that ever honoured Germany with his presence. His tutors saw in him, or pretended that they saw in him a future Hannibal or an Alexander; but unfortunately for the country, it experienced in him a stupid, blundering, impotent general, a worthless prince and a bad man.

The aim of the visit of the Bishop of Osnaburg to Germany, was military tuition. The aim of the projected visit of Prince William to the continent, was for the purpose of adhering to the fashion of those days, which rendered it necessary, that the heads of the noble families of England, and particularly the princes of the blood royal should be led over Europe by some graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, who after having shown his pupil, the churches, and the bridges, and the theatres, and the palaces, and the parks, and the fine women, and the essenced coxcombs, was to bring him back again to his native country, a greater fool, perhaps, than when he left it. One bear-leader is generally deemed sufficient for a sprig of nobility; Prince William, however, was to have two, from which the inference might be drawn, that if one bear-leader can instil a certain degree of knowledge into the head of his pupil, a double stock of knowledge must be imparted to the pupil, who has two to attend upon him. It never entered into the consideration of the sapient head of the royal individual, who appointed General Bude and Captain Merrick as bear-leaders to Prince William, that the exertions of one tutor might be wholly neutralised by

the counter exertions of the other, or in other words, that their opinions on certain important points of knowledge might be so diametrically opposite, that their pupil, instead of being instructed, would become bewildered, and his mind degenerate into a confusion of indefinite and unsettled ideas. On the point of moral conduct, no particular stigma could be attached to either: the character of the former has already been touched upon; that of the latter was in every respect unimpeachable. He had been brought up under Lord Hood, and in fact, Prince William had known him personally on the West India station, and he entertained for him a high personal esteem. The advantages, however, which were to accrue to Prince William from the choice of his two attendants, appeared to his royal father, as of the most sterling kind.—He had a soldier and a sailor with him, and although the latter could not expect to meet with much in the German courts, by which the professional knowledge of himself or his pupil could be enlarged, as few individuals were there to be found, who could tell the difference between the stern or the bows of a ship, yet, as it was most probable that his Royal Highness, would extend his tour into Italy, where he might have an opportunity of examining the fleet of the Pope and the King of Naples—that is, if he knew where to look for them; it became an act of prudent policy in the royal father, that his son should be accompanied by a naval officer, who could assist him in the examination of the Neapolitan navy, and on his return transmit to the Board of Admiralty, the result of their observations, of which, perhaps, the said Board of Admiralty would probably make the same use, as they did of some other improvements which had been communicated to it by his Royal Highness on his return from the West Indies.

With General Buda, however, the case was different, he was by birth a German, and the instructions given to him by the mother of his royal pupil were, that no exertions should be spared, nor any opportunity lost of germanizing him as much as possible, that is, of divesting him to the utmost possible extent of the noble and independent character of the Englishman;

and investing him with the stiff, haughty, and supercilious carriage of the German prince. The military spirit of Germany was to be infused into him, although it was at direct variance with the constitution of that country, over which he might one day be called to govern. The glorious character of the British sailor was to be lost in the pride and despotism of the German soldier. The English have, it is true, by the misconduct of their rulers become a military people; but on that very account they have become a degenerated people. The diffusion of military taste amongst all ranks, even the lowest of the people, tends to a general corruption of morals by teaching habits of idleness, or trifling useless activity, and the vanity of gaudy dress, and empty parade.

The strict discipline which is found necessary to render an army a machine in the hands of its directors, requiring under the severest penalties, the most implicit submission to absolute command, has a direct tendency to familiarize the mind to civil despotism. Mere, rational, thinking animals, equal to their commander by nature, and often superior, are bound to obey the impulse of a constituted authority, and to perform their functions as mechanically as the trigger which they pull to discharge their muskets. They cannot, indeed, help having a will of their own; but they must suppress it, or die. They must consider their official superiors as their superiors in wisdom and virtue, even though they know them to be weak and vicious. They must see, if they see at all, with the eyes of others; their duty is not to have an opinion of their own; but to follow blindly the behest of him, who has had interest enough to obtain the appointment of a leader. They become living automata, and self-acting tools of despotism.

While a few only are in this condition, the danger may not be great to constitutional liberty; but when the majority of the people are made soldiers, it is evident that the same obsequiousness will become habitual to the majority of the people. Their minds will be broken down to the yoke; the energy of independence weakened; the manly spirit tamed: like animals

which once ranged in the forest, delighting in their liberty, and fearless of man, caught in snares, confined in cages, and taught to stand upon their hind legs, and play tricks for the entertainment of the idle. They obey the word of command given by the keeper of the menagery, because they have been taught obedience by hunger, by torture, by the lash of the whip, by every mode of discipline consistent with their lives, which are *saleable property*. But they are degenerate, contemptible animals. Compare a bird or beast, thus broken down, with one of the same species flying in the clear expanse of air, or roaming in the forest. Their very looks bespeak their degradation ; the discipline of a Ducrow, causes the fiery steed to bend his knee, in apparent supplication. " But how are the mighty fallen !" when the animal has broken from his obedience to nature, to fall down prostrate before his human tyrant.

If the foregoing picture be a true one, the King of England, who gives his son a military education, acts in direct contravention of that constitution of which he is the acknowledged head, and by the proper support of which the stability of his throne can alone be maintained. We have no data by which we can judge of the degree of injury which the character of Prince William sustained by any part of the military instruction, which he received from General Bude ; on the contrary, we have every reason to suppose that a proficiency in military tactics was not exactly the object, which occupied the attention of Prince William during his continental tour.

It was, however, in the private consultations of the royal parents, respecting the future destiny of their offspring, and the imperious necessity of providing every possible means for the lineal succession to the Crown, that the plan was suggested by the royal mother, that although their eldest son was prevented by the law of the land from entering into a personal examination of the youthful beauties, who were then rising up at the different German Courts, and with whom a matrimonial alliance would be no disgrace to the blood of the Guelphs, yet the same objection did not exist in regard to their second and third sons, and it was by no means an improbable case, that

at some of the German Courts, a princess might be found, gifted with such personal attractions, as to make a durable impression upon the hearts of the royal youths, and the ridiculous and unnatural German custom might be adopted of betrothing them to each other, when it was also by no means an improbable case, that before a month had passed over their heads, they had each of them transferred their affections to some other individual.

Female beauty in the German Courts is a very rare commodity, that is, in the families of the reigning Princes; but had the Royal Princes been allowed to descend a little lower, they would no doubt have found many superlatively beautiful women, with whom they would have had no objection to form a matrimonial alliance, and who possessed every qualification for the wife of a British Prince, but the most indispensable one, namely, princely blood, a deficiency not to be overcome at the Court of St. James'.

Prince William having been furnished with the requisite introductory credentials to those Courts, which he might visit on his tour, left Buckingham House on the 31st of July 1783, for Greenwich, having with him as his attendants and instructors, General Bude, and Captain Marrick. The ship which was to convey him to Germany was then lying off Greenwich, and as he had never had an opportunity of inspecting that great national establishment, orders had been forwarded the preceding evening to the Governor, Sir Hugh Palliser, to hold himself in readiness to receive his Royal Highness, who had always expressed himself enthusiastically attached to the institution, and amongst the individuals then on the establishment, were many who had served with him, when he was in the Prince George, as well as when he was with Sir Samuel Hood on the West India station. His Royal Highness arrived at Greenwich about twelve, and he was immediately received by Sir Hugh Palliser, and the chief officers of the establishment, to whom he was afterwards introduced by Sir Hugh Palliser in the grand council room. It was a proud day for the old veterans of the hospital to see amongst

them a Prince of the blood royal, who had shared with them the dangers of the most memorable engagements of the late war, and who had faithfully fulfilled all the promises which he had made to his companions in battle, however low the rank which the individual might have occupied. One of the first inquiries of Prince William, was after John Adams, "the old commodore" of the Prince George, who it may be remembered was severely wounded in the action with Langara, and who had been received into Greenwich Hospital on the immediate intercession of his Royal Highness. It was a noble-minded trait in Prince William, who when he was invited by Sir Hugh Palliser to inspect the painted hall, as one of the most beautiful objects of the Hospital, said in the most friendly and familiar tone, "Let me first see John Adams," and John Adams was immediately sent for. Now was the moment for a King of England, to witness how weak and unsubstantial are the forms of ceremony and etiquette, when brought into immediate collision with honest worth, and conscious integrity. It was a fine display of the characteristic bluntness of the sailor, who with his three-cornered hat in his hand, marched into the presence of royalty, with the same noble confidence, as if he had been entering the mess-room of the hospital. The meeting between Prince William and the old commodore was such as might naturally be expected between two individuals, who, although at the very extremes of rank in human life, had yet fought under the same flag, and between whom a personal attachment had been formed, solely on account of character and merit, and not on account of a similarity of station. "Well! my Royal William," said the old iron-visaged tar, "I am comfortably brought up at last, and thanks to you for it—you promised me, when you visited me in my berth after the action with the lubberly dons, that you would find a berth for me for life, and I am now here safely moored. Thanks to you, my Royal William." His Royal Highness inquired of the old commodore, how many there were in the hospital, who were in the action with Langara, and he was informed that there were thirteen, on which he

handed thirteen guineas to Sir. Hugh Palliser, to be distributed amongst his old ship-mates; and putting two guineas into the hand of the old commodore, he told him never to want for a glass of grog, nor a quid of tobacco, as long as he had a guinea to give him. "I'll drink your health this very night, my Royal William," said the veteran, and true enough, he kept his word, for he was before night led back into the hospital, having a great deal more on board, than he could conveniently carry, and having lost his reckoning, he ran foul of one of the principals of the establishment, who paying no attention to the affirmation of the old commodore, that it was all owing to the Royal William, ordered him to be promoted to the rank of a Yellow Admiral, in whose uniform the old commodore, appeared on the following day, singing his songs to the praise of the Royal William.'

His Royal Highness having gratified himself with the sight of his old favourite shipmate, proceeded to inspect the painted hall, the chapel, and other principal departments of the noble establishment. His Royal Highness expressed his regret, that the hour appointed for the sailing of the vessel would prevent him witnessing the pensioners at their dinner, a sight which every Englishman ought to see, and which can never fail to excite in his breast, a higher feeling of patriotic pride, than the golden decorations of a palace, or all the glittering adjuncts of royalty. On his Royal Highness being conducted to the apartments of the pensioners, and particularly to what are called the show-wards, he expressed his disapprobation of the system of the latter, as throwing a source of emolument into the hands of a few of the pensioners to the exclusion of the rest. The casual visitor is always conducted to these show-wards, which are the epitome of neatness and cleanliness, some of the berths of which are fitted up in the most curious manner, reflecting no small degree of credit on the occupiers of them, but these wards are not the places by which an individual, who wishes to arrive at a correct knowledge of the general management of the interior of the institution, can succeed in his object. They are appropriated

for public exhibition, and as such are kept in a style of cleanliness, which must convey to the spectator a most flattering idea of the almost luxurious comforts which the pensioners enjoy, but on the inspection of the common wards, although cleanliness will be found to exist in a very particular degree, yet, there is nothing in them to impress the spectator with that high degree of approbation, which he is apt to express on his visit to the show wards. The occupiers of the latter do not show the visitor their neatly furnished apartments, nor the model of the Victory, nor all the other *curiosities* of the wards, (the occupiers themselves being the greatest of all the curiosities) without expecting some remuneration, and it is to this exclusive source of emolument, that Prince William objected. The pensioners themselves, are by no means the most mild and conciliating of human beings, on the contrary, they are a set of crabbed, grumbling, discontented creatures, and any exclusive privileges granted to a few, and particularly, if such privileges be attended with any pecuniary emolument, are certain of being the cause of a great deal of discontent, and secret murmuring. A cold collation was provided for his Royal Highness at the house of the Governor, and after having expressed himself highly pleased with the excellent order and discipline which were conspicuous through every department of the establishment, he took his leave, and repaired on board the royal yacht, the Princess Augusta, commanded by Captain George Vandeput, then lying off Greenwich.

The family of Captain Vandeput were originally Dutch, his predecessors having come to this country in the suite of King William. When George II. visited his Hanoverian dominions, Captain Vandeput's father was then first lieutenant of the ship that conveyed his majesty to Helvoetsluis, and he was the only officer on board, who could speak the German language. It was, therefore, to Lieutenant Vandeput, that his Majesty addressed himself on all matters relative to the ship; and on landing at Helvoetsluis, he was the bearer of the king's command to the Admiralty for promotion to the rank of captain. He was soon afterwards appointed to the command of the

Amazon frigate, having his son George serving under him as senior midshipman, and although he never rendered himself conspicuous by any extraordinary act of gallantry, yet the tide of favouritism ran so strongly in his favour, that he obtained the command of the Princess Augusta royal yacht; and it is well known that the command of the royal yachts is one of the snugest sinecures in the British navy. The passage of the different branches of the royal family to and from the continent calls these yachts into service for a few days; and one of them has lately been employed in conveying an odious individual to his kingdom in Hanover; and, God forbid, that it should ever be employed in bringing him back again.

It was the rumour of the day, that Captain Vandeput was indebted to Prince William for the promotion to the rank of admiral, which took place shortly after he had conveyed his Royal Highness to Germany. He died at Halifax, in Nova Scotia in March, 1800.

The royal yacht sailed immediately that Prince William came on board, and reached Gravesend the same night, when she came to an anchor. The tide did not serve until eight o'clock in the morning, and as Prince William rose early and was on deck by six o'clock, he expressed a desire to spend the intervening time in inspecting Tilbury Fort. General Buda assured him, that the sight of so insignificant a place, would not repay him for the pains which it would cost him. "It is a place," said Prince William, "that is associated with the history of my country, and therefore I wish to see it," and without any further parleying, the boat was lowered, and his Royal Highness was rowed ashore. A few cannon, that may at some former time have been fired, but which never could be fired again, were to his Royal Highness substantial evidences, that he was approaching a fort, and he saw the sentinel in a melancholy mood, pacing up and down before his sentry box, apparently quite in character, with the scene around him. The sentinel was wholly ignorant of the rank of the individual, who was approaching, and, therefore, began to assume those pompous airs, which men in his station are apt to put on, when they

fancy, that they are invested "with a little brief authority." "Is the governor here," asked Prince William, addressing himself to the sentinel.—"He is not *down*," replied the sentinel, eyeing the inquisitive young man with the stare of suspicion—"and what can you want with the governor?"—"Is the person who has the command of the fort to be seen," asked Prince William?—"He is not *up* yet," answered the sentinel.—"One is not *down*, and the other is not *up*," said Prince William, and he was proceeding to ring the bell of the great gate, "I say young man, that won't do here—you had better be off."—"Where is the sergeant of the guard," asked Prince William? and he was directed to a small room, at the door of which the sergeant soon presented himself, who put on a frown of displeasure, on seeing a young man, accompanied by two well-dressed gentlemen, intruding upon his *privacy* at that early hour of the morning. "I am told, the commander of the fort is not up yet," said Prince William.—"Bed is as good a place as he can be in," said the sergeant, "and so it is for every one, who has nothing to do."—"Will you deliver a message to him from me," asked Prince William.—"That will depend on what it is about," said the sergeant.—"Then," said his Royal Highness, "present to him the compliments of Prince William Henry, a son of the King of England; and tell him, that he is now on his way to Germany; and that he hopes on his return, he shall not only find him *up*, but also in a place in which he has something to do. The sergeant was not a little abashed, on seeing a Prince of the blood royal before him, and of course, in full consistency with the character of men of his grade, he dropped instantaneously from the altitude of his official dignity, to the lowest servility of the mercenary. Finding the report of General Bude to be founded on truth, his Royal Highness returned to the vessel, and the anchor being immediately weighed, the ship proceeded to sea.

The passage across the North Sea, was boisterous and unpleasant; but the Princess Augusta was a good sea-boat and ~~the~~ Royal Highness being himself, "every inch a sailor,"

bore the buffeting of the waves with that marked coolness and indifference, which under similar circumstances, are the sailor's invariable characteristics,

On the 1st of August, the Princess Augusta arrived at Stade, at which place, on the arrival of Prince William being known, he was immediately waited upon by the city authorities, the aulic counsellor of the place addressing him in a neat speech, which he returned a suitable answer.

In the evening, his Royal Highness was invited to a masonic festival, which was got up on the spur of the moment, in honour of him, as he was the first of the royal family of England, who had ever visited their city in the character of a free-mason. At his particular request, the following verses of Schiller's celebrated ode to joy were sung, the choruses being performed by some of the first singers of the city.

Freude heisst die starke Feder
In der ewigen Natur,
Freude—Freude treibt die Räder
In der grossen Weltenuhr.
Blumen lockt sie aus dem keimen
Sonnen aus dem Firmament,
Sphären rollt sie in den Räumen
Die des Sehers rohr nicht kennt.

CHORUS.

Froh wie Gottes Sonnen fliegen
Durch des Himmels prächtigen plan
Laufet Brüder eure Bahn,
Freudig wie ein Held zum siegen.

Aus der Wahrheit Feuer Spiegel
Lächelt sie den Forscher an
Zu den Tugend stillen Hügel
Leitet sie des dulder's Bahn
Auf des glaubens Sonnenberge
Sieht man ihre Fahnen wehn
Durch den Riss gesprengte Särge
Sie im Chor der Engel stehn.

CHORUS.

Duldet muthig Millionen,
 Duldet für die besaare Welt,
 Drohem überm Sternen Zelt
 Wird ein grosser Gott belohnen

Göttern kann man nicht vergelten
 Schön ist's ihnen gleich zu zeyn
 Gram und Armuth soll sich melden
 Mit den frohen, sich erfreun.
 Groll und rache sei vergessen
 Unserm Todfeind sei verziehn
 Keine Thräne soll ihn pressen
 Keine Reue nage ihn.

CHORUS.

Unsre Schuldbuch sei vernichtet
 Ausgesöhnt die ganze Welt
 Brüder—überm sternem Zelt
 Richtet Gott wie wir gerichtet.

Freude sprudel in Pokalen
 In dem Traube goldnem Blut
 Trinken Sfantmuth, Kannibalen
 Und die Schwachen, Heldenmuth.
 Brüder fliegt von eurem Sitzen
 Wenn der volle Becher kraisst
 Lass den Schaum zum Himmel sprützen
Dieses Glas dem guten Geist.

CHORUS.

Den die Sterne Wirbel loben
 Den der Seraph Hymne preist
Dieses Glas dem guten Geist
 Uerm Sternen Zelt dort oben.

Festen Muth in schweren Leiden
 Hülfe wo die unschuld weint
 Ewigkeit geschwornen eiden
 Wahrheit gegen freund und feind
 Männer Stolz vor könige thronen
 Brüder, gält es Glut und Blut
 Dem, Verdienste seine kronen
 Untergang der Lügen Brut

CHORUS.

Schliesst den heiligen zirkel dichter
 Schwört die diesem goldnem wein

Dein Gelübde treu zu seyn
Schwört es bei dem Welten richter

Rettung von tyrannen ketten
Grossmuth auch dem Bösewicht
Hoffnung auf den Sterbebetten
Gnade auf dem hochgericht.
Auch die Todten sollen leben
Brüder, trinket und stimmeth ein
Allen Sündern soll vergeben
Und die Hölle nicht mehr seyn.

CHORUS.

Eine heitre abschiede stunde
Süssen schlaf im Leichen tuche
Brüder, einen sanften spruch
Aus den todten Richters Mund.

Prince William had frequently heard his father speak in the most enthusiastic terms of this most glorious composition, which stamped the author as the first lyric poet of the age, although it subjected him to some very severe attacks on account of the pretended blasphemy, which some of the German Agnews fancied they discovered in it. The line which is marked in italics gave the greatest offence, and by way of retaliation, Schiller wrote his celebrated "*Ode of Die Gotter Griechenlands* (the Gods of Greece) which set all Germany in a ferment.

To attempt to infuse the spirit of Schiller into an English translation, would, indeed, be a hopeless and a presumptuous task. If, however, we can in any manner approach the matchless beauties of the original, we are certain that we are there by conferring a high degree of pleasure to the English reader.

Joy unceasing source of motion,
Animates the varied scene ;
Potent spring of wide creation,
Joy impels the vast machine.
Buds to flowers her influence ripens,
Suns she draws from realms above :
Rolls the sphere through boundless ether,
Far beyond the tube's survey.

CHORUS.

Joyous as the rolling year,
Wanders through the ethereal space ;
Let us speed our mortal race,
Gaily speed our short career.

Smiling sweet in truth's bright mirror,
Joy the searcher's toil requites,
Joy, the prize of mild endurance
Leads to virtue's steepy heights,
See on Faith's refulgent mountain,
High aloft her banners wave ;
Joy pervades the choir of angels,
Joy shall cheer the darksome grave.

CHORUS.

Learn the ills of life to bear
Check the tear, and still the sigh,
Heaven rewards the victory,
High above yon spangled sphere.

Naught requites indulgent Heaven,
Let us emulate its care ;
Sons of Poverty and Sorrow,
Haste and find a welcome here.
Fell Revenge and bitter rancour,
Shun the social gay retreat ;
Here be every foe forgiven,
Pardon every wrong await.

CHORUS.

Jars and broils no more be heard,
Peace her olive wand displays ;
He, whose eye the globe surveys,
Soon shall judge as we award.

Sparkling high in flowing glasses,
Flights sublime shall joy inspire ;
Cannibals inhale soft mercy,
Wild despair — heroic fire.
Now the mantling goblet circles,
Gaily quaff the generous wine,
Wine, the gift of bounteous Heaven,
Praise the Power, who gave the vine.

THE HISTORY OF THE

CHORUS.

He, whose praise, the tuneful spheres,
 Chaunt in ceaseless harmony ;
 He who dwells above the sky,
 Gave the vine to soothe our cares.

Calmly bear the frowns of fortune,
 Soothe the heart oppressed with woe,
 Sacred keep the plighted promise,
 True alike to friend and foe.
 Manly pride display to Princes,
 Give to modest worth its due ;
 Cherish truth, and all its votaries,
 Deprecate the perjured crew.

CHORUS.

Closer knit our holy bonds,
 Low at truth's bright altar bow,
 Swear to keep the plighted vow,
 Swear by Him, who all commands.

Wide may sacred freedom triumph,
 E'en may pity, vice await ;
 Hope attend life's latest glimmer,
 Mercy ward the felons fate.
 Lo ! the shrouded dead shall quicken,
 Mortals list, and Heaven adore ;
 Ev'ry crime shall be forgiven,
 Death and Hell shall be no more.

CHORUS.

Peace at Life's departing scene,
 Soft repose beneath the tomb,
 Looks benign and gracious doom,
 From the awful judge of men.

The arrival of an English Prince in a German town, was an event of so rare an occurrence, that had an earthquake happened, the good people of Stade could not have been put into a greater commotion, and, especially when that Prince brought with him the character of a bold and skilful sailor, which in a maritime town, is the best recommendation which a man can bring with him. The Germans were always particularly attached to illuminations, and it was suggested by

some of the sapient heads of the town council, met in solemn deliberation, as to the most respectful method which could be adopted of testifying their extreme delight in beholding a son of the King of England within the walls of their city; and it was suggested, that no method could be attended with a more striking effect, than by recommending to their fellow-citizens, to set the whole town in a blaze with lamps and tallow candles.

There was, however, amongst them, one antiquated, grey-headed Senator, who, when the plan of the illumination was proposed, shook his head, and exhibited that smile on his countenance, which sagacity is apt to assume, when ignorance or folly has projected a scheme, which under existing circumstances cannot be carried into execution. "Pray," asked the old Senator, "at what time do you intend the illuminations to commence?" "Why at night to be sure," answered one of the illuminists, "and," he continued "pray tell me, Herr Schuster, when would you have it commence?" "Why at night also," said the old Senator "Then, we are both agreed," said the illuminist. "Exactly so" said the old Senator, drily, "but at this time of the year, pray tell me when your night begins?" "Why, when it is dark," responded the illuminist. "Exactly so," said the old Senator—"but at this time of the year, half the inhabitants of the city go to bed by daylight, when then are they to commence their illuminations?" This question rather confounded the illuminists, and on investigating the matter a little more minutely, it was discovered that the old Senator was the wisest amongst them, for as an illumination by daylight would be a direct absurdity, some other method of testifying their respect for the royal youth must necessarily be adopted.

In the midst of these cogitations, information was received, that it was the intention of his Royal Highness to leave the city at an early hour on the following morning, as it was his anxious wish to hasten his arrival at Hanover, where he expected to meet his royal brother, the bishop of Osnaburg.

Prince William was now in the land of his progenitors, of home story his so rich in its descriptions, and with whom the

present race of men form so strong, and in many instances a degrading contrast. The march of improvement has not been very rapid in some parts of Germany, especially in the northern parts of the Hanoverian territory; but it has now in many places, rather the appearance of a well-cultivated garden, than the rough, cold, inhospitable country, which it formerly presented. The traveller, however, who expects to find in the Hanoverian territory, any grandeur or simplicity of scenery, will find himself most egregiously disappointed, for it is in general, a flat, tame, monotonous plain, with scarcely the slightest undulation to relieve the eye, and appearing in some parts to be almost an interminable forest, through which the main road passes in one undeviating line, which stretches out as far as the eye can see, closing in a point. An Hanoverian has no idea of a mountain, and, therefore, according to Johnson, in his *Criticism on Glover's Leonidas*, no Hanoverian can write an epic poem, and in confirmation of Johnson, an epic poem was never known to have been composed by a native of Hanover.

Prince William, though not deeply read in the history of Germany, was still not wholly ignorant of the character of the Germans, as they have been depicted by the ancient historians, nor of the country itself, as it appeared in the time of the celebrated Hermann.

From the sources of the Rhine, to the coasts of Pomerania, it was one continued forest; bears and wolves were the sole inhabitants of the recesses of the mountains, and animals which are now extirpated, had the dominion of the tremendous forests, over which, impenetrable as they were to the beams of the sun, a cold, damp, fog constantly floated. In the German plains, however, now and then a thinly sowed cornfield was to be seen, with here and there two or three meadows, on which some miserable cattle were feeding, and in some retired nook stood, a wretched hovel, the residence of the self-chosen proprietor of the surrounding territory. Here, resided at a distance from the vanity and ambition of the world, a stranger to the vices and passions of the effeminate Romans, happy and cheerful in the consciousness of their freedom, a strong, courageous, heroic race; rude

and uncivilized, indeed, in manners and pursuits ; but simple and true, faithful, and honest, and robust and vigorous in health. The Romans called these people, from their brave and warlike dispositions, GERMANI, and with justice considered them an ancient, pure, uncontaminated, original people. No other race was to be compared with them, and amongst the thousands of the pure German race, there was only one, universal, general form. In stature, they were tall and noble ; their chest broad and strong ; their hair in general flaxen and hanging down their backs. From their blue, penetrating eyes, shot fire and power, and bravery and heroism ; and the Romans themselves acknowledged, that they could not withstand them. The method in which the original Germans were brought up contributed not a little to the health and vigour of their mind and body. The German child was brought up under every species of hardship, and inured to all the inclemencies of his rude and unsettled clime. He wore but few clothes, and was accustomed in his earliest years to heat and frost, hunger and thirst, dangers, and privations. His favourite pursuits were war and the chase. The youth were accustomed early to the use of arms, and it was to them a memorable day in their life, when for the first time they were allowed to accompany their father into the woods after the savage animals, or to follow him to the wars. The early Germans were, however, little inclined to agriculture, or, indeed, to any kind of personal labour ; the tillage of the field, and the domestic business were entirely carried on by the women and children. When, therefore, neither war nor the chase occupied his attention, he passed his time in unsociable inactivity, or in order to beguile the time, gave himself up to gambling and drinking ; and he often yielded himself up to the former with such an invincible passion, that when he had lost every thing, he would stake his own person on the cast of a die, and lose his most valuable privilege, his freedom.

If these passions are to be placed on the dark side of the character of the olden Germans, there is on the other hand in the brighter part of the picture, no European people to be found,

in whom discipline and order, fidelity and integrity were in higher estimation. Their word was more to be depended upon than the oath of their successors. No one then made a jest of vice, and it was then no mark of high birth to corrupt themselves, or to corrupt others. Morality with them could effect more than the laws could accomplish, where in the jargon of the world, men became more civilized. The German was a king in his house; but he did not abuse the power that was invested in him. The husband was faithful to his wife, followed her counsel, and endeavoured to obtain her esteem and approbation; and maintained her fidelity towards him. They honoured the rights of hospitality and dignity of age. Above every thing, however, he esteemed his country and his freedom: he attached himself with his whole soul to the common cause, and for it he would sacrifice his whole life. **ONE FOR ALL, AND ALL FOR ONE**, was the motto, when the defence of his country, and the maintenance of his independence were the points at issue; and he who fell in the contest for them, his name was centuries afterwards to be heard solemnized in the songs of the inspired bards.

Such was the character which history had imparted to Prince William of the primitive races of his forefathers—how different however was the character which now presented itself to his observation. Effeminate and demoralized, the present German has lost all his nationality and has become a compound of the vices and frivolities of other nations. If Prince William had sought all over Europe for a theatre in which he could see enacted the causes of the fall and decline of nations, he could not possibly have fixed upon one more suitable for his purpose, than the state of Germany at the time when he visited it. The golden era of the nationality of Germany had passed away, and in vain would his Royal Highness look about him for that general character which once stamped the Germans as *the central and meditative people of Europe*. A series of unfortunate circumstances combined to effect this destruction of the original German character, and to leave it a kind of motley harlequin exhibition, a subject of

shreds and patches, but of no actual individuality with the early Germans, the idea and the expression were one and the same thing. *German* then signified *national*. But it is wholly different with the modern Germans. Their *nationality* or their *German genius* is destroyed, and by their own fault. Herder very pointedly calls the Germans *a nation that is not a nation*, but there was a time, when such was not the case. The old man recalls to his memory the force and vigour of his youth, but the present Germans, such as Prince William saw them, can scarcely recollect when they were a people, and when they were more intimately nationalized, than they are at present. As a people, they have never recovered the injury which was caused them by the ignominious and unfortunate Treaty of Westphalia. It was unfortunate, because the union of the Low Countries and the Rhenish Confederation, entirely separated them from the Germanic Body. The Rhine ceased to be the guardian river of Germany, for its source and its outlet were situated in countries, fortified by nature, but inhabited by people, who were a kind of bastard German. It was ignominious, because the conditions of it were dictated by foreigners to the Germans. It was dishonourable, because their own allies pillaged their country, whilst the Germans were obliged to satisfy themselves with a few fragments, which the insulting mercy of their enemies left them for their prey.

The exterior connexions of states, do not constitute the nation. Men cannot be packed together like herrings in a tub, nor can they be confined in herds, like deer in a park, or like the warriors of Xerxes, which were counted by bands of ten thousand. The act of living together does not constitute a real society. The act of living in a perfect intimacy, the habitude of calm and amicable connexions, the lively and ardent reciprocity of love, that it is, which constitutes the nation, and maintains it in its nationality. Then the fire of youth associates itself with the viril force of mature age, and with the rich experience of senectitude. Such a people are perfect, penetrated with the sentiment of the power of its own nationality, and which worthy of humanity, enjoys in itself a force of

creation and thus collects in an eternal circle, that which creates, and that which is created.

A visit to the country of Hanover must necessarily have excited in the breast of Prince William some singular reflections on the political state of Germany and the relative situations of the country, to the kingdom of which his father was the monarch. A very small exercise of his reflective powers would have told him, that Hanover has always been a curse to this country rather than a blessing, involving it in a series of continental wars, in which England herself had no general interest, but not unfrequently did she make Hanover the apple of discord, which she threw amongst the belligerent powers of Europe, rendering thereby her own immediate quarrels the cause of a general war. In the crusade of the continental powers against France, the King of England, in his capacity as Elector of Hanover, was obliged to furnish his contingency to the grand confederated army of Germany, and as King of England, with all the prejudices of his grandfather for his electoral dominion, he could not but interfere in the contest, and the result was, that the whole of the country fell under the government of Napoleon.

At the period of Prince William's visit, the government of Hanover was in a most wretched condition, but neither General Bude, nor Captain Merrick possessed that tact of mind, which could impart instruction to the mind of their royal charge, on the principles of government, or on the defects which particularly distinguished the government of his father's electoral dominions. The points on which Prince William was to be principally educated had all a tendency to mere military matters, and to none of those important subjects, in which a Prince of this realm, with the prospect of a succession to the Crown, ought to be thoroughly versed. The introduction to the German Courts was not for the purposes of making him acquainted with their forms of government, their internal or external policy, their laws and institutions; but, it was to study the discipline of their armies, to attend to the periodical reviews of the troops, those playthings of kings, and to attain

a correct knowledge of the power which they possess in suppressing the opinions of an oppressed people. General Bude could instruct his pupil in the difference between a counter-mine and a bastion; and Captain Merrick on the continent of Europe had no opportunity presented to him of enlarging the mind of his pupil in naval tactics; but, in those branches of knowledge, without which no education is complete, they were both lamentably deficient, and it may be added as a positive proof of the truth of that allegation, that Prince William after his departure from Hanover, was as ignorant of its municipal institutions, as when he set his foot in the town.

On Prince William leaving Stade, he directed his course to Hanover, where he was to be joined by his brother the Bishop of Osnaburg, who at that time had been absent about three years from England, rubbing off the sterling gold of the English character, to invest himself with the base and spurious metal of German nobility. The individuals, who travel merely for amusement, or who make an amusement of travelling, generally return to their native country as great blockheads as when they left it; and if the following programme of a day spent by the royal brothers at Hanover be strictly analysed, the result at the end of it will not be found to have been very productive of advantage to the intellectual qualifications of the youthful Princes.

At eight o'clock in the morning the valet attended in their bed-room to assist them in dressing for their morning occupations; the toilet being completed, the royal brothers with their usual attendants met in the breakfast-room, during which repast, the conversation generally turned upon the manner in which they should *amuse* themselves for the day. Etiquette required of them that they should pay some morning visits, for although Prince William travelled under the name of Lord Fielding, and the Bishop of Osnaburg under that of Count Hoya, yet, being known to be the sons of the King of England, they were subject to the observance of certain rules of etiquette, which are the peculiar perquisites of royalty. The visits having been paid, at which were exhibited the stiffness

and formality of the German aristocrat in the fullest extent, the royal Princes repaired to the stables to inspect the stud of cream-coloured horses for which Hanover is celebrated, and from which the royal stud in England is supplied, and they are not the only pampered, useless creatures which have been imported from that country into England, and which like them, are only used on *state* occasions. The cream-coloured horses in England are rather harder worked than those in Hanover, for the former do leave their stalls on the occasion of an opening or prorogation of Parliament, but at the time when the royal Princes were at Hanover, the celebrated stud was only called into action on the coronation of an Emperor of Germany, when they were sent to Frankfort on the Mayne, at the rate of ten miles a day, for fear of fatiguing them, to be there made use of in dragging the representative of the Elector of Hanover in a clumsy vehicle very much resembling the ugly gingerbread coach of the Lord Mayor of London, once a day to the Romerberg, and now, they will most probably be employed in dragging about an individual, whom a cruel destiny has given to their country as a monarch, but, whom, thanks, everlasting thanks to the good genius of this country, has been taken out of this, never again, we hope to pollute its shores with his odious presence.

After spending about two hours in the inspection of the stables, and in familiar conversation with the grooms on the merits of the respective horses, their mode of treatment, the temperature of the air in which they are kept, the difficulty of keeping their heels from greasing on account of their inactive state, and other such important matters requisite for princes to know, who are on their travels in search of knowledge and edification, the royal brothers directed their steps to the markt-platz, where the troops were drawn out for their inspection. Here General Bude was completely *at home*, and Captain Merrick *abroad*. The superiority of the German human machines to those of England, was distinctly pointed out, and proved by the worthy General, and the severity of the discipline, and the skill displayed by the Hanoverian troops in

their military evolutions, were not only the theme of his admiration, but they were held forth as the pattern to be adopted in the English army, whenever the Bishop of Osnaburg should possess power and influence enough to enforce their introduction.

The review being completed, the time had arrived for the attention of the Princes to the important duties of their toilet, preparatory to their appearance at the dinner-table of some high official, at which, as far as Prince William was concerned, it was a meeting, dull, formal, and uninteresting. His contracted knowledge of the German language, and the total ignorance of the Hanoverian functionaries of the English, prevented any social intercourse taking place between them, so that his conversation was necessarily confined to his own countrymen, which, combined with the extraordinary formality, which invariably characterizes the meetings of the higher ranks in Germany, and the absence of the greatest charm of all social meetings, namely, female society, rendered the hours passed at the tables of the Hanoverian nobility, irksome and unpleasant.

Out of compliment to the English Princes, the English custom of drinking after dinner was introduced, that is to say, that the bottles and the glasses were allowed to be placed on the table; but in regard to conviviality, or any generous relaxation of the heart and mind, which distinguishes the after hours of a dinner party in England, the very reverse was the case. The Bishop of Osnaburg was always a hearty drinker, and although Prince William was rather more abstemious, yet there were moments of conviviality in which he took particular pleasure, and when influenced by his love of fun and humour, he generally rendered himself the most conspicuous individual at the table. The German nobleman at the head of his company knows nothing of the circulation of the bottle; the guests help themselves according to their pleasure, and as the German is at no time a very affable or conversable creature, the meeting generally passes over with ennui and distaste.

The early hour at which the theatre opens at Hanover, was

also a great check upon the conviviality of the table, and although Prince William could understand very little of the declamatory part of the performance, yet an appearance in the theatre being a proof of being one of the *haut ton*, in the same manner as an attendance at the Opera House in London on a Saturday night, is an outward demonstration of belonging to the *lite* of the fashionable world, it was not to be supposed that the royal Princes would commit so great an offence against the fashionable customs of Hanover, as to absent themselves from a place, where the *haut ton* of the city congregated, and which was attended for other purposes than witnessing the robbers of Schiller, or the Virgins of the Sun of Kotzebue. In this respect, perhaps, no great difference exists between the theatre of Hanover and the Opera House of London, for in both are enacted scenes of immorality, intrigue, and vice, which place the moral sentiments of the upper classes in a most disreputable light. It must, however, be conceded to on the part of the frequenters of the theatre of Hanover, that they do not wish all the world to see what is going on in the boxes, for to each is attached a curtain, which is either drawn close, or kept wholly open according to the nature of the scene which is enacting within; in the Opera House at London, however, neither disguise nor concealment is considered in the least degree requisite.

The performance at the Hanoverian theatre, being limited to either a tragedy or a comedy, without any of the tomfooleries, which disgrace the English, stage the whole of it is finished by seven, o'clock, when the saloons of the literati and the politicians are opened, and certain places of amusements, offer their enticements to the dissolute youth of Hanover, amongst which are the gambling houses. It was to the latter that the Bishop of Osnaburg and Prince William generally resorted, and although the latter was by no means so much addicted to that destructive vice as the former, yet he was made the subject of a most vicious example, and became initiated in all the arts and stratagems of the professed gambler, at that period of his life, when the character of the

individual is formed, by which he is to appear in the world, and on which depends his misery or his happiness.

The foregoing, may be considered as a birds-eye view of the manner in which the Royal Princes passed their time, which was supposed by their father, to be employed in the general improvement of their mind, and in the acquisition of those branches of knowledge, which were to fit them for properly, fulfilling that important station of life to which they were born.

General Bude and Captain Merrick were ignorant of the true principles on which the education of a British Prince ought to be founded. They knew little of the history of that country to which their royal pupil belonged, and still less of those, through which it was their intention to lead him. They had acquired but a very faint knowledge of the polity of nations, and as to any model on which to erect the character of the royal youth entrusted to their charge, it was a subject to which they paid little or no attention. It was the advice of Machiavel, a man, whose fate it has been to be much celebrated and little understood, like Thomas Paine of this country, that every individual who is destined to be either a statesman or a commander, should form to himself at his entrance into public life, some great model of imitation from the conspicuous characters of preceding ages. By the ancients, this practice was generally observed, and it might be of equal service to the moderns, but was this practice ever put in force with the education of the royal youths of Great Britain? On what model was it attempted to form their characters, or what part of history, ancient or modern, was laid before them as the object of their immediate study? Cæsar, and Hannibal, and Alexander, with their victories, and their conquests might not have been unknown to the Bishop of Osnaburg, but great as those men appear in the age in which they lived, yet the models which ought to have been laid before the royal youths should have been taken from modern history, from those men, who have not lived in the midst of institutions which are now

become obsolete and antiquated, but who have been placed in the same situations with themselves, who have had the same dangers to encounter, the same system to pursue, the same objects of ambition for their motive, the same honour and offices for their reward. Or will it be said, that in modern history no such models are to be found; could either General Bude or Captain Merrick, have told their royal pupil that no modern historian had left, *multas nobis imagines, non solum ad intuentum, verum etiam ad imitandum*. It is too much the fashion of modern tutors, especially those to whom the education of royalty and nobility is intrusted, to refer their pupils to ancient history, for their examples of whatever is great or good in the human character, as if all their praises were to be engrossed by the mighty names of Greece and Rome. Are there none in later times, the beams of whose glory might shine directly upon a youthful royal mind with a more intense and vivifying influence? Are there none, who have "as greatly lived, as bravely died?" None, who have been willing martyrs to liberty or to religion? None, who extended the range of human intellect? None, who forgetful of themselves, have devoted their families, their persons, or their fortunes to the general interests of the human race? None, who from the eminence of historical renown, may appear as beacons to those who were about to commence the voyage of life, and as being connected with royalty, environed with the most imminent perils; were there none who might teach the scions of royalty that true, that genuine heroism which consists in daring to do all that is honourable, and in abstaining from everything that is disgraceful or tainted with vice. Were no examples to be found which could teach them that genuine enthusiasm, which is no more than a warmer perception of the best feelings and holiest aspirations of our nature, whose whole conduct in short, may inspire courage in action, and fortitude in suffering, virtue throughout the course of existence, and fearlessness at its close? Such an assertion could only be made by those, who are bigots to ancient, or who are ignorant of modern

history. George III., was anything but a well-educated man; George IV., was educated more in the shining, than the substantial attainments of human knowledge; the taste of the Duke of York, was more confined to low and vulgar obscenity, than to the acquisition of solid or useful learning, and it cannot be concealed that the mind of the Duke of Clarence was not directed by his tutors, to those sources of knowledge, without the acquisition of which no character can be either great or grand. Immersed in old and antiquated prejudices. George III., appeared to have forgotten all the characters and achievements in the latter ages of the world, and if any of the achievements of those characters bore on the enfranchisement of their countrymen, from the yoke of despotism and tyranny, they were denounced as improper and dangerous, to be held forth as examples for his royal sons. Such names as Wallace or Hampden, Doria or Tell, Paoli or Kosciusko, were too much *en mauvaise odeur* with George III., to allow the mouths of his children to be familiar with them. Modern history was in many instances too much tainted with the spirit of liberalism, to be a favourite part of the study, in which a Bude or a Merrick was to engage their royal pupil. The heaven-born rights of royalty; its indefeasible, its imperscriptible privileges, were to be the continual theme of instruction, and those passages from modern history were particularly to be culled out, which went to show that there existed a right divine in kings to govern, and a moral, irrevocable obligation in subjects to obey, but at the same time, it never entered into the capacity of the royal tutors, that Princes who are born to govern, can never govern well, unless they be thoroughly versed in the knowledge of the different forms of Government by which the destinies of nations are determined, and on which depend their rank which they hold in the scale of human civilization.

There is scarcely a country in Europe, from which the royal tutors might not have selected some model or example, which might have been a great advantage to their pupil. Has the north of Europe never seen a Gustavus or a Peter? The south a Lorenzo or

a Leo? Have there been no warriors in Germany from Arminius to Eugene? In France from Martial to Turenne? Are there no statesmen in modern history? Has Sweden never possessed an Oxenstiern? France a Richelieu or a Colbert? Spain a Ximenes or an Albaroni? England a Burleigh or a Chatham? Has not Alfred, been a patriot King? Is the godlike philanthropy of Howard a dream? Have not Latimer and Ridley triumphed amidst the flames in order to preserve the purity of that religion which connects Heaven with earth, and man with his maker? Have we not perceived the spirit of enterprize in Magellan or in Cook, to omit more recent and even present instances, undertaking or performing the longest labours for the benefit of science; daring the elements; confronting unknown perils; traversing the ocean; and circumnavigating the globe? Have no pious missionaries left the ties of country and kindred; exposed themselves, alone and unprotected to neglect, ignominy, imprisonment, and torture in the remotest tracts of Asia, America and the Polynesian Islands, and persevered with patient calmness, amidst the insults of barbarism, and the scorn of idolatrous stupidity to promote the advancement of the christian faith and the happiness of unenlightened man?

The latter, indeed, may be said to be strange characters to uphold for the imitation of a British Prince, and they are most probably the last which they would like to assume, or which their tutors would attempt to put upon them; but whether we look into ancient or modern history, a multitude of characters present themselves, which might have been selected as a model for Prince William, and it would have been better for them had they known so much of ancient history, as to know, that there once lived a man of the name of Charondas, a Thurian legislator, who made a law, prohibiting a *social intercourse with bad men*, a caution which certainly had been most frequently omitted by the legislators of the father of their royal pupil. Charondas was satisfied that ingenuous minds were often corrupted by a familiarity with men of licentious manners. Vice is contagious as well as malady: our propensity to evil is strong, and many who have in youth a warm affection for

virtue, by the gradual but the powerful influence of bad example sink into total depravity. If the law above mentioned had ever been introduced into the English code, what a confusion would have arisen in the royal family of England, particularly amongst the junior branches of it.

Free intercourse with the licentious liver,
Even when by nature, we are born for virtue,
Perverts the manners and corrupts the soul.

It was the licentious livers with whom George IV., when Prince of Wales associated, that destroyed his morals and corrupted his soul, and at the time when the royal Princes were at Hanover, there were some characters belonging to it, what was there styled the court party, although no court was ever held, from whose contaminating society, the friends of both the Bishop of Osnaburg and of Prince William, ought to have removed them with all possible expedition. Amongst those characters was Baron Hardenberg, than whom no man was more fitted for the vices and profligacies of a court. He began his career of vicious infamy at the court of Berlin, from which he was obliged suddenly to absent himself, on account of some scandalous fraud, which he had committed at the gambling table, and having sojourned for a time at the Hague, where he was more guarded and circumspect in his conduct, and being a skilful tactician in the lower department of diplomatic intrigue, he was sent to Hanover to probe the feelings of the electoral states on some important changes, which were then in agitation in the constitution of the germanic empire, as well as the strong desire which had been manifested by some of them to emancipate themselves from all dependence on the house of Austria. His polished manners, his exquisite courtier-like qualities, his handsome and commanding exterior rendered him a special favourite in the higher circles of Hanover, particularly amongst the female branches, and with the exception of his well-known character, as a deep and successful gambler, which in the estimation of the Hanoverians was no stain at all, he had by a dexterous system of cunning and address established himself

fully in the good opinion of the Hanoverians, and at the time of the arrival of the royal Princes of England, he was considered as one of the most influential men of that particular part of the country. His introduction to the royal princes took place as a matter of course, and his natural shrewdness soon enabled him to discover one of the ruling vices of the Bishop of Osnaburg, which was that of gambling, and with the customary tact of the skilful gambler, he allowed his royal Highness at first to be a considerable winner. Prince William was also a winner to some amount; but to the credit of Captain Merrick, be it recorded, that he gave his royal Highness a seasonable warning, which saved him from those ruinous losses, which in a short time befel his royal brother. There is scarcely any thing which exasperates the desperate gambler more than for an individual, who is a considerable winner to retire from the gambling table, at the very moment, perhaps, when the plans are ripening towards perfection, by which the ruin of his victim is to be accomplished. Prince William had won a considerable sum of Hardenberg, which had been purposely connived at by him, in order to draw his victim on to still higher stakes, and then eventually to include him in the number of his victims. The timely warning of Captain Merrick rendered him, comparatively to what he had been, a stranger at the gambling table which drew from Hardenberg some aspersions on the character of his royal Highness, which coming to the ear of Captain Merrick, he called upon Baron Hardenberg for a full retractation of them, or he would call upon him for that satisfaction, which he had a right to demand of him as the accuser of the character of an individual whom he was bound to protect, and particularly as in the line of conduct which he had pursued, he had been guided entirely by his advice, and, therefore, he rendered himself responsible for whatever consequences resulted from that advice. It was not to be supposed that an occurrence of this nature would not make a great sensation in the States of Hanover, and on its coming to the ears of Prince William, he insisted in the most peremptory manner that Captain Merrick should not be exposed to any risk in the defence of his character,

hesitated not a moment in conveying a message through Captain Campbell, who belonged to the first regiment of foot guards in England, and who happened to be at that particular juncture in Hanover, demanding a full and public retraction of the aspersions which he had thrown upon his character, or that Captain Campbell was empowered to arrange the time and place, leaving the choice of weapons to be determined by the respective friends of the two parties.

General Bude, now considered it high time to interfere in the business, so as to prevent a hostile meeting taking place, and at the same time, not to compromise the honor of his royal pupil. Fortunately for the General, he found an auxiliary in his cause in the most unexpected manner, in the person of the Dowager Countess Stolberg, whose husband, had been an accredited agent of the Elector of Bavaria, at the Court of Berlin, and who on account of his extraordinary literary attainments, was an especial favourite with the great Frederick. He had resided at Berlin, during the time that Baron Hardenberg was obliged to fly the city on account of his gambling frauds, and on his decease, his amiable Countess retired to Hanover, it being her native country, and although she was privy to the circumstances which had compelled Hardenberg to leave Berlin, yet from a noble spirit of generosity and liberality, she had forborne to divulge the transaction, not wishing to injure him in the estimation of those individuals of rank and respectability, with whom he was in the habit of associating, and perhaps be the means of obliging him to seek a residence in a distant country. The circumstance of Hardenberg having traduced the character of an honourable and amiable Prince, when such a heavy stigma rested upon his own, and as a probability existed that fatal consequences might issue, were not the affair terminated in an amicable manner, the Countess determined in confidence, to impart to General Bude, the circumstances of Hardenberg's disgrace at Berlin, leaving him to make whatever use he pleased of the information. General Bude lost not a moment in waiting upon Baron Hardenberg, and in a resolute manner insisted

upon a full and ample apology being made to his Royal Highness for any, and every aspersion that he had had the presumption to cast upon his character, or he would appeal to the unpleasant expedient of shewing to the public, that the character of Hardenberg itself, was so tainted with infamy, that it would be an actual disgrace to any man whatever his station might in life, be much less then a Prince of the blood-royal of England, to meet him on the terms of that equality of condition, which is supposed to exist between individuals, who are to be placed in a hostile position against each other. Baron Hardenberg was thunder-struck, he little suspected that there was a person in the circles amongst which he moved, who had the key to the secrets of his former life, or who by the exposition of his former conduct, could at once hurl him from that station in society, which he had attained by a system of consummate address, and an apparent observance of all the punctilios, on which the true character of the nobleman is founded. General Bude was peremptory; giving the Baron six hours to determine upon the line of conduct which he was to pursue, but at the same time giving him distinctly to understand, that until he could go into the field, with a fair and unblemished character, neither his Royal Highness nor Captain Merrick, should condescend to take any further notice of him.

The question was soon brought to an issue, on the following morning the Baron publicly posted his recantation of all and every expression, which he had made use of, derogatory to the character of Prince William, and confessed that they were uttered in the moment of extraordinary excitement, occasioned by his losses at the gambling table.

Thus terminated, the affair, as far as Prince William was concerned, but from that moment, Hardenberg sank in the good opinion of the Hanoverians, and he ultimately left the country, dying at last in the town of Konigstein, in the most abject state of poverty.

The Bishop of Osnaburg was at this time on the point of returning to Berlin, to be present at the periodical reviews of

the Prussian troops, which were established on certain days by Frederic the Great, in commemoration of some of his most splendid victories, and at which it was his glory to station his troops as on the day of battle, and fight it over again in miniature, with all the pomp and energy, as if his crown depended upon the issue. The battle of Schweidnitz was one of his most favourite battles, in which, after a contest of twelve hours, unexampled, perhaps, in the annals of modern warfare, for the valour and resolution displayed by both the belligerents, the Prussians began to give way, and Frederic, with tears in his eyes, beheld his troops retreating. At the critical moment of all moments, General Seidlitz, one of the most celebrated cavalry officers of Europe, burst upon the enemy with the whole force of his reserve, turned the tide of fortune in favour of the Prussians, and saved Silesia to the present monarchy.

The anniversary of this celebrated battle was at hand, and Frederic was collecting his troops from all parts of his kingdom to fight on the plains of Frauenberg. General Bude, therefore, took the advantage of this circumstance, and resolved upon his immediate departure from Hanover, where he did not conceive he was performing his duty in prolonging the stay of Prince William after his affair with Hardenberg; and although the Bishop of Osnaburg was not under his immediate superintendence, yet with the knowledge which he possessed of some of the characters, with whom he was in the daily habit of associating, he very properly considered that he was acting in the fulfilment of his duty to his Sovereign, to remove his sons from a quarter, where their morals were momentarily exposed to be undermined, and those habits engrafted upon them, which would eventually cover them with disgrace and obloquy.

A consultation was held by the individuals, composing the suite of the royal Princes, who were in a degree, responsible for their conduct; and at the same time, themselves strictly bound to keep a vigilant eye upon all their proceedings. The result of their deliberations was, that no time should

be lost in removing them from Hanover, where some of the connexions which they had formed, were by no means of that character, which could confer any benefit upon them, either morally or intellectually.

Immediate arrangements were therefore made for the departure of the young Princes, to the great regret of a certain class, who looked upon them as their prey, and who certainly used every exertion, as well as stratagem within their power, to extract the last guinea from their pockets. It must also be observed, that although George III. shewed no great predilection for any retrenchment in particular departments of his household, yet that in some points he was a rigid economist, frequently descending to actual meanness, and in this disposition, he met with a very able and active coaljutor in his Queen, who was known at this time to be accumulating a private fortune, but upon which, heavy drains were made by the profligacies of her darling son, "the handsomest man in Europe," according to her affirmation. The allowance made by George III. for the travelling expences of his sons, were niggardly in the extreme. Prince William was allowed only £100 a year for pocket money, not the common allowance of the son of an English gentleman; and the sum which his provident royal father allowed for travelling expenses was barely sufficient to defray the common expenses, much less to allow of any of those extravagancies to which the royal Princes were so prone, and in which they appeared determined to indulge, notwithstanding the unpleasant consequences, with which they were often attended.

These circumstances frequently placed the individuals to whose superintendence they were entrusted, in the most embarrassing situation. To deprive them of all opportunity of gambling, were to abstract them from all society, and although they were prevented from frequenting the established gambling houses, yet, in all the private parties, the love of high play predominated, and the royal Princes have been frequently known to lose at a single sitting, twice the amount of their annual allowance. There were not, however, wanting those

individuals in Hanover, nor in the other cities of Germany, in which they fixed their temporary abode, who were fully disposed to supply them secretly with the sinews of gambling, provided an enormous profit was secured to them. The Jews of Hanover, were ready with their well-filled purses, to supply them with any amount which they required, on some bond or obligation payable at a distant date, provided they were allowed to charge nearly one hundred per cent for the accommodation.

Some of these money transactions with the Jews were carried on with so much secrecy, and which it was the policy of the Jews strictly to preserve, that they never came to the knowledge of those, who would immediately have put a stop to them, nor had they the slightest idea of the royal Princes being involved in any such transactions, until the obligations for which they had rendered themselves liable, were sent to London for payment, and to the discredit of George III., be it said, that the majority of them were returned dishonoured, accompanied by a threat, that if any attempt were made to enforce the payment by legal proceedings, the guilty parties, who had so basely connived at the vicious propensities of the royal Princes, would be dealt with according to the laws of the country in which they resided, and banished for ever from the city and territory of Hanover. With some, this threat had the desired effect; there were, however, others, who were determined to stand upon their rights, and who told the King of England bluntly, that they valued neither him nor his country—that Hanover was not the world, and that it would become a sovereign better to pay the debts of his sons, than dispute the payment with an empty threat attached to it. By perseverance, these people obtained their money; but they lost the *countenance* of the court party at Hanover: others lost their money, but they obtained an equivalent for it, which was the custom and patronage of all the higher classes, whose extravagancies drove them on the brink of insolvency, and who were willing to pay an exorbitant bonus for any temporary loan, which they might require.

From Hanover the royal Princes directed their course to

Berlin, at that time the focus of all that was great or grand in the military world. It was the school of all the rising heroes of Europe, and the model by which the European Governments regulated their military tactics; but it was also the theatre of the most extraordinary scenes occasioned by the great influx of strangers from all the countries of Europe, the diversity of manners, and the national characteristic traits, which displayed themselves so conspicuously in the court of the great Frederic. So different were the costumes which were at this time exhibited in the squares and public places of Berlin, that it became a difficult point to determine in what country the stranger was sojourning; but this very circumstance had an injurious effect upon the national character of the Germans, reducing them to that effeminacy and petit-maitreship, for which the French were at this time distinguished, and who were looked upon as the guide and pattern for all the *modistes*, both male and female. To the credit of the English Princes, it must be acknowledged, that during their travels in Germany, they exhibited no particular partiality for the frippery and gaudy finery of the Paris school of fashion, for except on their appearance at court, or other state occasions, their usual dress was that of a plain English gentleman, at the same time, not wholly divested of those absurdities and monstrosities, for which the English style of dress was then so remarkable. Prince William as a sailor, never could endure the appendage of a bag-wig; but he cared not how long his tail reached behind, and when he saw the long tapering tail of Frederic, with its characteristic curl at the bottom, he could never be induced to appear in a bag-wig, although it was then one of the adjuncts of a fashionable dress.

It may appear a trivial subject; but it is, nevertheless, true, that the character of a people, and particularly their greatness and antiquity, are to be determined by their costume; nor did Prince William, in the estimate which he formed of the different people with whom he associated, discard that truth from his notice. The frivolities of French fashions have done more to effeminate the Germans, and to lower them in the scale of nations, than any other of the great operating causes, by

which the decline of a people is brought about. The English never were remarkable for a national costume ; but, that they are a degenerated race, since fashion became their idol, no one will be bold enough to deny, and in no race of men is that degeneracy more conspicuous than in our sailors. The real old fashioned man-o-war's man is nearly extinct, and we have now a race of puny, new-fangled, modern cock-boat lubbers, that disgrace the noble service to which they belong, by a foppish attention to their dress ; formerly, Jack looked himself in large loose canvass trousers, looking marvellously like unto a couple of bran new flour sacks ; now he appears in the smart-made pantaloon trousers ; his shoes were formerly decorated with large buckles, now he is not *dressed*, unless he sports a pair of wellingtons. He was formerly seen at Portsmouth Point, or in his land localities of Blackwall, Poplar, Limehouse, Shadwell, or Ratcliffe Highway with a blue jacket, which was evidently never made for him, double breasted, with a flat collar, and mother-of-pearl buttons, placed as close to each other as plums in a Christmas pudding ; now the jacket which he wears, fits him to a nicety. There is a show of fashion about him, and instead of a long plaited pig-tail, for without a pig-tail, no jack-tar is half complete, he now wears his hair *a la militaire*, closely cropped behind, and the front dressed in the *newest fashion*. The former were the men, whom the immortal Nelson led on to victory, or, who to speak in other words, enabled him to gain the victory ; these were the men, who with Prince William in the Prince George, humbled the pride of the Spaniards, and who with Rodney gave to England the sovereignty of the seas. If then the change of dress, and a slavish obedience to the ruling fashion, have an influence on the character of a people, Prince William was by no means in error, when he attributed the effeminacy of the Germans, as he beheld them, to their vicious adherence to the rules of fashion. In this particular, a very marked difference existed between the two brothers, but this may in a great degree be attributed to the difference of the professions to which they belonged. Prince William had no particular end to gain

in paying the most marked attention to the most foppish style of dress of the Prussian soldiers, for the knowledge of the peculiar cut of their coat, or the arrangement of their accoutrements, would profit him little or nothing on the quarter-deck of a man of war; whereas on the other hand, the Bishop of Osnaburg had found great fault with the costume of the English soldiers, with their long coats, and their little black cocked hats, and the immense clubs which disfigured the hinder part of the heads of the cavalry soldiers, plastered with flour and grease, which in hot weather ran down their clothes in white lines, and stuck upon their faces like the white and red on the faces of the clowns.

General Bude was a great admirer of national costume, and he took every opportunity of imprinting upon the mind of Prince William the danger attending any innovation of dress, or the introduction of foreign costume, inconsistent with the character and habits of the people. The disputes which he had with the two Princes on this subject were frequent and warm, and Colonel Greville, being a thorough-bred courtier, coincided with the Bishop of Osnaburg in all his opinions, however strange and inconsistent they might be, leaving Gen. Bude to fight the battle single-handed, for Captain Merrick declared himself wholly neutral, caring not what alterations or innovations were made in the dress of the army, so that they meddled not with the navy, nor subjected the sailors to any stated kind of costume; they had, indeed, a national costume of their own, and he never wished to see them wear any other. It was a principle of General Bude, that the national costume of a country forms a very interesting part of its history, and in his endeavours to instil into the mind of Prince William a correct knowledge of the German people, it constituted no little portion of his system of instruction. The introduction of foreign modes was one of the causes of the decline of the Roman empire. The Romans were designated according to the costume which they wore; the Spaniards during their prosperity; the Poles at the epoch of their power; the Hungarians at the period of their independence, had the

national costume which were in general use, and which were not worn solely by the old people. Before the war of 1618, Germany had a national costume, and a distinct dress according to the different classes. "Our neighbours," said General Bude, one day to Prince William, when the early history of Germany was the subject of discussion, "profitted by our troubles, and imported into our country from the opposite banks of the Rhine, that malady of foreign ornaments which dazzled our eyes, and filled our hearts with vanity. During a century and a half, we have slavishly borne the yoke of the women; we were overwhelmed with the tempest of the people and the ruin of the German empire was consummated."

"Fashion, which the most ingenious philosopher has not yet been able to describe in a satisfactory manner, has a great resemblance to Saturn, who devoured his own children; it is the Moloch on whose altar, our happiness, peace, the enjoyments of life, our health and our country have been sacrificed. Unfortunately the mania of novelty in trifles and bagatelles, and the mania of antiquity in great things has been our original and incarnate sin."

You are then, said Prince William, of the opinion of Luther, who says, we Germans are such boobies, that we are struck with everything that is new, and we pay our court to it like a pack of fools, and they who wish to dissuade us from it, only render us more wedded to it. If, however, no one prohibits us from it, we then soon become tired and weary of it, and we then bark after some other novelty. Thus the devil has always the upper hand of us; for there is no pattern so gross and ugly, no fashion so grotesque and eccentric, that is not immediately followed. It has always plenty of votaries, and the more ill-looking and clumsy it is, the more it is followed and adopted.

Luther, said General Bude, knew us Germans well, but what does your Franklin say, "the imposts which are levied by the state, are supportable, but the taxes of fashion are exorbitant." Fashion is a new infection from which results either nakedness or a disfiguration, instead of dress; and ugliness and

caricatures instead of taste. It is a common invention of lazy people who are chiefly occupied with it, and of fools, who not being able to obtain any celebrity by their talents or their actions, make themselves notorious by their love of dress, and what is called, leading the fashion. I scarcely ever knew a man, who was a leader of fashion, that was not a great simpleton.* Fashion too frequently entails ruin upon its followers by useless expences, it is injurious to the mind by an effeminate and disgusting attention to trifles; it is detrimental to the heart by leading it from a good and refined taste, to attach itself to things senseless and insipid; it is hurtful to the body, because it takes no account of the various constitutions, nor of the habits, nor of the respective ages; it spoils the beautiful symmetry of the female form, and is the cause of fatal or incurable maladies. It is, in fact, a slow poison introduced into domestic life.

“A very pretty philippic you have read to us against fashion,” said the Bishop of Osnaburg, but you may as well place a man out of the world, as out of the fashion, and especially in our station in life. Now by way of supporting you in your ideas of a national costume, I will recommend to my father, the introduction of a costume for every particular class in life, and no Act of Parliament shall be valid, unless at the time of passing it, all the Members were clothed in their appointed costume. There shall be a costume for the labouring classes, and one also for children. Particular classes and trades shall be distinguished by certain accessories, such as gold, silver, embroidery and feathers, For women there shall be ribands of different colours, by which their different conditions can be at once ascertained, and any one wearing false colours to be punished as the magistrates may determine. I should propose green to be worn by little girls; white and orange for

* What will our Petershams, and our D'Orsays and other leaders of the votaries of fashion say to this opinion of General Bude? and if that opinion be correct as applicable to them, are we entitled to set down George the Fourth as an exception?

young ladies of quality ; red for virgins, blue for wives—brown and silver for matrons. I would further propose, that no foreigner, not naturalized, shall wear the national costume, nor those who have lost the right of citizenship, or who have never been able to obtain it. I shall further propose, that all Princes of the blood royal on their travels, shall not be obliged to consult the individuals, to whose care they may be entrusted, as to what dress or costume they shall wear, and that any one in their suite, who may presume to interfere with them, shall be sent back to England, and mulct of all arrears of pay that may be due to them.

General Bude could not withstand the keenness of this irony. He had several times expressed his opinion rather cavalierly on the scrupulous attention, which the Bishop of Osnaburg paid to his equipment on the score of fashion, contrasting it with the true sailor-like indifference which Prince William exhibited, and as the Bishop considered, that all the remarks which the General made on the subject of dress and fashion were directed against him, he resolved on the first opportunity to retaliate upon the General, and silence him for ever on the topic of costume or fashion.

Though General Bude was not immediately attached to the suite of the Bishop of Osnaburg, yet as the two royal brothers travelled together from Hanover to Berlin, the Bishop and the General were brought constantly into collision, and Prince William, who never was happier, than when he was concocting some mischief, took particular delight in getting them into an argument, well-knowing that they never could agree. The testiness of the old General was put into competition with the positiveness of the royal youth, whilst Prince William urged on the disputants, first espousing one side, and then espousing the other, and speaking often against his own conviction, merely to aggravate the temper of the disputants. These cavils and disputes, however, in the end, generated a great deal of ill-blood between the parties, although neither openly considered it policy to show it, notwithstanding at the same

time that the Bishop of Osnaburg not being under any subordination, in regard to General Bude, might have treated him as a wholly indifferent person, yet Colonel Greville looked upon the General as his superior, and in many things was directed by his advice, in regard to the conduct that was to be pursued towards the royal youths, particularly the Bishop of Osnaburg, who frequently showed a disposition to be rather unruly, and to have a will of his own, which was not exactly consistent with that submission, which was properly due to those, who had the charge of him, and who were deeply responsible for the consequences of any act which he might commit. It is also worthy of remark, that there were few families who could exhibit more pleasing instances of fraternal love, than the Royal Family of England, particularly amongst the male branches of it. Until they made their entrance upon the public stage of life, where a diversity of opinion, and particularly of politics, estranged them from one another, they lived amongst each other in the closest bonds of friendship and affection. The profession which Prince William had chosen, separated him, indeed, a good deal from his brothers, but whenever they met, there was that open display of unequivocal affection for each other, that united them, as it were in one body and instigated them to espouse the cause of each other, with all the zeal and constancy of the sincere and genuine friend. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York were always particularly attached to each other, they had been brought up together, they became the confidants of each other, and the manner in which the Prince of Wales, when Prince Regent, behaved towards his brother in the midst of the disgrace and obloquy that attached to him, in the affair of Mrs. Clarke, showed that the early impressions of fraternal affection, had not been erased from his bosom, and that he was himself, willing to endure the utmost extreme of unpopularity, rather than not support his brother, through the degrading ordeal, which he had to undergo.

Although some dissimilarity existed in the general character and dispositions of the Bishop of Osnaburg and Prince William, still they always espoused each other's cause, with a warmth and boldness, which bordered strongly on enthusiasm, and a person had only to show himself an enemy to one of them, to meet with the most direct proofs of hostility from the other. General Bude had in many instances shown a decided opposition to many of the plans and pursuits of the Bishop of Osnaburg, and had not hesitated to express his opinion openly on the subject. This was quite sufficient to rouse the resentment of Prince William, and during almost the whole of the journey from Hanover to Berlin, it was a kind of defensive alliance between the royal youths, against the encroachments and authority of their military preceptors. Captain Merrick acted a more politic part, and resolved to maintain a strict neutrality; he knew the duty which he had to perform, and nothing could induce him to step beyond the line of it. The General and the Bishop might have exhausted their conversational powers about fashion, costume, and other favourite topics, and Captain Merrick would have seated himself at the window, or in a corner of the room, and taking up a book, would allow the combatants to carry on the contest, without manifesting the slightest disposition to range himself on either side, or to become a partizan of any of their peculiar notions. In his conversation, General Bude was a decided mannerist, and there were some particular words to which he showed such a decided preference, that he appeared glad of every opportunity in which he could introduce them, nor was this habit confined only to his conversation, but it exhibited itself also in his writings. Amongst those favourite words were those of *et cetera*. He never subscribed his name without two or three &c's. underneath it, and in the body of his letters, the &c's shone conspicuously, and not unfrequently very inappropriately,. Prince William was by no means ignorant of this peculiarity in the style of the worthy General, and on taking up their quarters one night at Heidelberg, his Royal

Highness had an opportunity of passing his joke upon the General, which excited considerable laughter amongst the whole of the party, and gained for the General privately among themselves, the soubriquet of *ET CETERA*.

The first thing which the host of an inn performs on the arrival of a party of guests, is to place in their hands his bill of fare, and to those who have travelled on the continent, the singularity and originality which are frequently displayed in those documents must be well known. They are generally a compound of all languages huddled together, but the French in general preponderating, and on the bill of fare which was handed to the royal party, Prince William read the following:

Punch, Rum, Curacao, petit-lait D'Henri Quatre,
Orgeat, Glaces, Sorbets, marasquins de Zara,
Nectar, Café, Riz, Kirche, Absinthe, *Et cetera*.

"There is an article in this bill of fare," said Prince William to the General, "that I know is particularly agreeable to your taste."

"Pray what may it be, your Royal Highness?" said the General, "you are aware that I am not particularly partial to made dishes, but as you know I am partial to the dish you have fixed upon, pray order some."

"It is one, I own," said Prince William, "that I never met with before in a bill of fare, but before we call in the host you will, perhaps, take a glance at the bill, and see if you give the preference to any other; the article I have selected for you is the one last mentioned."

The General wiped his spectacles, and proceeded to peruse the bill, then with a smile on his countenance, said, "Why, your Royal Highness surely does not mean that I am to order *et cetera* for my supper."

"Certainly I do," said Prince William, "it is a kind of standing dish with you, and as Heidelberg is celebrated for its wine, it may perhaps be equally so for its *et cetera*."

The General saw the drift of his Royal Highness's joke, and

although the whole party laughed at his expense, yet he bore it with great good humour, and the dish of *et cetera* became afterwards with the whole of the party a standing joke.

On the arrival of the royal party at Berlin, they found that Frederick, one of the most extraordinary monarchs that ever ruled the destinies of a country, had retired to Potsdam, where he was busily employed in remodelling the affairs of his government, and in encouraging the extension of the arts and sciences, particularly agriculture. He had collected around him some of the best practical farmers from the agricultural districts of England and Scotland, and had also imported some of the most improved breeds of sheep and cattle, and it was by no means a disparagement to two of the kings of Europe, George of England, and Frederic of Prussia, to say of them, that instead of carrying the sword amongst the nations of the world, they were watching the progress of the ploughshare, and opening the sources of affluence and prosperity to their respective subjects. Both these monarchs had emerged from a sanguinary and devastating war, though differing widely in their results. One had lost a territory greater than the whole kingdom of the other, and the latter could at one time almost overlook the territory which the victorious career of his enemies had left him. But supported and animated by the inexhaustible resources of his genius, he roused himself like a giant refreshed, and at the head of his gallant army, scattered before him the combined forces of Russia and Austria, and obtained a glorious peace, leaving him master of his natal dominions, and sovereign of his conquered countries. The mind of Frederick, unlike that of George of England, was all comprehensive in its grasp; though maligned and calumniated for his free thinking opinions, he was one of those men at the head of his government, who would almost have reconciled a republican to a monarchy. Though fast verging to aristocratism, he had the prudence and wisdom to call those men to his councils, who, were well versed in all the minutiae of a practical and useful government, and such was the example that Frederick himself set to his people, that perhaps, at no former period of the Prussian history, were they

animated with such a glowing enthusiasm for everything that was great and grand. Prussia was at that time a noble theatre for the two royal youths to trace the rise and progress of modern kingdoms. The sources of a most useful reflection were opened to them, in viewing the first germs of civilization expanding by degrees, into the full beauty of refinement and order; in observing the mighty workings of the mind during the dark ages, and the fine actions which irradiated the first twilight of improvement, until the sun of mental illumination blessed the countries of the earth with its all invigorating and enlivening beams. The book of history was open to them, in every page of which they could find some important lesson, which as British Princes they ought to have impressed indelibly on their memory, as a treasure to be made use of, should fortune ever place in their hands the reins of government. The rumblings of that political tempest, which shook all the thrones of Europe from Calpe's heights to the very palace of the Autocrat of the north, were heard at a distance, and their meaning could not be mistaken by two young men, who though in the heyday of their youth, and not much disposed to deep philosophical reasoning, or the investigation of the causes which led to the revolutions of empires, yet who could not wholly avert their view from the prospect, which like the circle in the water, extended itself wider and wider, of regenerated nations marching to independence: the spirit of freedom rousing herself, like a giant from his slumber, shaking off her fetters with one mighty effort of indignation, and arrayed in her native majesty, speaking with the million voices of an oppressed, insulted people, and demanding justice, with her hand upon her sword.

A Prince generally stands on an isolated pedestal amidst the great family of mankind, and in proportion as the Government to which he belongs approaches to despotism, so is that pedestal removed to a distance from the people, but from whichever side the British Princes viewed the picture of the times in which they lived, it must have appeared to them, that to trace the feelings and the passions which actuate whole nations as one mass—to discern more closely the separated

few, who, like themselves, are reared above the rest of the species by their birth, their ability, or their fortune, to mark by what steps kingdoms rise to grandeur, and individuals to eminence; and again, by what vices, or what errors, individuals are ruined and nations sink into insignificance;—how far man has been everywhere, and throughout so many ages alike, and in what respects his nature is changed by the climate or the government, the literature or the religion of his country; how particular constitutions are best adapted to particular countries; how the continued struggles have terminated between the *prerogatives of Sovereigns on the one hand, and the demands of the subjects on the other*, how a small number of daring spirits have directed, impelled, and held the mastery over millions; *how the despotism of one is the eldest offspring of anarchy amongst the many*:—to observe the various forms and modifications of civil policy, good or bad, legitimate or usurped from the extremes of grinding tyranny or licentious republicanism; through the numerous gradations of oligarchy or aristocracy to monarchy, arbitrary or temperate, hereditary or elective, and our own mixed constitution shining conspicuously in the midst, and realizing in actual existence more than the philosophers and historians of old had conceived in their fondest imaginations of Utopian excellence, in a word that meditations such as these, must be calculated not only to captivate the fancy, but to enlarge the understanding and correct the heart, far more than the inspection of ranks of human machines, who are no better after all than gilded slaves.

The studies of the royal Princes of England, during their stay in Germany were not directed to any great nor substantial purpose. The knowledge of the art of war was the avowed object

But war's a game which were their subjects wise
Kings would not play at.

in fact they were to be made into soldiers, not into men and philosophers. Although whole continents passed before them

in review, although they surveyed all the kingdoms of Europe with their various customs and transactions ; their constitutions formed from the same feudal system, but differing from the force of natural character or accidental circumstances ; their revolutions through a long series of years, and the illustrious dead who have defended or improved them ; the continual flux and reflux of worldly prosperity ; the progress of communities from ignorance to knowledge, from rudeness to refinement, and again from refinement to luxury, and from luxury to decay, yet these reflections vast and weighty as they are, would have exalted the royal minds, and filled them without overwhelming them. Their faculties would have expanded with the occasion, and the fruits of it would have exhibited themselves in one of the royal Princes, when by the course of succession he ascended the throne of his father.

It is true that the view of the Prussian armies might have instilled into the breasts of the royal youths a love of fame, and what is surreptitiously called, deeds of heroism and bravery, but on what is fame founded ? on the slaughter of thousands of human beings, and the fame rises in proportion to the number of the murdered ; the fame of the hero rests on the devastation of a country, on the destruction of the hopes of the industrious labourers, on the broken heart of the widow and the tears of the orphan. But could not the royal youths have been led to other subjects which are passing on the great theatre of the world, by which those high sentiments might be engendered in their minds, which would prove a powerful incentive to noble actions, and render them the benefactors, instead of the destroyers of their race ? The Bishop of Osnaburg might, like Themistocles have been prevented from sleeping by thinking of the trophies of Miltiades. Prince William, like Cæsar, might have dropped tears of ambition upon the tomb of an Alexander, but was it only by the military ear of the laurel-crowned victor that their hearts were to be vivified by a love of fame ? could they not be warmed into enthusiasm by the contemplation of godlike qualities and superior achievements which the pages of history present to them in such lavish pre-

fusion. Were there no examples existing in their own country, who, having surveyed in modern history the conduct of the mighty dead, who were stamped in a nobler mould than ordinary beings, have formed at that very instant in secrecy and solitude, the great design of following their footsteps? of devoting themselves with all their physical and mental energies to the cause of their country, the glory of their age, and the general good of the human race? who have been led forward by the animating hope, that they too may be enrolled in the pages of history; that the temple of fame may be opened for their admission, and that their names may be inscribed in golden characters on the tablets of imperishable renown.

It is true that modern history could not furnish the royal Princes with any great achievements committed by their immediate ancestors; and in regard to the reign of their own father, it had been marked by one of the most disastrous wars in which this country was ever engaged, nor did his own character present to them any peculiar features beyond the range of ordinary men; in fact, in many instances, George III. was a very ordinary man indeed, and therefore there was no additional motive in the study of his history to deter them from the commission of any acts, by which they could degenerate from the living head of their family. And not merely are individuals, who may be thought to feel a kind of private interest, heated by such considerations, but the remark may be applied with nearly the same force to whole cities, and provinces, and nations. The glory of their forefathers, the deeds of those, who have gone before them have ever been found the strongest and most efficacious arguments to excite a people at large; men of common capacity and ordinary character to vigorous exertion, or undaunted resistance; to active daring or patient resolution.

It was the opinion of General Bude that the royal Princes had ambition enough in them, without any endeavour to fan the flame of it to a greater intensity by the examples of ancient or modern history, but his opinion was formed upon

erroneous grounds, for there are many of those examples, that would rather deter them from those projects of gigantic mischief, which too often teem in the heads of Princes and of Kings, for they represent in the case of nations as of individuals, that actual tragedy of events, where misfortune is consequent upon crime, while justice and moderation are alone conducive to real prosperity and repose. They prove that all violent inordinate passions are not only the destroyers of happiness, but the consumers of life. They pourtray the dying patriot, like Wolfe or Nelson, those complete counterparts to Epaminondas or Codrus, or any of the most hallowed names of antiquity; lamented by the tears of millions, and consecrated by the veneration of ages, while they depict tyrants, like those of Asia, if no external force sweep them from existence as the inflictors of torments on their own hearts, torn by remorse, distracted with apprehensions, not in tumult nor in battle, but in the common occurrences, and the most peaceful moments of their being, in suspicion of the very guards whom they have hired to defend them; in danger from the very minions whom they have raised to support them; in dread from the very relatives to whom the ties of nature have allied them; without a single friend whom they can trust with confidence, or a single dependent who serves them with affection. They will shew us the fallen Charles, calmly and with dignity on the scaffold; the powerful Cromwell full of restless inquietude, perpetually changing his abode, like the poetical personification of sickness, "impatient of himself," and in the eye of reason and philosophy, as completely an object of pity, as the martyred sovereign may in his last moments be a theme of admiration.

As a soldier, Frederic was a very eligible individual for the young Princes to associate with, but as a man, he was directly the reverse, that is, if their minds were not to be contaminated by the principles of the free-thinker, and the latitudinarian. The companion and the disciple of Voltaire, was, perhaps, of all men the last, into whose society, George III. would have

thrown his sons. The philosophy which prevailed at the Court of Berlin was ill suited to the meridian of London, and particularly that part of it, in which the palace of St. James' was situate. At the latter place, a liberal idea, was as rare as a guinea in the pocket of a poet; and the individual, who had so little religion in him, as to declare that he could not understand the creed of St. Athanasius, was scouted as a profane and impious personage. At the soirees of the Prussian Monarch, subjects were discussed, at which, had they been even touched upon in the formal evening parties at Windsor, or St. James' Palace, the whole company would have been seized with the St. Vitus' dance of abhorrence, and the unfortunate wight, who might perhaps, have introduced them inadvertently, would have been stigmatised as the destroyer of the morals of the rising generation, and an enemy to the established religion of the land. Frederick, was anything but a courtier, taken in the real sense of that truly contemptible character; and although he exacted the most implicit obedience from his officials and subordinates, according to the strictest rules of military discipline, yet there was nothing in him of that smooth, silky, sycophantish, mawkish, fawnish demeanour, by which a courtier is as well known as a polecat by its stench. He entertained a sovereign contempt for illiterate men, nor did he hesitate to show it, whenever the occasion presented itself. One evening, when the royal Princes were present, the subject, which was under discussion in the immediate circle of the King, was optimism, and it cannot be supposed that it was a subject to which the royal youths had paid much attention, consequently, they took little or no part in the discussion. Frederick on a sudden, addressing himself to Prince William, who was standing very near him, inquired if he had ever read Voltaire's *Candid*. His Royal Highness answered in the negative—Frederic immediately turned upon his heels, with that scowl of contempt upon his countenance, which he was so apt to assume, when anything contemptible struck him, and without saying another word, joined another party in a distant part of the apartment. In

his opinion, Prince William was at that moment a very illiterate personage.

The reviews of the King of Prussia were this year to take place in Silesia, whither the British Princes accompanied him. On their way thither they stopped at a small town called Altdorf, a place which was in the enjoyment of particular immunities and privileges, arising from the following circumstance. During the disastrous retreat of Frederick, before the victorious Austrian army under General Daun, he halted for a night at Altdorf, and inquired, if there were any good chess players in the town. Being answered in the affirmative, he ordered that the best players should be invited to play with him, but that his rank should be concealed, from the supposition, that were they to know they were playing against the King of Prussia, their courtesy might lead them not to play their best, from fear of offending his Majesty by beating him. The players were introduced to him, as if he were a private gentleman, but not a single game could his Majesty gain, so great was the superiority of the play of the inhabitants of Altdorf. On retiring to their homes, the King disclosed his rank to them, and on the principle, that where there are good chess players, there must exist good soldiers, he granted certain privileges to the town, which are continued to the present day.

On the arrival of the King in the town, he inquired after his former adversaries, particularly as his Majesty had related the anecdote to the British Princes, and it was the particular wish of Prince William to try his skill with men of such celebrity in the game, who could beat the Sovereign of Prussia in so signal a manner. The information was brought to his Majesty, that his antagonists were all dead, but that there were still some superior players in the town. They were invited to a trial of skill, but they proved not even a match for Prince William, much less for the veteran Sovereign, who in his caustic mode of speaking, declared that they were like the human species in general, a degenerated race of beings.

It was at this place, that the royal party were joined by the

Duke of Brunswick, the uncle of the British Princes, who afterwards fell so gloriously at the Battle of Waterloo. There was in this man the true spirit of martial enthusiasm, and it may be truly said of him, that the field of battle, was the bed of his glory. On the introduction of Prince William to him, he paid him some very flattering compliments on the choice of the profession which he had made, and also on the manner in which he had conducted himself, in the several battles in which he had been engaged. He said that so long as a Prince of the blood royal of England could forego the splendour and luxury of a court, to fight the battles of his country on the ocean, it was not to be wondered at, that the trident of the seas was in the hands of Britain.

It was an epitome of the Battle of Torgau, that took place at the first review of the Prussian troops, which the English Princes witnessed, and they were highly pleased with the different anecdotes which the King related of that memorable battle. The following is highly characteristic of that celebrated Monarch, and it operated as a useful lesson to the British Princes, that a commander of an army must gain the esteem and confidence of his troops, before he can depend upon them in the day of battle. Frederick had attacked the Austrians with his left wing, and towards night, General Ziethen occupied the heights of Ziptitz, which led to a complete victory on the part of the Prussians. During the night, it was extremely cold, being from the 3rd to the 4th of November 1760, and the army had lighted their fires on the heights. As morning broke, the King rode in front, from his left to his right wing. On coming up to the regiment of guards, he dismounted, and placed himself by the fire, surrounded by his officers and the grenadiers, there to await the break of day, it being his determination to attack again the Austrians, should they not have retired during the night, which it was not possible to ascertain on account of the extreme darkness. The King conversed in the most confidential manner with his soldiers, praised the bravery which they had evinced during the battle, and thanked them for the fresh services which they had rendered him and

their country. The grenadiers, who knew well the condescension of the King, collected themselves around him, and one of them of the name of Rabiatz, with whom the King often entered into conversation, and on whom he had bestowed many presents on account of his bravery was bold enough thus to address him; "But, Fred, where were you to-day, during the battle; we have always been accustomed to see you at our head, and to be led on by you into the thickest fire. To-day, however, we never saw you at all, it is not right that you should have forsaken us." "My friend," said the King, with the utmost possible affability, "I could not lead you on to-day, and conquer with you, as I was obliged to remain with the left wing, where the battle was the most obstinate." The heat of the fire became too much for the king; he unbuttoned his great coat, and the grenadiers observed a ball to fall on the ground. It had fallen down from his breast, and the hole was seen in his majesty's coat, through which it had passed. In ecstasy the soldiers exclaimed, "Thou art still our Frederick, for thou sharest our dangers with us. Long live Frederick, our king. Come comrades! let us attack the Austrians, forward! march!" The officers had the greatest difficulty in repressing the ardour of the troops, and could scarcely make them believe that the hour of attack was not yet come.

There was scarcely a place at which the veteran monarch arrived, that he had not some anecdote to relate to the two Princes, and he was one morning conversing with them on the severity of the discipline, which he had introduced into the Prussian army, and for which he had been so much censured, but to which he attributed the splendid victories which he had won. "I never signed but two death-warrants in my life," said the king, "from my own personal command, and one of them I never reflect upon, without the sincerest emotions of regret, but the discipline of the army required it, and its very safety might have been endangered by the infraction of my order; at all events the plans which I had in view against the enemy might have been frustrated." The circumstance took place, during the campaign in which I conquered Silesia,

and amongst my army at that time there was not a better nor a braver officer than Major Zietern. It was my intention to surprise the enemy, and with that intent, I had issued my order, that no one, at the appointed hour, where the attack was to be made, should on punishment of death, have a light in his tent. For the purpose of seeing that this order was punctually fulfilled, I took a personal survey of the camp, and on passing the tent of Major Zietern, I perceived a light within it. I immediately entered, and found Zietern in the act of sealing a letter. He attempted to justify himself; threw himself at my feet, and implored my pardon. He had only transgressed the order for a few minutes, in order to finish the letter, which he had been writing to his wife. The safety of my army, and respect to the discipline of it required that he should be put to death. I will allow you time, I said to him, to open your packet, and to add two lines. Tell your wife, that at this hour to-morrow morning, you will mount the scaffold. The Major obeyed my order, and at the appointed time he was executed. I lost one of the bravest of the brave, but I maintained the discipline of my army, and by which I ultimately saved my crown. The tongue of calumny has, I know been busy with me for this apparent act of undue severity; but I never punished nor executed a man for any criminal act or personal affront committed against myself.

And well, indeed, did Frederick merit this eulogium which he passed upon himself, and a circumstance which happened during the time that the English Princes were at Berlin fully confirmed the truth of it, and tended not a little to raise him in their good opinion. A Colonel of one of the Prussian regiments who had served during the whole of the seven years' war, was at the close of it put upon the reduced list. He presented several petitions to the King, either for his restoration to full pay, or for an increase of his annual pension. He became at last so very importunate, that his Majesty issued his orders that no further petition from him should be presented, nor a personal interview allowed. Stung by disappointment,

the officer wrote and printed a severe lampoon against the King. Indulgent, however, as Frederick generally was in matters of this kind, the temerity and presumption of the author exasperated him so much, that he offered fifty Fredericks d'or, for the discovery of the author. The Colonel presented himself at the palace, and demanded an audience of the King, as he had a matter of some importance to communicate to him. He was accordingly admitted, and on being ushered into the presence of the King, he said, "Your majesty has offered fifty Fredericks d'or for the detection of the author of the lampoon which has been printed against you. I am the author, and I expect that my head will be the sacrifice, but I hope you will keep your word as a King, and although you may punish the culprit, that you will send to my wife and her miserable children, the reward which you have offered for the detection of the author of the lampoon." The King remembered the old soldier, and his surprise was great, at the extent to which necessity had driven the veteran, and for which he in some measure accused himself. "Away to Spandau," exclaimed the monarch, "there behind the ramparts of the fortress await the just resentment of your King." "I obey your majesty," said the veteran; "but the fifty Fredericks d'or? "They shall be paid to your wife within two hours. Deliver to the Commander of Spandau this letter; but which he is not to open until after dinner." The Colonel proceeded immediately to obey the orders of his monarch, and arrived at Spandau, which was to be his abode for life, and announced himself to the Commander as his prisoner. Dinner being over, the Commander broke the letter, and read as follows: "The bearer of this is the future Commander of Spandau. His wife and children, with fifty Fredericks d'or, will follow him. You will repair without delay to —, where a more lucrative post awaits you."

It is not often that Kings behave with so much wisdom, magnanimity, and justice. He punished the lampooner by a few hours of imprisonment, and then repaired his own fault, which, at the bottom, he was obliged to look upon as the cause of a

step which an officer of merit had taken in the moment of almost hopeless despair.

On the return of the Princes to Potsdam, Frederick was taken so seriously ill, that his life was despaired of, but this circumstance furnished them with an extraordinary trait in the character of this most wonderful man. On being informed that the Leipzig merchants had, in anticipation of his death, been buying up all the black cloth, which was to be obtained in the market, he had his will opened, at the end of which he inserted his positive order, that the colour to be worn as mourning after his decease, should be rose colour; and, by which, he added, "I know I shall be conferring a great favour upon the fair sex, who during my life time have not been indebted to me for many kindnesses."

In a contemporary work, professing to be "A History of the Life and Times of William the Fourth," in the *getting up* of which the heads of a Rev. M.A. and of an L.L.D.* have

* We have no objection whatever to the Rev. G. Wright, and John Watkins, L.L.D. enriching their work with the results of our researches, provided they would acknowledge the source from which they derive their information. It is, however, rather curious, that in regard to one of the anecdotes which they have extracted from pages 27. and 28 of our "Memoirs of George the Fourth," they express their doubts of the circumstances having taken place; but they are pleased to qualify their doubts by the admission *that the story may have some foundation in truth, and therefore the insertion of it is necessary in their publication.* In regard to the *necessity* of the publication, we cannot exactly discover, in what particular it may be said to exist, at all events, as *we are certain*, that that they cannot adduce any other authority than our own for the anecdote, we take this opportunity of informing Messrs. Wright and Watkins, that in any future reprint of the work, they may cancel all doubt of the authenticity of the anecdote, for it was related to us by the proprietor of the Ranelagh Gardens, who was one of the party that accompanied the royal youths to the watch-house. Dr. Watkins, who originally compiled the work in 1831, in alluding to the source from which he extracted the anecdote, says, that "it has appeared in certain *ephemeral* memoirs of the royal family." Now a man cannot be intelligent, who is not intelligible, and we unhesitatingly confess our incapacity to understand what he means by *ephemeral* memoirs. An ephemeræ is a thing that lives but for a day, now our Memoirs of George the Fourth is not that ephemeræ, for it is still alive, and likely to live when the ephemeræ that have sallied from the brains of Messrs. Watkins and Wright,

entered into an alliance, they speak of the *false glory* which Frederick obtained in his career as a General, than which epithet, as applied to Frederick of Prussia, not one more inappropriate nor *false*, could possibly have been selected. Ignorant, indeed, must they have been of "The Life and Reign of Frederick the Great," who could talk of the *false glory* which he had acquired. Let them look to the monarchs of their own country, and particularly the Georges, and where will they find one, who is worthy to be put into the scale with him? In his philosophical opinions, he was undoubtedly a century before his time, but as a General, a Statesman, a Politician, and an Historian, Europe cannot produce his parallel. If the glory which he acquired in the character of the former, is to be considered as false, what then is the glory of a Gustavus, a Wellington, or a Nelson? If victory be the test of glory, where is the individual, under the circumstances in which Frederick was placed, who will stand in competition with him? He was, it is true, often defeated; but, the brightest part of his glory emanated from the manner in which he rose from those defeats, and laid his enemies at last prostrate at his feet. In the Cabinet, there was not a statesman at the time to compete with him; though exposed to all the political intrigues of France, Russia, and Austria; to the false and vacillating policy of England, and to the jealousy and hostility of the

have sported their hour upon the world, and are forgotten. If by *ephemeral* he means, figuratively, that our Memoirs had but a brief existence, the charge comes with a very bad grace, indeed, from an individual, whose work when it originally appeared, had scarcely any existence at all, for it fell dead born from the Press, nor with all his fulsome adulation of royalty, did he succeed in obtaining the object which he had in view. By the aid of some highly finished portraits, *not one of which has been engraved expressly for the work, they having all previously appeared in the National Gallery, a resuscitation of "The Life and Reign of William the Fourth,"* has been effected. We, however, appeal not to the public for their patronage, on the merits of a few pretty pictures, for on that head we fully acknowledge the superiority of our competitors, but we will proudly and fearlessly enter the lists with them on the merits of the literary department, and if our superiority be there acknowledged, they are most welcome to that, which may be awarded to them on the ground of their engravings

German States, he stood at the helm of his country, and guided her safely through all the storms which his foreign and domestic enemies had raised against him. In regard to his intellectual and literary attainments, if all the then reigning monarchs of Europe had been put into one scale, and Frederick of Prussia put alone into the other, the royal squad, even with the heavy head of George III., and the leaden skull of Louis XVI. of France, thrown in as makeweights, would have kicked the beam. And yet, this is the man, of whom particular individuals, styling themselves historians, speak as having acquired, *a false glory*. If the glory of a Frederick of Prussia be false, then also is the glory false of a Hume or a Robertson, a Thucydides or a Livy, a Raleigh, a Bacon, a Fox, or a Gibbon. History will preserve the name of Frederick II. of Prussia, as that of one of the greatest men who ever lived, and whose glory will descend to the latest posterity, untarnished by the puny efforts of the ignorant and prejudiced mind, which is too impervious to allow of a beam of truth penetrating into it, and which "hates the excellence it cannot reach." Kings, in general collect a crowd about them, by the pomp of their courts, or by particular attributes, with which nature has favoured their empire; sometimes, indeed, it is effected by the elegance of manners, the prodigies of arts, and at times by the confluence of celebrated men, who throw a halo of splendour round the scene which they animate by their presence. Berlin, however, at the time of the visit of the British Princes, received its splendour, and its fame from the king himself. Nothing could efface it, on the contrary, everything appeared to increase in grandeur in the atmosphere in which he lived.

For above twenty years, the LION OF THE NORTH had reposed in his grandeur, or according to certain chroniclers in his *false glory*, but that very grandeur was the aliment by which he was supported. Contented with the respect, which he forced his irritated enemies to pay him, he proudly darted upon them his look of defiance, without provoking them. The minor powers took shelter under his protecting wings, and the terror

which his name inspired, was to them a shield and a safeguard. If we follow him into his retreat, we there find another king and another man, alone, amongst all the reigning monarchs; he made to his people the weight of royalty, light and easy, which in other countries pressed them slavishly to the ground, leaving them only to the splendour of his personal grandeur. Singly, amongst all other monarchs of Europe, merit obtained his admiration and his homage; he courted the friendship of men of genius, in the same manner that men of genius, court the patronage of princes. A passionate taste for the beautiful in all its forms and phenomena, rendered him their depository; and it was owing to his noble amusements that he rendered himself worthy like Cæsar, of being the best historian of his own exploits.

In a periodical work published at Leipzig, at the time of the visit of Prince William, we find the following beautiful sketch of this extraordinary man, described by an eye witness at the review in Silesia. "I have seen him amongst the lines of his troops, where he appeared like the God of war. The fire of his brilliant genius still shone in his eyes; but his body was bent with the weight of years, and the shades of death were thickening round that glorious head, like the last remnant of that generation of great men, who have disappeared from the world, he appeared no longer to belong to us, and there was something sad and sombre about him, which rendered still deeper the veneration which was attached unto him. I congratulated myself in having the opportunity of saluting him in his decline, and my reminiscences of him will be enriched by those impressions, which are instilled into us, by the looks and words of a great man."

At the time when the royal Princes visited Berlin, there was perhaps no monarch in Europe surrounded with a falser glory than George III. of England, and, perhaps, no two countries presented a stronger contrast in regard to their internal prosperity, than England and Prussia. It was, however, not a country in which George III. was desirous that his sons should make a protracted residence, much less that they should

acquire an enlarged knowledge of the religious and philosophical tenets of the monarch of it. Germany was at this time the theatre of the plans of that wonderfully constituted body of men, the Illuminati, whose principles were anything but in accordance with despotic governments, or, indeed, with any governments that were founded on hereditary rights. There was scarcely a throne in Europe, that was not shaken by the secret operations of that tremendous society, which held its sittings *every where and no where*, and whose judgments, like those of the secret tribunal, went forth, no one knew from whence, nor who the individuals were by whom the sentence was decreed. The kingdoms of Europe contained in themselves the seeds of revolution sown by this society, and it required only one great, all-comprehensive mind, so to direct the latent energies of it, which would hurl the crowns from the heads of the ruling Monarchs, and give to the people a government founded on reason, liberty, and freedom. It was not, indeed, to be supposed that the high aristocratic principles in which the British Princes had been educated, could be in the least degree eradicated from their minds by the liberalism, which Weishaupt promulgated from the mountain fastnesses of Bohemia, and which spread itself with an irresistible power over the whole of Germany; nor was it, indeed, probable, that either of the royal Princes, who, with their mother's milk had imbibed the right divine of Kings to govern, could be induced to espouse a cause which went to the destruction of all royal privileges, or prerogatives, which were not founded on popular principles. Prussia was one of the strongholds of the Illuminati, and the well known free-thinking opinions of Frederick, tended to make his kingdom the focus, from which emanated the emissaries of the society to diffuse their revolutionary principles over the enslaved nations of Europe. There was, however, an infection in the political atmosphere of Berlin, to which it was not thought advisable that the British Princes should be exposed, but at the same time it was a school, in which, had they been desirous of learning the mysteries of government, and of tracing the causes by which nations rise

to the summit of political grandeur, and then gradually decline; they had ample means presented them of acquiring that invaluable knowledge, which would have been an ornament to them as Princes, and useful to them as men in the elevated station of society to which they were born. If, however, we look to the system of instruction adopted by Fenelon, with his royal pupil, and compare it with that adopted by the Grevilles, the Budes, and the Merricks, with their royal pupils, what a lamentable contrast do we find. The idea of sending two Princes to scamper over the greater part of Germany, in search of military spectacles, by which neither the mind nor the heart could be improved, could only have entered the head of a war-loving Monarch, like George III. Of the polity of nations, of their laws and institutions, of their progress in the arts and sciences, of their commerce, or their literature, there was not an individual attached to the suite of the Princes, who was cognizant of their first rudiments. The principals of the suite had been bred up in camps, and it is well known what kind of knowledge is there acquired; the inference then is evident, that the extent of the information which General Bude or Colonel Greville could convey to their royal pupils, must and could only be regulated by that, which they had themselves acquired, and beyond which, they were totally unfit for the direction or the formation of the intellectual character of those, who were entrusted to their care. It cannot be denied that at the time when the Bishop of Osnaburg and Prince William attained their majority, and became by virtue of their created titles, members of the hereditary branch of the legislature of their country, neither of them exhibited that extent of knowledge, which a commoner generally brings with him from our universities. Reading was never a favourite pursuit with any of the male branches of the royal family during their juvenility, and the books that they did read, were little calculated to improve their understanding, or refine their morals; on the contrary, the taste which the Duke of York displayed in the selection of his books, was of the most depraved and immoral nature. As men of classical acquirements, the boys on the sixth form at

Eton would have surpassed them. The Bishop of Osnaburg had heard of such men as Xenophon, Cæsar, and Livy, but he studied them no further, than the accounts which they have transmitted to us of the great battles of the Romans and the Grecians, for everything which was taught him had some reference to soldiers and to war, and dearly, indeed, did this country pay for his proficiency in military tactics.

If, however, it was thought requisite to render the Bishop of Osnaburg a military character, on what ground was the same course to be adopted with Prince William? The profession which he had chosen, had no relation with the tactics of an army, nor would he have become a better sailor, if he had attended all the military spectacles, which Frederick of Prussia instituted to keep alive in the remembrance of his people, the glorious victories which his army had achieved. The ocean was the element on which the character of Prince William was to be formed, and had his royal father granted him one of his frigates, and given him a roving commission, that he might have steered his vessel to whatever country offered him the greatest inducements, in a commercial, scientific or political relation, he would have become a far greater man, than he ever could have been made, by locating him amongst Hanoverian gamblers, Prussian demireps, or Italian eunuchs.

At the close of the reviews, General Bude received the most peremptory commands from George III. to remove Prince William to Lunenburg, but the Prince himself evinced a great partiality for Hanover, to which place General Bude had no particular objection, as Baron Hardenberg had left the city, and the coterie of professed gamblers, was in a great degree broken up. He, however, could not act in direct opposition to the commands of his King, and accordingly Prince William took up his residence at Lunenburg for the winter. He, however, was not wholly stationary there, but made frequent trips to Hanover, Brunswick and Osnaburg, at all of which places, he was received with that attention and regard, which were due to his rank. A regular report was transmitted to

his royal father, of the great progress which his son was making in the knowledge of military tactics, which report perhaps, had just as much actual truth in it, as the report of the schoolmaster, of the great progress of his pupil in the art of drawing, when the greater part of the specimen, has been executed by himself. The winter is the season for mirth and festivity in the German towns, and Prince William was more frequently to be seen, driving a beautiful girl at a *Schlittenfarth* (a train of sledges,) than studying Vauban on fortification. His sledge was indeed the most beautiful and elegant of all that were to be seen on the streets of Lunenburg, and he had succeeded in obtaining from his father's stud at Hanover, one of the finest of his cream-coloured horses, which in the phraseology of the sporting world, rendered the *set out* of his Royal Highness, a truly royal one. Speed not being required at a *schlittenfarth*, but the stately pace of the *menage* horse, the cream-coloured horse was of all others, the best adapted for the amusement. It was the very counterpart of the heavy, stiff and formal motion of the German himself, who in the higher classes, is the very type of ceremony and hauteur. It is admitted by all, and we are enabled to speak from experience, that the respective positions of the lady and the gentleman in a sledge, are the most favourable that can be conceived, for the latter to whisper, "his sweet nonsense" into the ear of the former, and it was not long before a report was current in the town, that Prince William had taken the opportunity of whispering many sweet things into the ear of the beautiful daughter of Herr Hofrath Schindbach, which were by no means disagreeable to her, and of which, of course rendered her the object of the malicious envy of many of the fair ones of Lunenburg, who aspired to the honour of being drawn in the sledge of the Son of the King of England, and who would not have entertained any objection to have had the same sweet things whispered in their ear by the lips of royalty. His Royal Highness however, not only drove Miss Schindbach in his sledge, but he waltzed with her on every occasion, he presented her with the choicest fruits at the table, and his

attentions to her were so marked and conspicuous, that the old maids of Lunenburg put their heads together to discover what would be the result of all these proceedings, and the young maids rumbled their noses, and wondered what his Royal Highness could see in Miss Schindbach, as on their part, they could not see in her any beauty at all. One look at Maria Schindbach, was, however, quite sufficient to prove that the latter ladies were actuated by some particular motive, in the expression of their inability, to discover any beauty in her, but although no one could deny her claim to superlative personal attractions, yet, at the same time, it was acknowledged by all her admirers, that she was a great flirt, for it was a question mooted at one of the female coteries, whether she preferred being driven by Prince William or by Captain Merrick. Her vanity was indeed greatly flattered by the homage paid to her by the former, but conquest was the great object which she had in view, and as any matrimonial union with a son of the King of England was not to be thought of, she played a sure game, and threw out all her snares to enchain the affections of the gallant captain. She was in point of property a very eligible match for any person, and as the fortune of Captain Merrick was not over abundant, and there being no immediate prospect of his being called into active service, he made the offer of his hand to Miss Schindbach, and it was accepted with the understanding, that the marriage was to be consummated as soon as his engagement with Prince William was at an end.

The winter was passed at Lunenburg amidst a round of amusements and festivities, in all which Prince William bore a conspicuous part, and he gained the universally good opinion of the inhabitants of the place, by the general affability and condescension of his manners. To suppose, however, that he was not the perpetrator of many youthful frolics, or that he let a favourable opportunity escape him, by which he could accomplish a piece of mischief, were to form a decidedly erroneous estimate of his character. These frolics, however, never descended

into vice ; but they were sometimes of so eccentric a kind, as to give the sober and steady inhabitants of Lunenburg, a strange idea of the character of an English sailor. In some instances, he was apt to presume a little upon his rank, and committed many tricks with impunity, which with any other person, would have subjected them to the punishment of the civil power.

As the spring advanced, his royal Highness left Lunenburg, and remained for some time at Hanover, where he spent his time, not much to his intellectual advantage ; but amused himself in the morning with the game of soldiers, and in the evening with the vintun or billiards. In regard to what was called his studies, it was a direct burlesque upon the word, for independently of a natural want of steady application to the attainment of any particular branch of knowledge. General Bude himself did not possess the tact, nor patience requisite for an instructor, and especially for a young man, who was fully aware of the dignity of his rank, and consequently, there was an absence of those impulses which lead the man of a humbler station to the acquisition of that knowledge, by which his future prosperity in life can be promoted.

Captain Merrick was at no time a person well calculated to be the tutor of a royal youth ; but if he were incapacitated for his pedagogic duties, he was now the more so, for since he had bestowed his affections upon Maria Schindbach, he had other objects which engrossed his attention, than turning over the leaves of Tacitus or Livy, or poring over the dry reasoning of Grotius or Puffendorff. In fact, he had requested permission to prolong his stay at Lunenburg, undertaking to join his royal pupil at Brunswick, whither it was the intention of Prince William to repair, as soon as the roads were open for travelling.

Prince William having heard the University of Gottingen highly spoken of as approaching nearer to the Oxford and Cambridge of his own country, than any other of the German universities, he resolved to visit it, and more especially as at that particular period, it had to include amongst its professors, a number of individuals of the highest celebrity for learning and

erudition, independently of its being able to boast of having been the *alma mater* of some of the most celebrated men, that Germany has produced ; and well, indeed, would it have been for Prince William, had he been placed under the tuition of the professors of the university of Gottingen, rather than under that of a superannuated, but well meaning soldier. A six months residence in the house of a Kant, a Herder, or a Michaelis, would have sent him forth into the world, a brighter and a more useful man, than years spent in witnessing the evolutions of a Prussian army. His education would then have fitted him for a throne, that is not supported by the bayonet and the sword, but by the esteem and loyalty of an enlightened and civilized people.

But where are ideas to be found, worthy of being presented to a philosophic age on the education of Princes ? But as it is the will of human beings to confide their destiny to the care of a single man, let those same beings take particular care, that he is made capable of bearing the burden ; let him be rendered worthy of so august an office. Human wisdom has not a more important subject, with which to employ herself, nor has the legislature an object of greater weight, on which to enact its laws.

The child, which is born to govern, is reared in the very heart of a court. In his weakness, he reposes in a cradle, but that very cradle is surrounded by adoration ; it is the throne of its infancy. No one, with the exception of the monarch himself, is attended with so much ceremony, or receives so many homages. He walks, and the courtiers prostrate themselves before him ; he stammers a few words, and he is listened to with respect and attention ; he shows his petulant airs, and all around him tremble ; he cries, and it may be said, that the order of the world is disturbed ? It is attempted to instruct him, but what is it, he has to learn. Is he an infant ? is he a man or a demigod ? If a person be bold enough to speak to him of his duties, everything which surrounds him, reminds him only of his privileges and his power. Kings ! it is thus, that the etiquette of your

courts has regulated the instruction of your youth. People ! it is thus, that your rulers are formed.

And what ought to be the education of a heir to a throne? first, that of a man, afterwards, that of a king. He ought to pass through every situation which could impart salutary ideas, and human sentiments, which could animate his courage, develop his genius, and confirm his virtue. Withdraw him, therefore, from the court, transport him into the interior of some province; let him be surrounded by the general misery of the people, and not by the magnificence of the throne; conceal from him, if possible, his birth: deprive him of every thing, which might be injurious to him; even the caresses and the love of his family; he is not born for them, but for an empire. The time will come, when he is to be conducted back to the court, and his rank made known to him, and when you can really make him understand the dangers and the duties of it, and bring him to the wholesome conviction, that neither nature nor reason have decreed, that men are to be governed without talents or without virtues. At the time when the education of Prince William commenced, these truths were either not known or it was not considered politic nor consistent with etiquette to act upon them. We have seen that his early instructors no sooner evinced a disposition to instil into his mind the liberal sentiments which formed the basis on which a Fenelon, or a Duke d' Montausier formed the mind of their royal pupils, than his doltish father took the alarm, and the royal youth was entrusted to the care of preceptors, whose chief aim was to impress upon him the indefeasible legitimacy of royalty and the divine right of kings. The lesson which the venerable Baron Walstein once read to the Bishop of Osnaburg and Prince William, during their sojourn at Berlin, was of more sterling value to them, than all the knowledge which was attempted to be forced into them by their English tutors. They had one day left the beautiful gardens attached to the palace at Berlin, when they entered a part of the town inhabited by the poorer classes, and whose miserable dwellings

formed a singular contrast with the palaces in which they were wont to reside. "Ah!" exclaimed Prince William, "who could dwell in such wretched huts?" "Enter with me, your Royal Highness," said the Baron, "and you shall know." The Princes entered accordingly, and they were struck with the dilapidated walls, the mean and clumsy furniture, the sorry fare which stood before the inmates, and the squalid appearance of the whole family worn down by labour and want. "Now," said the Baron, "*it is under this roof, in this miserable hut, that a father, a mother, and their children live, who labour incessantly to pay their proportion of the money which is squandered in the decoration of your palaces, and who die with hunger, in order that your tables may be supplied with their superfluities and luxuries.*"

It is in this energetic manner that kings and princes ought to be spoken to; but, alas! a Baron Walstein is a rare animal, indeed, in a royal menagery; but, if the palaces of kings were the residence of such men; we should not meet in the lives of princes those crimes and atrocities, which oblige history to invest itself with a secret and clandestine garb, and, as it were, to hide itself from public view, whereas its chief duties and functions are to tear aside the veil, and reveal everything in its just and natural light.

Prince William had never had an opportunity afforded him of examining the discipline and regulations of the English universities or of the great national schools, but his attention was particularly struck by the apparent want of all discipline amongst the students of the university of Gottingen. In the hours not devoted to the purposes of study, they appeared to be a gang of lawless reprobates, subject to no control, nor seemingly responsible to any one for their actions. Duelling appeared to be a kind of pastime, and no student could be said to be properly inaugurated, until he had wounded two or three of his antagonists, or he had stood very tamely to be wounded by them. The knowledge of the art of fencing was higher prized than that of Homer or Plato, and on Prince William

inquiring the cause of seeing so many young men with their arm in a sling, he was answered with the greatest sang froid, *Es ist nichts, er hat sich nur geschlagen*. (It's nothing, he has only been fighting.) Every means had been used by the heads of the university to abolish this absurd and dangerous custom, but neither coercion nor expostulation had any effect. The students declared it was one of their prescriptive rights, and if they were not allowed to fight, they would not attend their lectures. This experiment was tried by one of their Professors, who declared that he would punish any of the students belonging to his class, who should be detected in fighting a duel. The lectures are one of the principal sources of the emoluments of the Professors, as it is considered that every student pays his subscription towards them. The anti-duelling Professor kept his word, and punished one of the duellists by a three days' confinement. The following day he mounted the rostrum to lecture to his pupils, but not one of them attended, nor would they make their appearance, until they had obtained the liberation of their comrade, and an undertaking given by the Professor, that he would not interfere any further in their *amusement* of duelling. The Professor found that he must either forego his emoluments, or permit his pupils to carry on their amusement, and he preferred the latter.

Michaelis, the celebrated author of the History of Germany, was at the time of the visit of Prince William, one of the most celebrated men of the university, and his Royal Highness expressed a desire to attend one of his lectures. General Bude communicated this wish on the part of his Royal Highness to the learned Professor, and he immediately waited upon him with a most respectful invitation to attend his lecture on the following evening.

As it was soon known throughout the town, that Prince William of England was to honour Professor Michaelis with his presence at the lecture, the demand for tickets of admission was so great, that had the request been universally complied with, the Professor would have been obliged to deliver his

lecture in the open air, for there was not an apartment in the university which would have contained half the number of the applicants.

With the knowledge that he had a son of the King of England, the land of freedom and of liberty, as one of his audience, it might naturally be supposed that some parts of the lecture of Michaelis would have an immediate reference to the high rank of his illustrious visitor, and particularly to the formation of his character, as being the lineal successor to one of the most powerful thrones in the world. At the particular request of Prince William, the lecture was printed, and we translate the following extract from it, as it appears in the edition of Michaelis' works, published by Warrentrapp, of Frankfort on the Mayne :—

“ I will suppose a Prince, placed on one of the first thrones of Europe, at that age, when the great extent and maturity of his ideas mingling with the warmth of the passions, form, and occupy themselves with the construction of some vast designs, and he questions himself on the kind of glory and of happiness, that ought to be the object of his aim ; and, if to an elevated mind, he joins a noble and a generous heart, the following, I conceive would be his answer :—

“ By the will of Heaven, I occupy a rank amongst my fellow-men, to which no ambition could elevate itself, nor dare pretend to it. Vast and splendid aims ought alone to direct him, who beholds himself on so elevated a position. What then ought to be my line of conduct, now that I am seated on the majesty of a throne, supreme governor over all, by the power with which I am clothed ? I become their plaything, by the inconstancy of my passions, and the uncertainty and fickleness of my designs. I will arouse myself from this unworthy tutelage. I will make use of my splendid fortune, and that energy which develops itself in my soul, for my own glory, and the benefit of my country.

“ If I open the pages of history in search of examples ; I there find elevated above all fame, those great and celebrated

men, who, combining with the genius of conquest, that of the foundation of empires, appear to be seated on the thrones of the earth, like gods, on whom it has been bestowed, But in order to bring about those sublime works, circumstances are required, which are no longer in existence. The present condition of the world, excludes those vast enterprises. On the other hand, the ruins on which that grandeur is elevated; the blood with which it has been purchased: the enormous crimes which are always mingled with the greatest successes of war; all impart to that glory, something so inexpressibly calamitous and terrible, that my conscience becomes alarmed at it. I am not ambitious for any fame, which is tarnished by the accusations and maledictions of the human race. I love in glory, that which is pure, but at the same time, is noble and august. The glory which I desire, is that of less celebrated men, who by wholesome laws have prepared, and who by a good government, have given to the people a long epoch of prosperity and happiness. I will offer to my own nation, I will offer to foreign powers, and to the future, a reign replete with order and justice, full of force and grandeur. My majesty shall be stamped upon my people; their prosperity shall tell of my glory.

“How then! should I only consider my own self in the happy destiny which I prepare for my people? Even in doing good, should I not be generous? The true grandeur of man consists in abstracting him from himself, and yielding himself up to others, and it is his greatest, his purest enjoyment. O my people! what have I done, that I have already enjoyed those sincere blessings, which rise spontaneously at the sight of a good Prince. It is my youth, which affects you; you cherish in me the virtues which you would wish to impart to me; you have adopted me as the child of your hopes. Ye good and confiding people, in my turn I adopt you as my own, you shall not be sacrificed to my pride, it is I who would sacrifice myself to your wants. Everything which a Prince does for his people, possesses a peculiar charm. A delightful security

already calms the emotions of my thoughts, and surrounds them with a splendid light. I now perceive, that true glory is nothing more than virtue.

“I have only one research to make, and that is the greatest possible good which a Prince can confer upon a people. Let us ascend to the source of my authority, what is that unique rank with which I am invested? All the forces of an immense society, collected from all the creations of human industry; all those forces are concentrated in my sovereign will;—I speak, and all submit. If I put any faith in the maxims, which have been instilled into my mind, a people have no right over their Prince, and the Prince is the sole arbitrator of his duties towards his people.*

“Who has then regulated the course of things? Is it chance, is it reason, is it a bold confidence, or a fortunate experience? Let us decide by the effects; let a Prince who is carried too much away by his passions, to know properly his own interests, separate his happiness from that of the nation; and what will be the consequence? it will be oppressed, it will be without resources, and without the means of avenging or defending itself. If, being just and enlightened, he conceives that the interests of a master, like the happiness of a father, consist in the prosperity of those who obey him, they may it is true, be well governed, but in that wise and just government, we shall always discover the impression, though, badly disguised, of servitude.

“The citizen will enjoy the happy policy of society, but without having any share in it; without possessing the right of changing anything in it, nor, indeed, of passing his opinion upon it. He is not permitted to be either great or happy, but in that manner, which is agreeable to his master. According to this principle, if I were not born to a throne, I should

* These sentiments might suit the latitude of Gottingen, but they must have appeared rather strange to the ears of the Prince of a people, who are the fountain of all power, and whose Monarch governs only by those laws, to which the people have given their assent.

be obliged to suppress and relinquish altogether those great and generous designs which inflame my soul; I dare not as a man, undertake for my compatriots, that, which as a Prince, I have in contemplation for my people. I was a man before I became a King, and such a state of things arouses my indignation, and exasperates my feelings. The question is not simply, of being generous, but of being just. The most eminent service which I can render to my people is a sacrifice which I impose upon myself, and that service is, to emancipate them from my power, and to raise them to liberty. Tyrants have reigned before me, and tyrants may, perhaps, succeed me.* I will not abandon the fate of the people to chance, which sends at times a good King upon the earth. I will, therefore, disappear amongst the crowd; I will humble myself to a common destiny, and I will renounce all those vast projects, which can only be carried into execution from the eminence of a throne. And what should I have to regret? if I could not achieve anything greater or better? I should experience my reward every moment at the bottom of my heart; and if I should be still actuated by ambition, should I not have it in my power to create for myself a second destiny, a second reputation in the character of a citizen, after having consecrated my name in the annals of my country by the gift of liberty? No, I am not alarmed at the extent of the sacrifice, which I should have to make for the welfare of my people.

“But a new and brighter prospect opens upon my mind. Previously to that work of public liberty being accomplished, I perceive another, not less important, nor less glorious. Are the people capable at every epoch of receiving liberty, of making a proper use of it, and of preserving it? My nation will, therefore, ripen towards a destiny wholly new. Liberty is soon corrupted amidst a bad social organisation, and how

* Not in Europe. The reign of tyranny is there extinct, though the flame of despotism be still in some countries, burning faintly. That man must know little of the English people, who would talk of the tyranny of their Princes. The life of a tyrant King in England would not be worth an hour's purchase.

many vices, abuses, and inveterate evils are there in an immense and antiquated nation, which can only be destroyed by a bold and vigorous operation, of which the hand of the despot is alone capable, and in that respect I would rather honour and consecrate despotism itself, than I would abdicate it. I should demand as a Prince, great and glorious enterprises, and it is the grandest demand which a King can make. It is not above the resources of my authority; I would surround myself with the wisdom and experience of past ages; I would collect around me all the philosophers and men of genius. I would tell them, we have a great work to accomplish; let us combine together. I will acknowledge you as my guides, as my supports. We will hold dominion over our fellow-men, I, by fortune, you, by nature. Associate with me your authority, and I will support you with my power. Do you lay the foundation of some great national schemes, and I will execute them. Enrich my mind with your wisdom, and I will inflame you with my ardour. Do you show what genius, and power, and wisdom, and courage, can effect by their confederation.

“It is not in vain that I have examined my duties, measured my forces, and conceived the most noble designs. Being Supreme! my contented heart is emboldened to turn itself to thee. Every thing that is just and good, is pleasing to thee. Behold my views, my resolutions; I deposit them in thy bosom, as a solemn vow, which I am not permitted to revoke. If the weak projects of a mortal may be admitted into the order of thy Providence, do thou deign to protect them, If my days be not irrevocably numbered, let not my life be abridged; let the number of my years be extended, which I consecrate to the happiness of the world, in which you have placed me. Oh, when shall I arrive at those days of my glory and my happiness, in which I can assemble the representatives of the people around me, and say to them—Everything which human society can exhibit, that is grand and imposing, is here collected under your eyes. You exhibit to me all the majesty of a great people, and I appear before you in all the pomp of royalty, and never were a people and a king assembled for

such an act as that which is now about to be consummated. Listen to me, my people.

“Whether your fathers were constrained by the rights of conquest, or whether they entered into it of their own free will, there was a compact between them and me, real or implied, by which obedience was promised on the one hand, and protection on the other. A number of centuries have passed away, and that ancient compact still subsists; but the rapid march of intellectual power, and the love which you have inspired me, have drawn my attention to the conditions of that compact. I have taken upon myself the character of a Judge between your fathers and mine, between you and me, and my decision is, that the compact is by no means advantageous to you. I will therefore dissolve it, and I now offer you a better form of government. Be no longer dazzled nor intimidated by the pomp and splendour by which I am surrounded; it has no longer anything real or substantial in it; it is the last representation of a thing which is now at an end. From this moment your liberty is established, entire, irrevocable. Let the whole world hear of it and rejoice. *I abdicate all sovereign power, and invest it in your hands; it thereby returns to its source, and there let it for ever rest.* I am now only as one amongst you—a man before men—a citizen amongst his fellow-citizens.

“I have long exercised over you that absolute power, even when in my heart I had already proscribed it. I see the necessity of some great reforms, which it is my desire to accomplish. Be it your task to correct what is false and illegitimate in that stupendous work, and what work can be more stupendous than the reform of the abuses in a State? Let those reforms be consecrated by the laws, and let those laws be henceforth the palladium of the empire.

“At present I have served my country, and if I have conferred an honour upon the human race, as far as lay in my power, of you I demand my reward. O my people, when a benefit has been conferred upon you, I can then be actuated by only one desire, and that is, to see that benefit, permanent and increasing. Maintain the laws, and that liberty which I

have bestowed upon you. Protect them from the vices which still exist in the nation ; protect them against my own efforts, if at any time I manifest a disposition to infringe them. Reflect upon the long course of centuries, which have perpetuated to our time the reign of despotism, and must it not be your wish that liberty may be of equal duration? O, my people, on surrendering to you your rights, I place the glory of my throne in your hands, and with it, is ultimately connected the duration of your happiness. Let your children and children's children say, there was formerly a despot amongst us, who enfranchised his people, and gave them that glorious constitution, of which they are now in the enjoyment."

There are some curious circumstances attached to the delivery of this lecture, which reflect no great degree of credit on the liberality of George III. That it contained many sentiments not exactly suited to a royal ear, cannot be disputed, and further, that it had a direct tendency to advocate the cause of the sovereignty of the people, must be universally admitted. Still, however, there were in it some startling truths, which could not but prove of the greatest advantage to a young Prince at the head of a representative government, and in which the crown is held for the benefit of the public. The general tendency of the lecture, however, trenched so deeply upon the despotic character of the German monarchies, and of the electoral states, in particular, that scarcely six weeks had elapsed, before an intimation was given to Professor Michaelis, that his services, as one of the Professors of the university of Gottingen, were no longer required ; and a very severe reprimand was sent to Prince William, on account of his request that the lecture should be printed, which was in fact, a guilty co-operation in the promulgation of certain political principles, which were by no means palatable at the European courts, but which in a short time afterwards exhibited themselves, practically, in the French revolution.

This despotic act on the part of George III., was strongly reprobated by the Hanoverian people, and particular the inhabitants of Gottingen, with whom the Professor Michaelis

was an especial favourite on account of the noble independence of his character, and his well-known eminent talents. Like all other acts of despotism, the consequences recoiled upon the perpetrator. Professor Michaelis threw up his gown with disgust; but he established a private academy, which was in a short time resorted to by many students of the university, and which under his talented superintendence, became in a short time, one of the most celebrated seminaries of Germany.

During the stay of Prince William at Hanover, he received an invitation from the Elector of Hesse Cassel, to pay him a visit, which his Royal Highness accepted; and it was rumoured amongst the higher classes, that this invitation was not prompted by any particular regard or esteem, which the Elector entertained for his Royal Highness, nor by any motive of a political tendency; but that it so happened, that the Elector had a numerous family, at the head of which were two, by no means ill-looking girls, who were just at that age, in which the attentions of a Royal Prince, would by no means be disagreeable to them, nor would it be in the least disagreeable to their parents, to know one of them transplanted to the shores of Britain, as the spouse of a son of the King of England.

Prince William was accordingly received at the court of Hesse Cassel with particular civility and respect; and a succession of fetes were given in consequence of his visit. A review being the hobby-horse of a German prince, it could not be expected amongst those fetes, a review of the troops of the potent Elector of Hesse Cassel, could be omitted; but unfortunately a review cannot be effected without troops, and the whole army of the Elector of Hesse Cassel, did not amount to much more than three thousand men, the greater number of whom were dispersed in the different towns of the Electorate, leaving only one regiment of cavalry and one of foot, to do the duty of the *Residenz Stadt*. Nevertheless, a review of two regiments was better than no review at all, and therefore, they were drawn out one morning for the inspection and amusement of Prince William, who after seeing them go through their evolutions in a most awkward and undisciplined man-

ner was *pleased* to express to the worthy Elector, the high sense of his approbation of the high degree of precision and discipline, which his troops had evinced, and which conferred the greatest credit upon their officers. This farce is so generally played off after every review, whether it takes place at Hesse Cassel or on Wormwood Scrubs, that it could not be expected of Prince William, that he should be the first to depart from the general custom; but to those, who can remember the motley troops which composed, what was then styled the Imperial Army of Germany, in which a hundred men belonging to the contingency of Hanover, were to be seen in their red uniforms, in line with twenty of the Elector of Mentz in white; and fifty of the Elector of Bavaria in blue, in line with thirty of the Elector of Cologne in green, forming altogether a complete harlequinade, the picture which is here drawn of the Hesse Cassel army will not appear too highly coloured.

In regard to other matters connected with the visit of Prince William, there was on one particular, a very great disappointment. The young ladies of the court threw out their snares, in which to entrap the affections of the royal Prince; but he appeared to them to know as much about love as an oyster, or at least, if he did know any thing about it, he seemed that they should not know how far his knowledge extended, and he was consequently in the opinion of nine-tenths of them a very great simpleton, and by the other one-tenth, he was considered like an oyster in the month of July—good for nothing.

The spring reviews of the King of Prussia were now approaching, and Prince William, or rather General Bude, resolved that so grand an opportunity of perfecting his pupil in military tactics, should not be lost, and they, therefore, left Hesse Cassel for the Prussian territory, and thence travelled into Silesia.

This review did not pass off with that eclat, which the former one did, nor was Frederick himself satisfied with the appearance of his troops, as will be seen by the following letter, which he wrote to one of his generals.

“MY DEAR GENERAL VON TAUENZEIN,

“I will herewith repeat with my pen, what I mentioned to you when I was in Silesia; that my army there has never been in such bad discipline, as it is at present. If I were to make shoemakers and tailors Generals, the regiment could not be worse. The regiment of Tadden’s is not to be compared to the most insignificant land-battalion of a Prussian army. Rolkirch and Schwartz are not worth much, neither. Zarembo is in such disorder, that I intend to send one of the officers of my own regiments to bring it in order again. The fellows in Von Erlach’s regiment, are so spoiled by smuggling, that they have not the appearance of soldiers. Keller’s is like unto a parcel of rough unmannerly boors. Hager’s has a miserable commander; and your regiment is very middling. It is only with Count Von Anhalt, Wendessein, and Heinrich, I can be satisfied. See—so are the details. I will now describe the manœuvres.

“Schwartz makes the unpardonable mistake near Neisse, not to cover sufficiently the heights on the left wing—if it had been in earnest, the battle would have been lost.

“Erlach, by Breslaw, instead of covering the army, by placing troops on the heights, marched with his division, like cabbages and turnips, in defile; so that, if it had been in earnest, the cavalry of the enemy would have cut the infantry to pieces, and the battle have been lost.

“I don’t intend to lose battles through the laziness of my Generals; therefore, I herewith command you, that in case I am alive next year, you march with the army between Breslaw and Olaw; and, four days before I come to the camp, that you manœuvre with the ignorant Generals and shew them their duty.”

It was the opinion of Lavater, that he could tell the character of the man by his epistolary style, and it must be acknowledged, that in every line of the foregoing letter, the character of the *great* Frederick, peeps forth in all its force and originality. Neither the epistles nor the despatches of

Frederick had neither the studied urbanity, nor the hyperbolical redundancy of the famed Wellington despatches, which lately formed the subject of so warm an eulogium from the civic chair of the Mansion House; but in all the despatches of Frederick, there was the *veno, vidi, vinci* of Cæsar; he wrote from the *heart*, others write from the *head*, and in point of sound meaning, and business-like matter, one of the letters of Frederick is more worthy of imitation, than all the flowery despatches, which the Wellington secretary issued from head quarters, and which in their effects were of such wonderful potency, that the perusal of them made the chief civic functionary of the metropolis both "powerful and vigorous."*

On the close of the reviews, Prince William directed his route towards Italy, passing through Mannheim to Neufchatel, Lausanne, and Geneva. He made the latter place for some time his head quarters, travelling thence into different parts of Switzerland, and exploring the beauties of that interesting country. Stopping one evening at a small *auberge* at the foot of the Jung-frau, he was told that the village to which the *auberge* belonged, was celebrated for its minstrels, who wandered all over Switzerland, earning a sorry subsistence by singing the national songs, in the style of the ancient troubadours; and his royal Highness, having heard the celebrated song of the Ranz des Vaches, so much spoken of, he expressed his desire to hear it sung by some of the best minstrels of the place, and they were accordingly introduced into his presence. Prince William, like his brother the Duke of York, was never celebrated for a refined musical ear; but the body of the Swiss, minstrels no sooner struck up the national air with that enthusiasm, which is their peculiar characteristic, than Prince William almost involuntarily put his hand to his ears, for in his opinion, they never before were greeted by such a yell of discordant sounds,

* See the speech of the right Honourable the Lord Mayor, on the occasion of the dinner given to the Duke of Wellington, to tell him, that the citizens of London had been twenty-two years considering about erecting a monument to him, and had at last made up their minds in the affirmative.

each of the *minstrels* trying to elevate his voice over that of his brother choristers, and the whole of them straining their throats, to the utmost possible pitch of their voices, forming on the whole a concert of the most unearthly sounds, that ever vibrated on a human ear. "And these men are called minstrels," said Prince William, to General Bude, "Heaven forbid, that I should ever again be exposed to such minstrelsy." The first song being finished, the minstrels expressed their wish to *gratify* his Royal Highness with the favourite bacchanalian song of AM RHEIN, AM RHEIN; but he declared that he had heard quite enough, and dismissed the minstrels, with a solid proof of his generosity.

Prince William spent the greater part of the summer in Switzerland, and after visiting part of Savoy, and Piedmont, he returned into Germany by the mountain passes of the Tyrol, and directed his route towards Prague, in the vicinity of which, the greater part of the Austrian army was encamped, preparatory to a grand review, which the Emperor had ordered to be held in the beginning of September.

Prince William was joined at Prague by his brother the Bishop of Osnaburg, and both repaired to the imperial camp of Hautplatein. Of all the European Sovereigns, then on the throne, with the exception, perhaps, of Frederick of Prussia, there was not one from whose society the two British Princes could derive a greater stock of knowledge, either of a legislative, military, or political character, than from Joseph of Austria, and on the other hand, no two monarchs could disagree more fundamentally in the education of Princes, than Joseph of Austria and George of England. It was the opinion of the former, that the character which generally attaches itself to Princes, is to be attributed to the forms and etiquette of the court in which they are bred, and to that recluse and restricted mode of life to which they are condemned, thereby preventing that reciprocal communication of sentiment, of which, persons of a humble station are in such full enjoyment. The opinion of George of England was, that a Prince ought to mingle as little

as possible with the world, in the general acceptation of the word, but that they ought to be enshrined in a panoply of etiquette and ceremony, and that they decline in the rank and character of Princes, in proportion as they depart from it.

One evening, at the Countess of Walstein's, the Emperor Joseph took occasion to turn the discourse upon the restrictions to which Princes were subjected, by forms and prescriptive rules originating in the pride of rank. His Majesty enumerated some ludicrous and remarkable instances of the inconveniences of etiquette, which he had observed at certain courts. One person present hinted at the effectual means, the Emperor himself had used, to banish every inconveniency of that kind from the Court of Vienna. To which he replied, "It would be hard, indeed, if, because I have the ill fortune to be an Emperor, I should be deprived of the pleasures of social life, which are so much to my taste. All the grimace and parade to which people in my situation are accustomed from infancy, have not made me so vain as to imagine that I am in any essential quality superior to other men; and if I had any tendency to such an opinion, the surest way to get rid of it, is the method I take of mixing in society, where I have daily opportunities of finding myself inferior in talents to those I meet with. Conscious of this, it would afford me no enjoyment to assume airs of a superiority which I feel does not exist. I endeavour, therefore, to please, and be pleased; and, as much as the inconveniency of my situation will permit, to enjoy the blessings of society like other persons; convinced that the man who is secluded from these pleasures, and raises his mind above friendship, does it at the expense of his personal happiness, by depriving himself of the means of acquiring knowledge."

Previously to the assassination of the King of Sweden, by Ankerstrom, masquerades were the favourite amusements of the German courts, and to which may in a great degree be ascribed the general laxity of morals and profligacy of manners for which they were so notoriously distinguished. The foreign masquerades were the hotbeds of intrigue, and of female in-

continency, and, perhaps, never were such scenes of profligacy and moral delinquency enacted, as at the masquerade which was given by the Emperor Joseph at Prague in honour of the British Princes. On the morning after the masquerade, the two Princes compared the number of cards which they had received from different ladies of the court making an assignation with them, when the number received by the Bishop of Osnaburg amounted to fifty three, and that received by Prince William to forty seven, and not a few of them were slipped into the hands of the royal youths, by ladies, who had either forgotten a particular part of the decalogue, or if they had forgotten it, did not think themselves bound to adhere to its injunctions. A few months residence at Prague, would have completely demoralized the two British Princes, nor did they escape out of the ordeal, to which their morals were subject, without the infliction of some wounds, which it took a considerable time afterwards to heal.

It was about this period, that Frederick the Great made a communication to the English Court, through the Bishop of Osnaburg, which related to a certain coalition, which the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria had entered into for the aggrandizement of their territory, or in other words for the annexation of a certain portion of the Prussian monarchy to their dominions, which had been ceded to Frederick at the close of the war. The first of these monarchs had never forgiven Frederick for the conquest of Silesia, and the latter well knew that he had in Joseph a most irreconcilable enemy, but he looked from his palace of Sans Souci, and told his enemies that his sword was in its scabbard, but he was ready to draw it in defence of his kingdom, whenever they would venture to attack him. In regard to the designs of Joseph and the Elector of Bavaria, he instructed his ambassadors at the respective courts, to tell the monarchs of them, that in respect to territory, he had quite as much as he wanted, and that he would take very good care to keep what he had, and further, that he would also take care, that as he was satisfied, others should be satisfied also. Frederick also saw that the designs

of the Emperor and the Elector went to the dismemberment of the minor states of Germany, and, therefore, he determined upon a plan by which their ambitious views might be frustrated. This plan he communicated to the Bishop of Osnaburg, who transmitted it without loss of time to the Court of St James', who bestowed upon it all the consideration which the importance of it demanded. The result of this proceeding was that his Royal Highness, who was then only twenty-two years of age, had full authority to conclude a treaty with Frederick the Great on the part of the Elector of Hanover, a treaty which was also signed by a number of the heads of other states in Germany, the object of which, was to prevent an aggrandizement of dominion by the concert of the powers of Bavaria and Austria.

The Bishop of Osnaburg was sent twice to Vienna, on this mission from Hanover, at an age, when it might be supposed not very prudent nor politic, to commit a task of such importance to one so young, so inexperienced, and by no means remarkable for his abilities, even at that time, nor at any future period of his life. There was no act of diplomacy in which the Duke of York was ever engaged, in which he was not overreached, and poor indeed must have been the opinion of the foreign powers of the extent of the diplomatic talent of this country, when, the government of it could send, almost a beardless boy to compete with the profound and skilful statesmen of Austria and Bavaria. Mirabeau, that eminent and sagacious politician, who became acquainted with the Bishop of Osnaburg at the Prussian court, made some very pointed remarks on his royal Highness' want of solid ability; and he openly declared, that he there rendered himself conspicuous, for nothing more than intriguing with the women, loud laughter, and immoderate wine drinking. Rank, however, at that time was deemed a qualification equal to any service upon which a public man could be employed, an error which, subsequent events have shown in its proper light. Rank, is one of the curses, which hangs over a country, and it has been the cause of greater evils to the land which tolerates it, than any other of its political institutions.

Rank and command generally go hand in hand, as if the mere possession of the former, qualified an individual for a proper exercise of the latter. What but rank, obtained for the Duke of York, the command of the English armies in Holland and France? What but rank, obtained for the Duke of Kent, the lucrative governorship of Gibraltar? It was not their merit, for as commanders, merit they had none, therefore, the interests of the country were sacrificed to the power of rank, whilst merit was thrust aside to be neglected and unrewarded.

Amongst the German princes assembled at Prague, was Prince George of Mecklenburg, the younger brother of Queen Charlotte, who was really a most amiable and accomplished Prince; but as his biography, however, forms no part of the history immediately under our notice, nor in itself possesses any claim to notoriety, no further, than it proves, that nature can sometimes make a good prince; we shall leave the task of the exposition of his character, to some digressive historian, contenting ourselves with the satisfaction derived from the discovery of the uncommon occurrence of a Prince of the haughty house of Mecklenburg Strelitz, so departing from the general conduct of his ancestors, as to exhibit in his character the amœnities and affabilities of the social life.

On the breaking up of the encampment at Prague, Prince William returned into Italy, in which country he sojourned during the winter, and early in the following spring, 1685, he arrived at Hanover, where he found his brother the late Duke of Kent, then known as Prince Edward, who had but a few days before arrived from Stade, and who was also sent by the military genius of George III., upon the continent of Europe, for the purpose of making himself master of the fullest extent of military discipline, and a more apt, and diligent scholar never exhibited himself in the schools of Germany.

The two brothers did not remain long together at Hanover, as Prince William set off for England, where he landed on the 10th, and reached Buckingham House on the same day.

On the same evening, the Prince of Wales had a splendid fete at Carlton House, but he quitted his company immediately,

leaving Lord and Lady Southampton to do the honours of the evening, and repaired to Buckingham House to welcome home his brother, and invite him to join his party. "Eh ! what !" exclaimed the King to the Heir Apparent—"Eh ! what ! take William away ! take William away ! he shan't go—he shan't go!—just arrived from Hanover—want to know how things are going on there—fine stud ! fine stud ! The heir apparent respectfully intimated to his father that the information respecting Hanover might under all circumstances be deferred until the morrow without any injury to its extent or value—"Shan't go ! shan't go !" repeated the monarch. The Prince expressed the high delight which his company would experience in seeing his brother amongst them, and as he himself expressed his inclination to join the party, his Majesty, it was hoped would grant his permission—"Shan't go ! shan't go !" again exclaimed the Monarch—"better with his mother to night.—The Prince expressed a sense of his displeasure at this obstinate refusal, and left Buckingham House to join his company, not in the best nor most placid humour.

CHAP. III.

THE time had now come when Prince William was to pass for a lieutenant in the navy, he having, agreeable to the rules of the service, gone through the time before which a naval commission can be given. On the 17th of June a Board sat at the Admiralty for his royal Highness' examination. This was generally deemed a very trifling time for a young officer; but the Prince was clever, and the Board, no doubt little inclined to be over severe, so there was not the slightest difficulty on his part in going through the scrutiny.

In a certain work, on relating this circumstance, we find it stated, "that so strict, indeed, was the King in this, as well as every occasion, which affected the public service, that upon no account would he allow any distinction to be made between his son and other candidates for promotion." Now we consider the foregoing as the very quintessence of humbug. Can the writer of the above passage, be so deeply steeped in stupidity, as not to know, that if Prince William had been one of the greatest dolts, that ever spun a yarn, or reefed a topsail, or that if he could scarcely tell which was the main and which was the mizen mast, that in the corrupt state of the Admiralty, he would have passed his examination to the satisfaction of the members of the Board of Admiralty, and he consequently would have received his commission. It is, therefore, actually nauseous to read of the King's zeal for the public service, and all such claptrap, fulsome eulogiums. The members of the Board of Admiralty, were at that time, a set of base, cringing, servile courtiers, and they knew well, that it was as much as their posts were worth, to declare Prince William not worthy to hold a commission.* Influence at that time could make a

* We will give the two following instances of the corrupt state of the army and navy at this time, and of the manner in which their patronage was disposed

booby a general, with full pay, and no regiment to belong to; and it could make the dolter-headed son of a peer a post-captain, in the navy, whose nose was never to be offended by the smell of pitch and tar.

Lord Howe declared his royal Highness to be every inch a sailor, and his commission and ward-room honours were settled by his being appointed third lieutenant of the *Hebe* frigate. He went to the levee the same day, in the uniform of a commissioned officer; was presented by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and kissed his father's hand. The next day he breakfasted with the Prince of Wales and a large party at Carlton House, and leaving town for Windsor, where his royal Highness remained but one day, he set off for Portsmouth, in company with Earl Howe, and soon after embarked in the *Hebe*, with a cutter in company, setting sail on a voyage round the coast of Great Britain, to initiate the Prince in hydrography and naval surveying. In company with some other vessels they entered the North Sea, and anchored in Yarmouth roads. The Prince landed at Yarmouth, and was heartily

of. The father of the writer of this work, and Lord Howe were on terms of the greatest intimacy. His lordship being on a visit to my father at Nottingham, during the latter part of the time that my mother was pregnant with me; his lordship offered, on the supposition that the offspring was a boy, and that my father would bring me up to the naval service, to place me on the books of the Admiralty as a *midshipman at the very hour of my birth*. His lordship kept his word, and on the day on which I was born, I belonged to his Majesty's navy as a midshipman. When the first payment of my pay became due, my father looked upon it as such a scandalous abuse, that he would not allow my name to remain on the Admiralty books.

The other instance is in the army, relative to a Miss Gaff, now Mrs. Mc'Ghee, of Kilkenny, in Ireland, whose mother was delivered of her on the field of battle, in America. Lord Cornwallis promised during the time of Mrs. Gaff's pregnancy, that whatever her offspring might be, he would make it an ensign. Miss Gaff was born, and was promoted immediately to be the bearer of a pair of colours, receiving her pay as an ensign. On her arrival in England, she was placed at Grove House, Hammersmith, then kept by Mrs. Delamain, and her pay as an ensign defrayed the expenses of her education. As some excuse for Lord Cornwallis, it must, however, be stated, that he was the reputed father of Miss Gaff, I am confident I cannot make the same excuse for Lord Howe.

greeted by the inhabitants. He soon after visited Bridlington Bay, and lay there some days at anchor, making excursions occasionally on shore. On one of these occasions having hired a horse for a ride to Hull, with some other brother officers, he was thrown off, and received several bruises. A physician, named Johnson, of Beverly, took his royal Highness to his own house, bled him and put him to bed. The next day he was well enough to return to his ship. One version of the story is that his royal Highness was carried to a cottage near by where he fell, but that it was some time before he came to himself. His royal Highness was laid upon the old woman's bed who owned the place, and looking pale, with his light hair about his face, a rumour spread that he was a young lady who was flying to Scotland with her lover, a story that much amused him when he heard of it. The owner of the bed exhibited it at one penny a head, and obtained for one in her circumstances, a good sum of money, a singular instance of the force of public curiosity, or the esteem in which his royal Highness was held at the time by the people of the coast.

When the Prince was off Yarmouth, and the boat's crew were pulling very hard against a head sea, his royal Highness perceived them to slacken a little from their labour, and said to them, "Come, give way my lads, and we'll splice the main brace presently." The speech was a stimulant to the men; and when he was landed, the Prince desired the officer to give them a double allowance of three-water grog, and with "Hark ye, Mr. —, and a little of the best of any thing which your Nibcheese has in his stores." (Nibcheese is a nautical name for a purser.)

From Bridlington Bay, the Hebe proceeded to the Scottish coast, coming to anchor near North Berwick. The Hebe, it appears, was attached to a squadron that was sent to survey the Orkneys, and to drive away any foreign vessels, that might be unlawfully using the English fishing grounds. In the mean time, Prince William had the benefit of attaining a part of nautical education, which he had before no opportunity of

practically acquiring: a knowledge of the navigation of the British coasts was a most essential accomplishment for every British officer, and was to be obtained only by actual observation. The difficulties it presented at that time were greater than in the present advanced state of navigation: it was then impossible for an officer holding a high command to judge the conduct of others, who might be in discharge of their duties connected with the remotest coasts of an island, without previous personal acquaintance with localities. Passing the main land of Scotland, and the Orkneys coming in view, the squadron came to an anchor in Kirkwall road, on the 5th of July, where he found an old friend in Captain Richan of the navy. Here the *Hebe* remained several days, and then navigated to the extreme northernmost island of the group.

During the stay of the *Hebe* at Kirkwall, she attracted the attention of the inhabitants, and many went on board to pay their respects to the Prince. Some were invited by the commodore to meet his royal Highness at dinner. Among those whom Prince William Henry met at this place, was an old brother shipmate in the *Prince George*, Lieutenant Moodie of the marines. He was living upon a miserable half-pay, and found it difficult to make both ends meet, even in that distant and cheap part of the kingdom. The Prince, with very kind consideration, ordered his banker to pay Mr. Moodie forty pounds a-year until he could get an appointment, which his royal Highness ultimately obtained for him. The generous welcome given by Prince William Henry to this friendless seaman speaks highly for his royal Highness' benevolent disposition when young. After this, the Prince landed, to the delight of the inhabitants, who welcomed the only member of the British royal family, that had ever been in the Orkneys with undissembled pleasure. The corporate body of Kirkwall, according to custom, drew up for his royal Highness a suitable address, which was presented to him in due form on board the *Hebe*.

At Fair Isle the Prince also landed. This is an island situated between the Orkneys and Shetland. It rises to a vast height out of the sea, and is only fit for feeding sheep of a

small size. It is without a harbour ; but the Prince contrived to go on shore and shoot wild-fowl at the expense of a wetting from the surf. The Prince was much pleased with the simple manners of these northern islanders. On the 20th of July, the Hebe and Mutine came to an anchor at Stornoway in Lewis, one of the western islands. The people, headed by Mackenzie of Seaforth, waited upon his royal Highness on board the ship. The captain and Prince William afterwards went on shore, and examined into the mode of conducting the herring fishery. They remained at anchor at Stornoway for a week, and made themselves well acquainted with every branch of the business, and with the navigation of the shores of this barren and rocky island, where the distinction of laird and serf might still be traced in similitude to their ancient position. The weather was fine during the time the Prince remained here, and he took a part in all the amusements which the land and water afforded. The time for this, however, was but short, being only five days, arriving on the Sunday, and quitting the Friday following, on the evening of which day, after dining on shore, they set sail.

Coming southward, the Hebe arrived off Campbell-town, in the Mull of Cantyre, but the wind prevented their landing, to the disappointment of the inhabitants, and they stood off to the Irish shore, entering next morning Carrickfergus Bay. The population of Belfast, expecting the Prince would land, assembled to greet him, but were disappointed. The vessels of war stationed there only fired salutes, and the Hebe kept off. The citizens were disappointed in their hope of paying his royal Highness the due honours. It was currently reported at the time, that the King wished the Prince to be considered an officer of the navy only while he was on active service, and he was obliged to take his turn of duty and his watch the same as the other lieutenants of the ship, and to decline all public honours as much as possible.

The frigate now sailed down the Irish Channel, and came to an anchor in Milford Haven on the 5th of August. Crowds hurried down to greet the Prince, who landed on the 7th, and

went to Picton Castle, the seat of Lord Milford. After dining there, his royal Highness repaired to the ball-room at Haverfordwest, where he joined in the dances with the inhabitants of the town and vicinity, whom he found assembled for the purpose. The Hebe remained a fortnight at Milford, while a survey of the harbour was made by the orders of government, and during the interim, he took excursions into the romantic neighbourhood, to the seats of the principal nobility and gentry, who vied with each other in their hospitalities to him. His principal residence was at Picton, with the noble scenery of which his royal Highness was much pleased. Notwithstanding his visitings and excursions, the Prince took a share of the duties of the survey. It is singular that the favourable report on Milford harbour, arising out of this survey, was not acted upon until a late period of the war.

From Milford, the Hebe sailed to Falmouth, where the Prince landed on the 26th of August, 1785. Lord Falmouth received his royal Highness, and escorted him to his seat at Tregothnan, which had been often the residence of the brave Admiral Boscawen. It is situated near Truro, on a branch of the river that enters Carrick roads at the mouth of Falmouth harbour. On the 29th, the Prince was conducted by Lord Falmouth to the beautiful town of Truro, about three miles from Tregothnan. Here his royal Highness was received with due honours by the corporation, and, accompanied by the late Mr. Ralph Allen Doucet, the owner of some smelting-houses near the town, his royal Highness partook of some beefsteaks dressed upon the tin, after it had been run out of the furnaces and acquired a certain degree of solidity. This mode of cooking was considered by the Cornish members of corporations—as elsewhere no mean judges of good eating—to be the very perfection of beefsteak cookery. Nothing can be cleaner or more brilliant in colour, than the metal on which the steak is laid, and it may be said to be cooked without fire, as the metal has been some time out of the furnace in the mould cooling, before it is sufficiently coagulated for the purpose. The Prince, after this Cornish tiffin and a glass or two of good wine, returned to

Tregothnan to dine, and then came back to the elegant Truro assembly rooms, where the belles of the town were highly gratified at his royal Highness' gallantry and good humour.

His royal Highness also visited Trefusis, the seat of a country squire of the old school, afterwards Baron Clinton of Trefusis, and many of the nobility and gentry. He visited the tin and copper mines, and ventured down into some of them, making every inquiry that occurred to his mind respecting the produce, and mode of working them. He was told that the Prince of Wales derived a revenue from the blocks of tin, of several hundredweight each, that lie about the streets of Truro; and that each paid a due of 12s. to his royal brother. The Prince observed with a smile easily to be understood, "I am very glad to hear it; for this tin money just now will be very acceptable to my good brother George." His royal Highness was also presented with a pair of shoe and knee-buckles of the gold found in Cornwall. At Tregothnan he was very curious about Admiral Boscawen and all relating to him, and the portrait of that bluff seaman seemed very much to strike his attention.

The 10th of September closed the Prince's cruises round Great Britain, and the Hebe anchored at Spithead. The frigate was then sent to cruise in the Channel under his royal Highness' command; but with the two captains, Gower and Thornborough, as assistants. On his return, his Royal Highness attended the launch of the St. George, the ceremony of naming the vessel devolving on himself.

His Royal Highness, having risen to be second lieutenant of the Hebe, was removed to the Pegasus, of twenty-eight guns, lying at Plymouth, in April, 1786, and received his commission as a captain in the navy. Prince William held a levee in consequence, and the captains of the service attended, but not the lieutenants, upon which he expressed his disappointment. They took their turn in consequence, and he invited himself to dine with them before the time he had fixed upon to meet the officers of his own rank, saying to them, "A jolly good day my boys, we will have of it together."

The freedom of the borough of Plymouth was presented to

his Royal Highness by the corporation, and he got initiated into a society of Freemasons, meeting at the George Inn, in that far-famed town.

At the time of Prince William's sojourn on the continent, and especially during his residence in the Austrian dominions, the persecution of the Free-masons was carried to the utmost rigour, and in conjunction with the Illuminati, they were supposed to hold their secret meetings with the view of subverting all the monarchies of Europe, and placing the government of the countries in the hands of the people. One of the most inveterate enemies of the Free-masons was Joseph, Emperor of Austria, a part of whose hereditary dominions was the stronghold of the Illuminati, and from which no threat nor power of the government could dislodge them. Joseph, however, admitted that the society of Free-masons had done some good, and he thereby qualified his enmity to them by allowing them certain privileges, which were to be subject to particular regulations appointed by himself, which in a certain degree went to the entire suppression of the order. The following is the curious proclamation which Joseph issued against the Free-masons :—

“ WHEREAS, in all well-regulated states, nothing should, within a certain description, be permitted to subsist, without being confined to some particular rule and order, I have thought it necessary to enjoin what follows :

“ The assemblies of men called Free-masons, of whose secret I am as completely ignorant, as I have at all times been averse to inquire into their mysteries, are daily increasing, even in the smallest towns. Such meetings, left entirely to the discretion of their members, and subject to no kind of direction, may occasion many excesses, equally injurious to religion and good morals ; as also induce the superiors, in consequence of a fanatical fellowship, to deviate from the strict path of rectitude, in regard to those who are their dependents, but not initiated into the mysteries of their order ; and, in fine, occasion great and needless expenses. Already have other

powers forbidden all such assemblies ; already have the members been brought to exemplary punishments, because their secrets were not universally known. Although I am myself very imperfectly in the confidence, it is enough for me to know that some good and benevolent acts have been performed by the masonic lodges, to provide in their favour better than has been done in other countries ; therefore, although I am a stranger to their constitution, and to what is transacted at their meetings, these shall, nevertheless, be countenanced, under the patronage of the state, as long as they shall do good ; therefore, the Free-masons shall enjoy a formal toleration, upon their submitting to such regulations as shall be prescribed by me."

Joseph was altogether a very curious Monarch in his edicts, but at the same time he could adduce other European monarchs as his example. George III. by way of promoting the woollen manufacture of his country, issued an order that no one should be buried in linen—on the other hand, Joseph issued an edict with the view of promoting the linen manufacture, that no one should be buried in coffins, but in sacks. He also issued an edict, prohibiting ladies from wearing stays, and the Imperial College of Physicians at Vienna were commanded by Joseph to compose a dissertation on the subject—to which, however, the ladies would not pay any attention, preferring the symmetry and elegance of their shape, to their health. Paul I. of Russia, issued an ukase, prohibiting the ladies from appearing at court with black stockings, and he gave it as his reason, that the devil's legs were black, and, therefore, that the ladies should not in that respect bear any resemblance to his satanic majesty, whatever they might do in other respects. Paul in one respect had the advantage over his brother monarchs, he could give a reason for his actions, which it is not in the power of every king to do. It cannot, however, be denied, that the heads of kings are most prolific things, although they sometimes bring forth abortions.

The Pegasus, in the mean time, was getting ready for a

foreign station, and the Prince left Plymouth for London, to receive instructions from the Admiralty, and take leave of his family.

Prince William speedily returned to Plymouth, and set sail in company with the *Druid* and the *Rose*, commanded by Captains Elliston and Harvey. Elliston was an old friend of the Prince, and he had been so long in the command of the *Druid*, that to mention the name of the one was sure to be followed by that of the other. He was for a long time employed in the channel service, and was then sent to the Jamaica station, where he continued for some time, until he was relieved according to the usual rotation. At the time when he was beating up the channel, he heard that the royal family were then at Weymouth, and he accordingly came to an anchor off that place, for the purpose of paying his respects to his Majesty. The King, on the landing of Captain Elliston, was taking his usual walk on the esplanade, and he instantly recognized him, and on Captain Elliston paying his respects to him, his Majesty inquired the length of time that he had commanded the *Druid*, and on being answered, upwards of seven years, his Majesty said, "Hey! what upwards of seven years! upwards of seven years! when do you intend to give her up?" "Never, please your Majesty," said the Captain, "until your Majesty has the goodness to make me a present of her." The King was highly pleased with this answer, and in his usual eccentric manner, he called out to the Queen, who was at a short distance from him. "Here, Charlotte, this Elliston wants me to give him the *Druid*."

Prince William in the *Pegasus* cruised for some time off the coast of Normandy, where he received his orders to proceed to the North American station, and parting company with the Captains of the *Druid* and *Rose*, he sailed immediately for Newfoundland, and thence to Halifax in Nova Scotia.

On reaching Newfoundland, upon his landing the Prince met a poor woman having a family of fourteen children, and no means of support. Pitying her condition, he took one of

her sons, with whose looks he was pleased, clothed him, and made him stand behind his chair at dinner. He had previously met with a lad at Plymouth whom he had treated in the same way and clothed as a midshipman. The two boys were not employed in any mean work, and on his Royal Highness' return to England, were both put to school by him. Whether they repaid his kindness in after life is not known.

At Halifax, Governor Parr, Major-General Campbell, and the inhabitants, were for treating his Royal Highness with the customary etiquette, feeling great pleasure at his arrival among them; but he declined all ceremonies of any kind, though the people could not be prevented from displaying their respect. In a week or two, the *Pegasus* set sail for the West Indies, and anchored in English Harbour, Antigua, on the 8th of October. He found his friend Nelson the commanding officer on the Leeward Island station, and was much pleased to renew the friendship personally, which had continued by correspondence from their last meeting. They became more friendly than ever, and the Prince did not fail to obtain from the example of Nelson as a seaman, a good deal of knowledge he might never else have acquired. They dined alternate days at each other's tables, and the intercourse was mutually honourable as well as beneficial.

It appears at this time Nelson was introducing reform and innovations into the dock-yard at Antigua; that great man was also endeavouring to bring into honourable conduct the licentious doings of agents for prizes and contractors. Nelson's opinion of his Royal Highness at this period (December 29, 1786) is happily preserved in the following letter to a friend:—

"You must have heard, long before this reaches you, that Prince William is under my command. I shall take care he is not a loser by the circumstance. He has his foibles, as well as private men; but they are far outbalanced by his virtues. In his professional line he is superior to nearly two-thirds, I am sure, of the list; and in attention to orders, and in respect to his superior officer, I hardly know his equal. His Royal Highness keeps up strict discipline in his ship, and without paying him any compliment, she is one of the finest-ordered frigates I have seen."

This first of naval commanders also wrote from Montserrat to the same friend in 1787 :—

“ I am here with the *Pegasus* and *Solebay*. The island has made fine addresses and good dinners. To morrow we sail for Nevis and St. Christopher's. His Royal Highness keeps up strict discipline in his ship, and without paying him any compliment, she is one of the finest-ordered frigates I have seen. He has had more plague with his officers than enough. His first lieutenant will, I have no doubt, be broke. I have sent him under arrest, he having written for a court-martial on himself, to vindicate his conduct, because his captain thought fit to reprimand him in the order-book. In short, our service has been so relaxed during the war, that it will cause many a court-martial to bring it up again.”

Here appears a little of that deference, we take it, to the princely rank of his friend, which does not admit the possibility of the inferior officer, who had perhaps seen long service, being aggrieved. If he did not merit the reprimand, he was surely right to ask for a court-martial. He was never broke, nor even tried, but was promoted no great while after to the rank of post-captain. Nelson's deference to rank, led him to sacrifice Carracioli to the venom of the abandoned Queen of Naples; and to all, his conduct in the Bay of Naples, that great blot in his glorious life,—but what orb is without a spot?

The Prince must receive the justice of the acknowledgment, that he felt his obligations to his great friend and teacher. Long after his Royal Highness stated that, at the period when Nelson wrote as above, he first formed his character as a naval officer, and was employed in a way most grateful to his feelings by his senior. His Royal Highness said, “ It was then, that I particularly observed the greatness of Nelson's superior mind. The manner in which he enforced the spirit of the Navigation Act first drew my attention to the commercial interests of my country. We visited the different islands together; and as much as the manœuvres of fleets can be described off the headlands of islands, we fought over again the principal actions of the American war. Excepting the naval tuition which I had received on board the Prince

George, when the present admiral, Sir R. Keats, was lieutenant of her, and for whom both of us equally entertained a sincere regard, my mind took its first decided naval turn, from this familiar intercourse with Nelson."

All that can be stated here, respecting the intercourse between the Prince and Lord Nelson, cannot fail to interest. In a letter to Mrs. Nesbit, Nelson says, "What is it to attend on princes? Let me attend on you, and I am satisfied. Some are born for attendants on great men: I rather think that is not my particular province. His Royal Highness often tells me, he believes I am married, for he never saw a lover so easy, or say so little of the object he has a regard for. When I tell him I certainly am not, he says, 'Then he is sure I must have a great esteem for you, and it is not what is vulgarly called love.'"

The Prince was present at the marriage of his friend, and gave away the bride, who was the widow of a physician at Nevis, her name Frances Nesbit. The marriage took place on the 12th of March, 1787. Respecting his marriage, Nelson wrote to a friend, dated from Tortola, while on the same station, as follows:—"My time since November has been taken up entirely in attending the Prince on a tour round these islands. However, excepting Grenada, this is the last, when I shall repair to English Harbour, and fit the *Boreas* for a voyage to England. Happy shall I be when that time arrives. No man has had more illness or trouble, on a station, than I have experienced; but let me lay a balance on the other side. I am married to an amiable woman; that far makes amends for everything. Indeed, until I married her I never knew happiness, and I am morally certain she will continue to make me a happy man for the rest of my days. Prince William did me the honour to stand her father upon the occasion, and has shown every act of kindness that the most sincere friendship could bestow. His Royal Highness leaves this country in June, by which time I hope my orders will arrive, or that somebody will be appointed to the command."

About this time, the House of Assembly at Barbadoes presented his Royal Highness with a sword, gold mounted, and valued at three hundred guineas; and at Dominica he received from the representative body, the present of a very valuable chronometer. The utmost respect and civility were shown Prince William by the French authorities, at Guadaloupe and Martinique, and public invitations were sent from both islands, entreating the honour of a visit.

One of the Prince's friends, acquired here, was the late well known Captain Holloway, commanding the *Solebay*. He was junior to Nelson in rank, though in years his senior. He was a noted character in the navy for roughness and bluntness of manner, and remarkable also for sterling bravery. The veteran frequently took upon him to advise the Prince in his plain way, without circumlocution, or ceremony. The Prince going on board the *Solebay*, and seeing a Bible lying open in his cabin, remarked to the honest seaman, "Jack, you are always reading the Bible! Are you going to write notes upon it?"—"No, Sir," was the answer, "but the longer I read that book, the greater is my eagerness to return again to the perusal of it; for there I learn all my duty; and among other things, 'to trust in the Lord, and put no confidence in princes.'" His Royal Highness laughed at the hit, and more than ever esteemed the man whose heart was without guile. Captain Holloway accompanied his Royal Highness on the tour he was making through the islands. He died suddenly at Wells in Somersetshire, of which place he was a native, on the 26th of June, 1826.

A letter from the West Indies, dated February, 1787, states that the Prince had been in Antigua repairing the *Pegasus*, which he commanded: it says, "All ranks are vying with each other in making grand entertainments for their illustrious visitor. The Prince is quite the officer, never wearing any other dress than his uniform, and his star and garter only when receiving addresses, or on any public occasion. He has not slept a night out of his ship since his arrival in these seas,

until coming into English harbour, where the ship's heaving down obliged him to be on shore. His Royal Highness shows the most amiable disposition and condescension on every occasion, sees into the detail of the business of his ship, and delivers his own orders with the most minute attention to the duty and discipline of the frigate. In short, he promises to be what we all hope and wish—the restorer of the ancient glory of the British navy.”

It may not be deemed amiss to allude again to the intimacy between the great Nelson and his Royal Highness. The Prince was only in his twenty-second year when Nelson was his senior in the *Boreas*; and such was the management of that distinguished man and officer, that for three years, during which he was in the West Indies, he never lost a man or officer. Nelson, well acquainted with the fatal character of the climate, rarely suffered his ship to remain at anchor in any harbour more than three or four days. He kept the vessel as much as possible at sea, and the crew employed; if other ships were present, all engaged in manœuvring and exercising. He was singularly regardful of a dry hold, and a clear ship below; and when obliged to be in harbour, during the season of storms and hurricanes, he kept the men's minds on the alert by all sorts of merry exercises and amusements. He encouraged music or dancing, and got his officers to get up dramatic pieces and perform them, being well aware, from his natural sagacity, of the great effect produced by cheerfulness of mind upon bodily health. No better example for the Prince to copy could have been found in the navy. Nelson was a great reformer of the abuses he discovered existing in the naval service in the West Indies, and a determined uprooter of them. The Prince aided the great hero of England, as Nelson afterwards showed himself, and the consequence was that the slanders upon both of those who had profited by abuses, which they could no longer continue, were dealt out with no sparing hand. The Prince was accused of everything heinous, and Nelson was attacked in the most malicious manner. Those attacks were not con-

fined to the West Indies; they were transmitted to England, and made others uneasy there, who, if they had known the truth, need not have been under any apprehension.

In June, Nelson was ordered to England, and Prince William Henry to Jamaica. It is said that on separating from the directorship of Nelson, the spirits of the Prince were much depressed. His Royal Highness commissioned him as a friend, to contradict at home the false reports which had been diligently circulated about him, sent by those malicious persons who had been annoyed by the honourable and proper steps taken to prevent the service of the navy from further abuse. Nelson pledged himself to meet the wishes of the Prince, and he was not a man that would flinch from his promise. Accordingly he took pains to make known the real facts of the case, and throw a protecting shield over the sufferer by the insidious calumnies of their mutual foes.

The Prince soon after, not reflecting as he should have done, that it was his duty to report himself to the nearest commanding officer, being left without instructions, set sail for Halifax, From this port he was ordered to Quebec, as a censure for his inexperienced conduct. In Quebec his Royal Highness must inevitably have wintered, and knowing the irksomeness of such a position, he set sail for England, although his time of service abroad had not run out by six months. At the most dangerous season in those latitudes he steered, by Newfoundland, home, when the days were short, and perils environed his course of no common kind, from the fogs so prevalent at that season. In December, 1787, he entered Cork Harbour.

The Duke of Rutland, who had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland when his Royal Highness went abroad, and on whom he seems to have relied as an advocate, at head-quarters was just dead. The Prince, nevertheless, transmitted the tidings of his arrival to the Duke of Buckingham, the successor in the government of Ireland to the Duke of Rutland, who sent them forward to the Admiralty. The arrival of the Prince without orders, and in contravention of those given, when he

went abroad, caused the first Lord of the Admiralty, the *late* Earl of Chatham (as he was then called, from his lying in bed half the day after playing but part of the preceding night,) to send off the intelligence to Windsor, with a letter from the Prince to his father, in extenuation of his conduct. The King came to town from Windsor the next day, and an order was directly issued, commanding his Royal Highness to repair to Plymouth in the Pegasus immediately.

The Prince in the mean time, had been solacing himself on shore with the hospitalities of his Irish friends. The citizens of Cork shewed him every attention ; he dined at the Mansion House, also with the merchants, and attended a city ball, dancing with the daughters of the members of the corporation. He visited the different seats of the nobility in the neighbourhood, and at Lord Waterford's received the Admiralty order which commanded him to repair to Plymouth.

Almost directly afterwards, the Pegasus weighed anchor from the Cove of Cork, and went to sea. They had scarcely weathered the Land's End and Scilly Islands, and got into the Channel, when a violent storm commenced, attended with thunder and lightning. The vessel was much damaged ; the sails being torn in slips, and the mainmast shivered by a stroke of lightning. Fortunately, the vessel got into Plymouth, and soon afterwards was snug in Hamoaze, which she had quitted just eighteen months before. It became needful to dock the Pegasus, and a short leisure ensued for the Prince, in which he might have visited his friends, but he was not permitted that pleasure, his ship was kept in commission, and his Royal Highness had of course to superintend the repairs going on in the dockyard, until she was once more ready for sea. That the Prince felt this was a great disappointment after so long an absence, cannot be doubted. The orders he had received were a tacit command that he was not to quit the port of Plymouth. The Prince's intentions had been to set off for the metropolis, but it is possible, the consideration of the breach of duty, he had committed in returning before his time, operated in the way of fear in tempting further, those who were his superior

officers, and he therefore made up his mind to pocket his ill fortune as cheerfully as possible, nor appear to fret at an evil which was in every way of his own seeking. His father had determined, and rightly determined, that the Prince should be treated only as any other officer in respect to his duty, and the King was therefore only acting according to the principle he had laid down, in visiting him with some token of his royal displeasure. An Admiralty order was next issued expressly forbidding his Royal Highness, from quitting Plymouth without permission, and thus the displeasure was in the second instance openly shown at his conduct, which it certainly merited. There appears about this time to have been a great laxity in the conduct of our naval officers, and the Admiralty had found it necessary to issue some very strict orders respecting the conduct of captains. Discipline is the soul of the naval service, and the enforcement of strict discipline among the common seamen, with insubordination among the officers, is equally as injurious to the public interest, as if the men were equally careless, or as any breach of the rules of duty. The force of a bad example, too, is more extensive in its consequences. It is impossible not to see in the treatment of his Royal Highness, in the present instance, an example of lenity which would not have been extended to officers less highly connected. The punishment was a very slight one in proportion to the offence, and it is very probable that the non-employment, more actively, of the Prince, in his professional capacity in the future period of his life was caused in some degree, by the consideration that the difficulty of acting by his Royal Highness in all respects, as the heads of the service would act by an officer not so closely connected with the Royal Family. When it is considered how much depends for safety on the right conduct of commanding officers, and how much responsibility is reposed in their hands, involving the best interests of the country, it appears desirable that they should not be employed in more than their own private interests are concerned, except in very particular instances.

The determination to promote officers, both in the army and navy, so highly connected, before they have acquired a competent knowledge of the duties of the intermediate rules of the service, is highly injurious. Prince William Henry was made a Post Captain from a Lieutenant of very short standing; in fact, after a period of service in which he may have been said to have seen little or none in that rank, and to have been introduced to the irresponsible command of others before his Royal Highness knew how to command himself. Commander he never was, having been put into a port ship from his year's Lieutenancy.

The determination taken by the King and Admiralty was soon communicated to him. It was no doubt a delicate task for the Board to decide on the punishment which justice required should yet be inflicted. It was therefore arranged, that when the Prince had remained at Plymouth for as great a space of time as he had absented himself from his station without orders, he should return to Halifax and the West Indies again, there to remain until he was ordered home. The determination of the Admiralty was made to him in due form; to which, feeling no doubt the consciousness of his previous breach of orders, his Royal Highness bowed submission without a murmur.

The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York determined, as their brother could not meet them in London, to visit him at Plymouth; and they accordingly left Carlton House, January 6th, 1788, and reached Plymouth Dock on the 8th. The interview has been described as having been very affectionate. It has been before remarked, that Prince William always paid a great deference to his eldest brother; in fact, to so great a degree did the Prince in some cases carry his feeling, that he frequently sacrificed to his better judgment; and those feelings of a kindly character towards others, which were a predominant feature in his character. As it was, the three Princes, in the heyday of youth, and full of buoyancy of juvenility, determined to take their pleasure together as far as possible. They visited

the dock-yard, round which the town then called Plymouth-dock was built, but which has now taken the fantastic name of Devenport, situated in one branch of Plymouth harbour, between which and Plymouth, and not three-quarters of a mile from either, stands the town of Stonehouse. This was the place where the principal balls and assemblies were then held. It is now connected with Plymouth by buildings in one direction, and with Plymouth-dock or Devenport in another, except a short distance occupied by the glacis of the lines which surrounded the former place. The Long-room at Stonehouse, as it was then called, was known to every officer in the naval service as the scene of agreeable enjoyment, though it has long ago passed away, all three towns having grown so much in population and wealth, as to have public rooms of their own. Most of the naval heroes, whose names are recorded in our annals, used to make the Long-room at Stone-house the scene of pleasant recollections, and here the three royal brothers, now gathered to their fathers, entered to enjoy the sprightly dance. Plymouth boasted at the time, in the bloom of youth and beauty, a number of very charming women. Miss Fanshawe was sister or daughter of the venerable officer of that name, who was long a commissioner of the Plymouth dockyard; but the favourite of Prince William was a Miss Wynue, who had several relatives in the navy; but the intimacy extended to nothing more than a little flirtation, though of course calumny was busy at work immediately. The three brothers enjoyed the dance at the Long-room, exceedingly, mingling with the company, and by princely condescension, making the ladies happy in being their partners, and affording their partners the honour of which few ladies in England could boast. Twice the royal brothers visited the ball at the Long-room out of three days that they remained. They then rode round the beautiful Mount Edgecumbe and along Maker Heights, on the Cornish shore, and afterwards, under a royal salute from Plymouth citadel, the visitors departed on their return to the metropolis. This was the only time the Prince of Wales was in his dukedom of Cornwall.

The absence of his royal brothers was made up to Prince

William by a visit from Nelson, who came to Plymouth and stayed some weeks. Here the two friends had a conference with some leading individuals from one of the West India islands respecting a reform of abuses in the government naval service there. Nelson entered evidently into a subject in which he had taken so much interest on the spot while in the *Boreas*, but observed to the parties, "You may rest assured that steps shall be undertaken by me to accomplish the discovery of the malpractices, and to procure you the reward which, I have not the least doubt, you will so merit. I must nevertheless, apprise you, that my interest is very small, therefore, do not build on what I can do for you. Indeed, little else but my integrity and public spirit can bring such an individual as I am into notice: however, the goodness of the cause in which we are engaged will support itself at all times, more especially, I dare say, with such an upright character as Mr. Pitt. His royal Highness commands me to say, that were he placed in a situation where he could be of any service to this cause, he would assuredly sift it to the bottom; but that, at present, not having been from this port since his arrival, he can only give his good wishes for the accomplishment of what you have begun." It is highly satisfactory to know that the reform thus urged was at least wrought out through many obstacles, and a great saving effected by the discovery of the frauds carried on. Thus early was the reformer of political frauds in the state, the advocate of the reform of abuses of a very inferior character, in a branch of the public service to which he belonged, at a period when a great measure of parliamentary reform by his means could have been little foreseen.

It appears from this circumstance that his royal Highness was never in the habit of suffering a plain common sense question to be put down by the dictates of mere interest or prejudice. He was early in life a reformer. The late King George IV., is said to have observed of his brother William, "that he had run away with all the plain sense of the family;" his Majesty did not imagine, when he said this, what an ill compliment he was paying the rest of the royal house. The truth was, that Prince

William had been bred up in a good school, when serving in the navy. There he was accustomed to see things with his own eyes, call them by their plain names, submit to his superiors and to self-denial, and judge by matter of fact, not prejudice. His royal Highness was untutored in the chicanery of a court, and saw nothing through that jaundiced medium; it was from this cause the court had no sympathy with him, and he lay so long in the back ground, fortunately for his future glory as a monarch.

The stay of his Royal Highness at Halifax, was not of long duration. He disliked the place, and the station itself was perhaps the most unpleasant and inhospitable to which a naval officer could be sent. It was in the opinion of Prince William, a little short of an exile, and he felt himself not a little aggrieved that he should be selected for that station, when others of a more useful and enterprising nature could have been selected for him. He however, regarded it as a part of the punishment which was to be inflicted on him, for the breach of naval discipline which he had committed, and therefore he considered that all complaint would be unavailing.

For the purpose, however, of softening the rigour of his naval banishment, as he called it, his instructions were at the setting in of the winter to sail for the West Indies, where he arrived in the middle of November, and took up his old station at the Island of Jamaica.

The *Andromeda* entered the harbour of Port Royal as the sun was setting, and he immediately went on shore accompanied by the first Lieutenant. As the arrival of his Royal Highness was not generally known, and full of that fun, which ever distinguished him, he repaired with the first Lieutenant in their uniforms to the public rooms, where as a Captain of one of his Majestys ships, he was immediately welcomed with the greatest respect and good humour by the officers of the army who were present, and with whom he played several games of billiards, they little thinking the rank of the individual, with whom they were contending. At last his Royal

Highness challenged the Colonel-Commandant to a trial of skill, in which his Royal Highness was defeated, but at the close of the game, to the great surprise of the Colonel and all the military officers present, his Royal Highness requested the former to have his regiment drawn out at daylight, that he might inspect it. This in the opinion of the Colonel, was rather a presumptuous request for a young man to make, and especially in a naval officer, who could not be supposed to be much interested in the discipline of a regiment. The Colonel by way of retaliating for this supposed act of presumption, asked his Royal Highness if that on the supposition that he granted his request of allowing him to inspect his regiment, whether he would allow him to go on board and inspect his sailors. To this his Royal Highness made not the slightest objection, on the contrary, it would give him pleasure not only to allow him to inspect his crew, but to examine every part of the ship, and at the close to treat him with the best fare which the ship could afford. This friendly offer on the part of the naval Captain rather softened the hauteur of the military Colonel, and he was about to agree to the reciprocity of the two acts, when a Captain of the regiment entered the room with the information of the arrival of the *Andromeda*, with Prince William as her commander. The secret now could be no longer kept, the rank of the individual was known who had been so presumptuous to ask to *inspect* the regiment, and the Colonel was about to apologize for his conduct, but his Royal Highness would not hear of it, and the following day the Colonel, with all the officers of the garrison, dined on board, and a ball was given to the ladies in the evening.

In December, the Legislature of Jamaica voted his Royal Highness a star, in value a thousand guineas, as a "humble testimony of the very high respect and esteem the island entertains for his eminent virtues, and of the happiness they feel at seeing him once more among them ; as well as of the grateful sense they have of the particular attention which his Royal Highness pays to the duties of a profession which is the

support and defence of the British empire in general, and of this island in particular." On the committee presenting it, his Royal Highness declared that he was unconscious of any merit that could entitle him to such a mark of their regard, assuring them, at the same time, he should ever remember their sentiments of loyalty and affection with peculiar pleasure.

During the stay of his Royal Highness at Jamaica, he took great pleasure in attending the debates in the senate of Jamaica, and particularly so with the resolution then passed in his presence, for revising the code of slavery and ameliorating the condition of the negroes.

In January in the following year, the Prince sailed for Nova Scotia again, still in the command of the *Andromeda*, and after a long passage reached Halifax. The intelligence which came to the ears of the Prince soon after his arrival, was of the most afflicting nature, being no other than that of his father's temporary aberration of mind. The proceedings respecting the Regency, and the debates in Parliament also, then came to his knowledge. Lord North had moved that his Royal Highness should be one of the Queen's council; a motion respecting both his Royal Highness and the Duke of York to this effect was negatived. It may be easily imagined that to be so far from his family at a moment of such peculiar interest to the nation, to say nothing of his own filial feelings, must have been sufficiently irksome. The discussion respecting the Regency was carried on by no means in a moderate temper on the part of those whom sinister motives or intrigue made more than commonly interested in the question. The Queen, there is no doubt, did all in her power to make the best of the state of the King's mind, as her Majesty was by no means desirous that the Prince of Wales should be invested with the power of the Regency, though he was her favourite son. The time, however, arrived when no such concealment could be available. In the month of November a bilious fever added violence to the royal malady. The business of the King was carried on temporarily by the Prince of Wales, the Queen, Mr. Pitt, and

Lord Thurlow, until the meeting of Parliament. Intrigue now went to work in the palace from the cellar to the attic. The Prince of Wales, who had the first claim to the office of Regent, was at enmity with Pitt, Lord Thurlow supported the Prince's right, while Mr. Pitt, in defiance of every dictate of reason and right, intrigued for the Queen, who had never before been made the instrument of political manœuvring, until Mr. Pitt deemed it necessary for his objects to play off the mother against the son. The Prince's friends were too slow and deliberate in their measures, while Mr. Pitt pushed his designs with great activity. On the assembling of Parliament, the state of the King's health was communicated; the Privy Council met; the report of the physicians was received discussed, and the whole proceedings which followed displayed a struggle so unworthy a great empire in its details, and shewed the petty measures of statesmen in such odious colours that it might for the honour of men of fortune and talent be well spared to the world, were not the advantage of such a lesson, in the way of instruction, likely to possess great uses in exhibiting a true picture of the dark side of human character for a warning to future politicians.

It was fortunate for Prince William that he was absent at this time, and that he knew nothing of what was going on, except by letter. That his Royal Highness was intensely anxious as to the result cannot be doubted, but when he received orders to return to England, and arrived home after a short passage of twenty-one days, he found his father convalescent, and the stormy scenes in and out of Parliament hushed by his father's assumption of the directing authority of the state. The Prince reached Portsmouth on the 29th of April, and Windsor on the 2d of May, where his royal parents received him with great satisfaction, as indeed was the case with the whole of the royal family. Great rejoicings were at that moment taking place on account of the King's recovery, and from one end of the kingdom to the other, the illuminations and festivities were more than usually brilliant and imposing. His Royal Highness Prince William was enabled to take part

in some of the latest of these fetes, and to give himself an entertainment to his brothers, after having been present at Ranelagh at a splendid banquet to which he was invited by the Spanish minister, the Marquis del Compo.

The dinner giving to his royal brothers and their friends took place at Willis' rooms; and was in consequence of the King having advanced his Royal Highness to the dignity of Duke of the kingdom of Great Britain, and Earl of the kingdom, by the titles of the Duke of Clarence and of St. Andrews, and Earl of Munster.

This dinner evidently shewed that there was a strong party to which the Princes were attached, which was opposed to the party in power; to which the Queen, and consequently her consort, had given their support. At this dinner there were banners and inscriptions indicative of the feelings of the three brothers, that they were determined to be "united for ever," though they were opposed by the rest of the world. At public entertainments given by the foreign ministers, it was noticed that the three princes sat repeatedly from the rest of the royal family. The truth was, the Duke of Clarence, as he was now styled, could not brook the slight put upon the Prince of Wales by Mr. Pitt; he felt the injustice done to the heir-apparent, and he was too generous and high-spirited to remain neuter, much less join the party, where intrigues against the undoubted right of the heir-apparent had been so successful. It was not in the nature of things to overlook the parties who had been concerned in this injustice, any more than the injustice itself. The Queen had, naturally, the other branches of the royal family on her side. The King on his recovery, was naturally, from his dislike to the heir-apparent, enrolled with the partner of his throne, were she right or wrong, in the proceedings with Mr. Pitt. There was nothing the King more enjoyed than the humiliation of the Prince of Wales, who, though in the matter of the Regency unquestionably right, had given his father great cause of offence, by his dissipated life and great profi-

gacy of manners. But these were not the sole causes—the Prince was heir-apparent, and had questioned his father's will. Thus it was, that matters stood, when Prince William Henry returned, and at once took part with his brothers. The King soon afterwards wrote his Royal Highness a letter, expressing his disapprobation of the conduct of the Prince of Wales and his party, throughout the office of the Regency. The Prince had been guilty of the crime of opposing the minister of George III., during his mental alienation, in a question that concerned the Prince himself intimately. His Royal Highness had been opposed to Mr. Pitt, who had made his mother a test of his ambition; and although the Prince of Wales was arrived at full years of discretion, being twenty-seven, he was not to presume that he had a will of his own, in a matter that concerned himself alone. Thus monarchs allow no opinion of their own to others; and George III., no doubt, thought it contumacious in the heir apparent, or any of his sons to oppose his minister under circumstances of any kind that could possibly occur. It may be remarked here, that the Duke of Clarence exhibited to his elder brother by permission, the letter of his father, and drew forth that reply to the royal epistle, which was attributed to Mr. Sheridan's dictation. That letter clearly shews, making every allowance for royal professions, that the great sin of the Prince was what has been surmised. The King, however, was not very forgiving. The opposition made by the Prince of Wales to Pitt and his party, cancelled in the royal view every other feeling. The very idea of a justification of the Prince's conduct, in the opposition to *sic vol, sic jubeo* of the monarch, whether capable or not of judging—whether in or out of his senses—was an affront to his majesty the monarch, and not to be passed over.

The Prince of Wales led his brother Clarence any way he liked. The duel between the Duke of York and Colonel Lennox is well known. The Duke of York, it must be acknowledged, carried himself with a far more noble bearing on the occasion, in one affair, than the Prince of Wales. The Duke

had inflicted an injury, by saying, that Colonel Lennox "had put up with language, unfit for any gentleman to bear;" and did not deny having done so, while he refused to give up the author. This was doing a great injustice: the Duke said "Colonel Lennox might consider him as an officer of the regiment; it is not in those days to be borne, that mere family connexion with the sovereign, shall be a sanction for inflicting an injury upon any man of honour and spirit with impunity." The Duke felt that it must not be, and went out with Colonel Lennox, declining to fire at him; but his Royal Highness did not give any other satisfaction. When the affair was over, the Duke conducted himself like a gentleman, taking no more notice, than if the affair had never occurred. It was not so with the Prince of Wales. Colonel Lennox, a giddy man, soon afterwards attended a ball at court, where, as not more than a month had elapsed from the affair of honour, it was certainly bad taste to go. The Prince of Wales, seeing him present, as he was coming down to Colonel Lennox's place in the dance, instantly led his partner to the bottom of the room. The Duke of York followed next, and turned the Colonel without the least exception, as if nothing had ever occurred between them; but the Duke of Clarence followed the example of the Prince of Wales. The ball was broken up in consequence of the Queen's retiring with the Princesses only a single country dance having been gone down. The Prince of Wales had prejudices naturally enough on the side of his family, imagining, no doubt, that Colonel Lennox should have pocketed any affront from the brother of the heir-apparent. If he did not so imagine, why was he angry? In the second place, whatever the Prince thought, the display of his temper on the injudicious appearance of Colonel Lennox, who had done no wrong, was not that of the man of thorough good-breeding. The Duke of York's conduct at the ball, on the other hand was brave and above all praise, though his royal Highness had reflected upon a man of honour, and had given no explanation of his conduct; he no doubt thought it very ill taste of Colonel Lennox to appear so quickly at Court. But his Royal Highness rea-

soned, that as a man of spirit, acting up to the fashion of the times, the Colonel had done right, in vindicating his own honour against any individual, however high his station; and having only done this, he was not to be marked out in society, for doing as any man would have done in his circumstances, however high that society might be. It is probable, that the presence of Colonel Lennox at the hall was expected beforehand, from the simultaneous act of the Prince and the Duke of Clarence; for the latter must have been very quick indeed, else, to penetrate the reason of the Prince's conduct and copy it almost in a breath.

The Duke of Clarence had been absent, and therefore was not actively concerned in opposing Pitt's party. No long time afterwards he was honoured by his father's recognition, and even had a private audience before his Majesty's first levee after his attack of insanity. A story is related about this time of the Duke and Madame Schwellenberg, one of those German dependents of the Court that have always in goodly train followed the fortunes of their betters to this country. Queen Charlotte had given her a post in the royal palace—"placed her," as Peter Pindar sung,

———"In a most important sphere,
Inspectress-general of the royal gear."

The poet doubts too whether ever one solitary grace had even in youth adorned her countenance. The Duke of Clarence entered where the nondescript lady was sitting, when she arose, and was retiring with great haste; then seeming to recollect herself, she returned, and attempted to apologise, by saying that she thought it was the Duke of York. "And suppose it was the Duke of York," said the Prince, giving old Schwellenberg a no very gracious look as she went off, adding, "—a round dozen before all the pages of the back stairs." This old German lady died at Buckingham House in 1787. It is to be observed, that the Prince did not make the speech, all of which is not given above, to the old lady's face, but

just after her back was turned, in the way of comment on her conduct.

About this time, being elevated to a peerage, it became needful to settle on his Royal Highness an allowance suitable to his rank, and the honour conferred upon him. Twelve thousand a year was therefore fixed as his allowance by Parliament. The King also granted him a table and covers for his own use, and that of his household in St. James' palace, the number of courses to be unlimited. The lodge in Richmond Park was given him for a country residence, furnished and kept up as a pendant to that in St. James's. The Duke had not been long in his country residence before a fire broke out in it, and as a good deal of injury was sustained in consequence, which the Duke had to make good. This lodge was the residence of his Royal Highness for many years, and he was particularly fond of it from the beautiful neighbourhood, and the easy access it afforded to the royal residences either at London or Windsor.

The close friendship between the three elder brothers continued unbroken. They were to be seen in public together, they visited each other frequently, and in fact continued the appearance of separation which had begun in consequence of the differences on the Regency question. They thus became objects of attack from the papers which were in the interest of the King's party, or rather in that of the minister. They were slandered without mercy. Their most innocent actions were tortured into crimes. They were styled profligates, and the Prince of Wales in a particular manner was held up to public detestation. The most atrocious libeller in this way, and the printer of one of the most scurrilous of public journals, was one John Walter of "The Times" newspaper, which happened to see that its interest was best promoted by serving the enemies of the Prince of Wales. The slanderer was prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench for a libel on the Duke of York, and sentenced to stand an hour in the pillory at Charing Cross, to pay fifty pounds to the King, be imprisoned a year in Newgate, and find securities for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in five hundred, and two others in one

hundred pounds. The sentence was a severe one, the judges of the time taking their tone from the model on which they framed, altered or amended their absurd libel law, the star-chamber of the Stuarts. In these cases the juries were always packed, and the defendants, right or wrong, were sure of conviction. Few, however, had much pity for this John Walter. If there were those, who thought the sentence inflicted upon the culprit too severe, still he deserved little of the public sympathy. The judges were faithful to that uniform dislike of the press, which, since they were somewhat curbed by Mr. Fox's libel act, determined them to shine in the reflection of their own severity whenever it was possible, and punished libellers worse than thieves, because they wanted to make their own dogmas absolute. Walter got of them another year in Newgate, and another hundred pounds fine for a libel on the Duke of York, and the Prince of Wales, conjointly. Lastly, though it was well-known that the Duke of Clarence had returned to England without orders, which was a breach of discipline, the judges who delighted to exemplify the maxim that "truth was a libel, and the greater the truth, the greater the libel," laid a third heavy fine upon Walter for stating the fact.

The vindictiveness of these sentences disgusted the public all but the party of Mr. Pitt and the Court, whom Walter was serving by attacking the royal brothers. They affected great astonishment that the Prince who was of the popular party and belonged to the side that gave a constant support to the liberty of the press in their toasts, should seek satisfaction for injuries which true magnanimity might overlook. This might have been just were the offender the agent of a political party that sought to disparage as much as possible the character of the heir-apparent, as if his follies and indiscretions were not of sufficient charge against one, the paternal treatment of whom had been so injudicious, if not harsh. It was a rule with George III. to regard his children as minors, when they were men, and to disregard the most earnest appeals they made to him respecting anything in their treatment, which thwarted his

own very narrow capacity. The Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent, exhibited a proof of this. The King had kept him abroad, "Germanizing" him, as he had done the Duke of York, who was kept in Germany eleven years. It was in vain that Prince Edward wrote and beseeched his father to allow him to return to England. It was the treatment that the fourth son received in this way, which attached him also to his three brothers, and divided the royal family against itself. Finding that his remonstrances were unavailing, Prince Edward set off for London, where he arrived on the 14th of January, 1790. As soon as he arrived, a messenger was despatched by him to his brother at Carlton-house. The Prince of Wales, in whom affection for his family was never wanting, whatever was his heartlessness in other respects, immediately went to the hotel and brought Prince Edward to Carlton House, where he remained, while the Duke of York went to St. James' to meditate in his brother's behalf. The mission was in vain. The King would be absolute, where he could be so; no feeling of affection, no dictate of reason, could atone for an act of disobedience, and Prince Edward was banished in a very few days to Gibraltar, where a regiment was stationed of which he had the command.

It is a matter of history, that at this particular juncture, the three elder branches of the royal family, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Clarence, stood at a very low degree in the opinion of the public, particularly the two former. To follow the former through his career of profligacy and extravagance, would be merely the repetition of a tale, at once odious and disgusting, nor would it have been considered necessary in this history to touch upon it at all, had not the illustrious individual who forms the subject of these memoirs been deeply implicated in the results which emanated from it. The Prince of Wales, as well as the Duke of York, appeared to be reckless of the consequences which their adherence to a life of profligacy and debauchery entailed upon them, nor did they appear to care as to whom might fall a victim to their vices. The severe lessons which are taught in the school of adversity,

appeared in the case of his Royal Highness, to lose all their efficacy—their influence was that of the moment, for he no sooner found himself extricated from one embarrassment, than he heedlessly rushed into another, more deep and humiliating than any of the preceding ones. That sense of shame, which operates even on ordinary minds, formed no part of his moral character—he commenced his life as he closed it, vain-glorious, profligate, and extravagant; he seemed not to feel nor to, understand the duties of his station—all his gratifications were selfish—all his indulgences sensual. Real friends he had none—but of needy dependents he had a crowd, and ‘the most finished gentleman of Europe’ was contented to reign over a palace occupied by none but courtezans and parasites. Education, which corrects and modifies the passions of other men, appeared to have no other tendency than to confirm and strengthen his in all their plenitude and force. The moral beauty of virtue, emasculated in the festivities of vice, and the debaucheries of a harem, possessed, in his sight, no fixed nor permanent value. Without eyes for pure and innocent forms, every thing was meretricious about him; innocence sunk abashed in his presence, and modesty turned from his gaze. The gallery of English beauties was the fascination of voluptuousness, and the walls of Carlton House were ‘aspic’ to every woman’s character, who had the misfortune to attract his notice.

We doubt not that we shall call down upon our heads the bitter animadversions of the senseless tribe of courtiers and of menials, who conceive that because ‘there is a divinity which doth hedge in a king,’ it becomes at once an act criminal and unjust to pourtray him as the *man*, and to hold him up to view with all the vices and imperfections by which he was distinguished in his career through life. If, to gratify a selfish passion—if, to obtain the indulgence of a sensual desire, a prince or a monarch has lost sight of the interests of the country, and set at defiance every principle of morality and virtue, we will not, to gain the empty applause of a courtly circle, screen him from the merited indignation which naturally arises

in the breast of the good and virtuous, at the infraction of those moral duties. by which the great chain of human society is held together. In the delineation of a royal character, the varnish of mystification may suit the parasite and hireling ; we will paint it as we have *seen* and *known* it, and although the sight of the picture may be repellant to *some*, we shall persevere, unintimidated by threats, to use our colours accordingly as the scenes present themselves ; and when we give the last finishing touch, it will stand as a portrait for alter ages, to contemplate with mingled feelings of approbation and disgust.

In regard to the Duke of York, it will be merely requisite to state, that on his return to this country from his military education in Prussia, he brought with him the prevailing vice of the majority of the courts of Germany—that of gambling ; and to his inordinate attachment to this ruinous propensity, may be attributed the deep disgrace which he was often obliged to endure, as well as the total ruin of his property and fortune. Previously to his marriage, he was little inferior to his elder brother in his attachment to the female sex, and the expenses, which he incurred in some of his establishments for his mistresses, joined to other pursuits of a still more extravagant nature, soon reduced him to such a condition, as actually to have his carriage and horses taken in execution in the open streets, and himself obliged to dismount and return to his residence on foot.

It is not in our power exactly to point out the individuals who were the secret agents in the tragedy, which we are about to describe, nor are there any documents in existence by which the crime can be brought home to the real perpetrators ; at the same time we cannot for a moment entertain the idea, that either of the royal princes was privy to the act, but that it was wholly planned and matured by men of needy and desperate fortunes, who, having no character to lose, were willing to plunge into the commission of any crimes by which their circumstances might be improved ; especially if they had the pro-

tecting shield of high authorities to conceal them from detection. In one respect, however, and it is a very important political one, the following transaction will show to what secret purposes—that most odious of all enactments the Alien Act, was applied, and whilst it was alleged by the ministers of the day, that it was introduced solely for the purpose of preventing the domiciliation of foreigners in this country, who might be the secret agents of Buonaparte, yet that it was frequently applied to the removal of persons out of the country, who were not tainted with any political offence, and who, in fact, had visited it with no other view than the enforcement of their rightful claims, as creditors, on some particular branches of the royal family.

We shall now proceed to exhibit all the circumstances which took place between the Prince of Wales and his royal brothers, York and Clarence, respecting the raising of a large sum of money, and we wish, for the honour and character of the country—we wish for the fame and the reputation of *all* the parties concerned,—that a full and impartial inquiry had been made into every circumstance of the case, in order that such a foul blot should not have been allowed to remain on the character of the Princes of the blood of these realms. We know that princes are but men, and, like other men, are liable to be entranced “by the magic gaze of vice,” to form imprudent associations, to be the dupe of designing men, and hastily to adopt the views of polished parasites. We profess ourselves to be liberal in political principles; we will be also so in act and deed; we declare our determination to make no accusation, but, anxious for the development of truth, although we cannot hope at this remote period of producing that fair discussion, before which all falsehood, maudlin, and disguise must fall, we shall proceed to publish that, which we doubt not would have been highly conducive to the interests and the character of the royal brothers never to have suppressed. The suppression of any document goes far to the presumption of the guilt of the parties concerned in the implication; for a consciousness of innocence rather courts, than shuns inquiry, and will rather

meet its accusers boldly, face to face, than attempt to throw the veil of mystification over its actions. Where there is no doubt as to the commission of an act, it becomes the indisputable right of the historian to portray that action, whether virtuous or atrocious, and to comment upon its effects, as far as they regard the interests of the state, or the well-being and happiness of society in general. We reiterate our declaration that, in the disclosure of the following facts, we make no personal accusation; we could, indeed, point to several individuals whom we suspect to have been deeply implicated in the concoction and accomplishment of the diabolical scheme; and although their iniquity was concealed at the time, by the suppression of every paper and pamphlet which publicly treated of the subject, yet the whole forms so extraordinary a feature in the life of William IV., and possesses withal such a high degree of interest, that it would be reproachful and unpardonable in us to omit it.

The afflicting malady of George III. was hailed by the party of the Prince of Wales as the commencement of that fortunate era which was to bring him an accession of power, and with that power, an accession also of riches, sufficient to enable him to continue his career of extravagance and profligacy. The Duke of York also required an immediate supply of money, to enable him to support the demands of the tennis-court, where he passed a great part of his time in indiscriminate society, even with the very lowest, who infest a public tennis-court, and where he lost immense sums of money. The domestic calamity of the father was deemed very propitious for raising money on a contingency supposed not to be very distant; and the opportunity it afforded of pecuniary accommodation was eagerly embraced as the means of relieving the Prince from the pressure of his embarrassments. A council of finance was assembled on the occasion, composed of the Prince's most intimate friends, and the dangerous resource of a post-obit bond was determined on. Here the Prince should have halted: he had hitherto been improvident—flagrantly imprudent; and the step that follows imprudence presented itself. Did his Royal Highness pause, or did he follow the path unchecked?

The post-obit bonds were to have been tried in England, under the direction of Mr. Louis Weltjie, Clerk of the Prince's Kitchen; in Ireland by Mr. Annesley Shee, formerly a Lottery-Office Keeper; and in Scotland by Mr. Dunbar, a Money-Broker in the City. These bonds were to be secured by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Clarence. Mr. Weltjie, fearing the consequences, withdrew himself from the concern by introducing to the Prince of Wales, Mr. Henry Jones, of Frith-street, Soho, and Mr. John Cator, of the Adelphi, both men of property, and of extensive money connections. When first employed by the Prince, Mr. Cator engaged to pay down ten thousand pounds of a bond of treble the amount, payable when a *certain event* should take place. The bargain was perfected on the 16th of December, 1788, witnessed by Andrew Robinson and Charles Bicknell, and on the same day the money was paid.

The form of these bonds may be matter of curiosity to many of our readers, and is as follows :—

‘KNOW ALL MEN by these presents that We, George Prince of Wales, Frederick Duke of York, and William Henry Duke of Clarence, all living in the City of Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, are jointly and severally, justly and truly indebted to John Cator, of Beckenham, in the County of Kent, Esquire, and his executors, administrators, and assigns, in the penal sum of Sixty Thousand Pounds of good and lawful money of Great Britain, well and truly paid to us at or before the sealing of these presents. Sealed with our seals this 16th day of December, in the 29th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George III., by the Grace of God, King, Defender of the Faith, Anno Domini 1788.

‘The condition of the above-written obligation is such, that if the above bounden George Prince of Wales, Frederick Duke of York, and William Henry Duke of Clarence, or any or either of them, or any other of their heirs, executors, or administrators, shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the above-named John Cator, his executors, administrators, or assigns, the full sum of Thirty Thousand Pounds of lawful

money of Great Britain, within the space or time of six calendar months *next after any one or either of us, the said George Prince of Wales, Frederick Duke of York, and William Henry Duke of Clarence, shall come to and ascend the throns of England*, together with lawful interest on the same, to be computed from the day that such event shall happen, up and home to the time of paying off this obligation, then, and in such case, the same shall become null and void; otherwise to be and remain in full force and virtue.

‘GEORGE Prince of Wales, L. S.’

‘FREDERICK, L. S.’

‘WILLIAM HENRY, L. S.’

These post-obit bond transactions began, however, in time to wear a very serious aspect, when Mr. Jones and Mr. Cator withdrew themselves entirely from the business. The purchasers of the bonds became alarmed, and, even up to the present hour, have been afraid of acknowledging they held any such obligations. This arises from the treasonable nature of the transactions, inasmuch as the death of the sovereign is anticipated, and therefore subjects the parties to all the penalties of petty treason. Upon this transaction, upon the mode, the inducements to, and the time of adoption, it would be an easy matter to enlarge in terms of strong and just execration; but we forbear, and pass to circumstances of a still deeper dye.

The Princes were now destitute of resources, when Sir Thomas Dundas, whose *eminent services to his country* in a short time advanced him to the peerage, discovered a new channel. He got introduced to Mr Hugh Watts, of the Sun Fire-office, Mr. Abraham Goldsmidt, and other monied persons. Mr. Goldsmidt, for a reasonable commission, undertook to raise money for the Princes in Holland, from his correspondents, Messrs. Abraham and Simeon Boas, of the Hague, who were bankers of great credit. They consented to advance three hundred and fifty thousand guilders, for twelve years, and receive the joint bond of the three Princes, payable to

them, and vesting in them a power of attorney to partition the security, and sell it in shares or debentures of one thousand guilders each.

The bond was sent to Holland by Mr. Goldsmidt, who in a short time received the amount in bills payable to his own order, which he discounted, and took the money to the Prince. His Royal Highness paid Mr. Goldsmidt many compliments for his attention, and tendered his services, but said, as the Duke of York, who was to receive part of the money, was not present, *he must beg Mr. Goldsmidt's indulgence for the payment of the commission*, till he had arranged the division of the money with the Duke. Mr. Goldsmidt, with great good humour, bowed and retired.

This transaction caused the ruin of the lenders, who sold the entire bond in shares of a thousand guilders each, payable at their own house. To keep up their credit, for two years they paid the interest themselves; but as they received no money from the Princes, they were compelled to stop payment, and became bankrupts. Before the last examination under their commission, the French entered Holland, and seized all their property, and, as a part of it, the Princes' bond, and *the two Boas put a period to their existence—the one by a pistol, the other by poison.*

Some time after, Mr. Goldsmidt was again applied to, to negotiate another loan on the continent, to the utmost extent he could borrow; but Mr. Goldsmidt declined dealing with princes. On the marriage of the Prince, commissioners were appointed a second time to manage his affairs, and to them shares of this bond were presented for payment, which was refused, because the debt was concealed in the schedule, presented to parliament, and no provision was made for its payment. By this concealment of the full amount of his debts, the creditors of the Prince of Wales were cruelly wronged, the faith of the British parliament was trifled with and imposed upon, and the generosity of the British public most scandalously abused.

It not being found practicable to raise the money in Eng-

land, it was at last resolved to try what could be done in Holland and France; and a convenient agent was found in a Mr. John James de Beaume, who undertook the business, and through whom a sum not less than £200,000. in money and jewels, abating the interest and other expenses, was raised for the occasion; and on the 3d of June, 1790, the three royal brothers, George, Frederick, and William Henry, executed a bond in favour of Mr. de Beaume, for £100,000, acknowledging themselves 'to be justly and truly indebted to him in the said sum of £100,000 sterling, WELL and TRULY advanced to them as a loan, to be paid to the said John James de Beaume, or his attorney, or his executors, heirs, or assigns, or to any one authorized to receive the same on their behalf, at the time and in the proportions thereafter mentioned. And further, that the said parties hereto engage and bind themselves, jointly and severally, and all and every their respective revenues, goods, effects, and property, in whatsoever place they may be situate, and of whatsoever nature or kind; and further covenanting to pay the interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum, for the term of twenty-five years, to commence the 1st of July 1721; and the capital sum to be paid as follows, namely, on the 1st of June, 1806, and the other parts every year, up to the year 1815. And further reciting that the same parties renounce and disclaim all subterfuge, pretext, or reserves, that might be to the contrary, to the intents of the said agreement: and further that, to facilitate the said J. J. de Beaume in raising the said sum for the said parties, they give him full power to grant and publish parts or portions of the said loan, under his signature, to such person or persons as may be inclined to take shares in the same, by debentures of £100 each debenture, though in a printed form, to be of valid force, 'provided the same be verified by the signature of the said J. J. Beaume, signed thereto, and the same to carry equal force and value as the original bond of £100,000, the said parties acknowledging to have received, at the signing the said obligation, the consideration therein named.'

It is impossible for the operative parts of a deed to be more

binding in law, or freer from exceptions than the bond of which we have given an abstract; and on this bond Mr. de Beaume proceeded to act, the same being verified by certain notaries, both in London, Paris, and Holland, to the several parties concerned therein.

It is pretended, indeed, that Mr. de Beaume never raised the whole of the money, or, if he did, that he never paid it over to the Princes' trustee, the late Mr. Thomas Hammersley; but, supposing this statement to be correct, does it change the nature of the security on the *bona fide* holders of any of the 'parts or portions' of the said loan? It has been held that the demand of a clear title and adequate consideration, evidently intended to embarrass and defer the payment, was known to be clogged with almost insuperable difficulties, arising out of the revolution, and the impossibility of tracing out the heirs and assigns of the original holders of those bonds amid the confusion of such times as those which shortly succeeded the royal contract. Abundant means, however were to be found in this country to establish the validity of these bonds, duplicates of which were attested by the notaries, Sutherland and Banner, and afterwards deposited at Messrs. Hammersley's, through whose hands the whole transaction passed; nor has it been proved, or attempted to be so, that Mr. de Beaume ever abused the powers with which he was intrusted, by issuing other than the bonds contracted for. If he had so done, the fraud would have been easily detected, as these bonds were numbered and dated in the order in which they were issued, with all the formalities of exchequer or navy bills. When, therefore, these bonds became payable, or interest accrued, the *onus probandi* lay with the trustees to vouch for their genuineness or falsehood, as they would have been ready to do, if the originals had been either lost or destroyed.

It has been said, in order to magnify the breach of faith on the part of George IV and his royal brothers, that several of the bond-owners were sent out of this country, under the Alien Act, to avoid the claim; and that, on their return to France, the greater number were massacred or guillotined; and

of the latter fact some substantial proofs can be found, especially in the case of Monsieur Vette, a rich jeweller, whose wealth, however, was more likely to have caused his death than the holding of the bonds alluded to, which, neither in the amount nor object, could offend or alarm the French government, jealous and barbarous as it proved itself at that period. It was indeed asserted very confidently, by a journalist in 1823, who seems to have been imperfectly informed on the subject of these transactions, and who involves the narrative in much obscurity, for purposes which we are not now called on to investigate, that fourteen persons were executed in Paris for negotiating, or being concerned in circulating such portions or shares of this loan as bore Mr. de Beaume's signature: but it might be as well insisted upon, that, because several of the reputed or actual owners of these securities were lost, on their passage to France. in consequence of the leaky state of the vessel, that such vessel had been scuttled by order of the Home Department, as that the revolutionary government could apprehend a reaction from the fact of this loan, which did not exceed 100,000*l.* sterling. We confine ourselves to this subject, having already touched on the various attempts to relieve the Prince in 1786, as a complete failure.

When Mr. Goldsmidt became a party to the loan of the Boas, the Princes agents talked of appropriations, savings, &c., to be backed by a parliamentary grant, secured by a mortgage of the revenues of the duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, of which Mr. Goldsmidt was to be the receiver; instead of which, no preparations whatever were made by the Prince to meet the first quarter's accruing interest on this loan.

No man could urge the matter with more grace and propriety on the attention of the Treasurer of the Household than Mr. Goldsmidt. But punctuality at Carlton House was no part of its economy—the keeping an engagement no voluntary duty; for, although the Prince could not be said to break the engagement, yet he never troubled himself about the conditions

of the agreement, when broken ; nor, when the consequences were pointed out to him, was he at all solicitous of providing against the recurrence of them, or supplying a remedy for the future. Notwithstanding the result of this want of principle was fatal to the credit, and destructive of the life of both parties, the orgies at Carlton House were never suspended for a moment, and the claimants under this loan were treated afterwards with the same injustice and cruelty as the subscribers to Mr. de Beaume's loan.

A knowledge of the intrigues of a court, like that of the Prince of Wales, can alone authenticate its want of principle; and, although remonstrances dropped in, day after day, in private, and the journals obscurely alluded to the facts of the alarming embarrassments with which the royal Princes were at this time surrounded, no notice was taken of them, nor were any measures devised to avert the consequences which threatened to overwhelm them in ruin. The whole of the plans at last began to excite the attention of parliament, on account of the manner in which the honour of the government was compromised by a course of proceedings that would have convicted any other man, of inferior rank, before the tribunals of the country. And in the case of Mr. Goldsmidt, the sympathy of the mercantile world in particular was excited, on account of the injuries, which one of the worthiest men in it, was sustaining through the profligate and unprincipled manners of the Prince's advisers.

Mr. Goldsmidt's character had for many years been rising in public estimation ; his credit was unbounded, and his conduct as a money-broker unexceptionable, and esteemed all over Europe. Rather too easy of access, too liberal in his advances, and too confiding in the principles and probity of others, such a disposition was little calculated to resist the importunities of a man of the polished manners of the Prince, and every attempt which flattery could embellish, which promises could satisfy, or personal civility confirm, was made to evade the crisis then impending in Pall Mall, and in which

the Prince would have succeeded, but for the unconquerable probity of the negotiator. He, however, at length withdrew, alarmed and disgusted; and without coming to an open rupture with his employer, assisted the Boas, far exceeding what might be deemed prudent, in reference to his extensive foreign transactions. But the event preyed upon his mind; it weakened his influence abroad, and was the first cause of those dismal occurrences which led to his death and the ruin of his fortunes.

We may be allowed to speak our humble praise over the grave of this benevolent Jew. Never was a man lamented by his friends more sincerely. The death of Mr. Goldsmidt was a loss to every man who stood in need of his assistance; and it is no hyperbole to say, that the young lost their benefactor, the widow her husband, and innumerable families their father. The heart of Mr. Goldsmidt was like "the gush of fresh springs," fertilizing what was before barren, and planting flowers amidst the waste of the human affections, to refresh and console the indigent and the unfortunate. Proud Christian! go thou, and do likewise*.

On recurring to De Beaume's loan, it is impossible to forget the time at which it was raised. Never was there a period of greater public excitement—never one when a temperate and wise policy was less listened to, between the rulers of France and England. The prejudices which had existed for centuries between two rival nations—the new position in which France stood, with respect to her ancient polity—the strength she displayed, and the doctrines she maintained in asserting her newly-acquired power and liberty—and the revolutionary spirit

* The case of Alett, the sub-cashier of the Bank of England, must still be fresh in the recollection of our readers. He may owe his salvation from the scaffold, and his subsequent pardon, to his pecuniary negotiations with the Prince of Wales, and particularly to the active part which he took in assisting Mr. Goldsmidt in raising money on the Prince's bond. Nero was once known to pardon a man for the crime, but then the tyrant was drunk: the Prince of Wales was once known to show his gratitude for previous services, by pardoning a criminal; but Nero was not less the tyrant, nor was the Prince of Wales less the libertine.

which her example excited among surrounding nations, caused all the monarchies of Europe to unite in misrepresenting both her internal and external administration. It is, therefore, by no means surprising that De Beaume came in for his share of the obloquy; nor, knowing the necessities of the Prince, that his creatures should take advantage of the slander to repudiate and defraud his agent. For, at the same time that De Beaume was afraid of meeting the storm in France, the Prince felt the weight of the censure of his father's government, as likely to end in a parliamentary inquiry. Indeed, all the parties implicated in the transaction began to see the situation in which their time-serving servility had placed them; and they, as well as the Prince, trembled at the idea of a public investigation: yet it was found impossible to withdraw from an obligation which was perfect in all its parts, without having recourse to chicanery and false pretences. Rather, therefore, than risk the trial, it was pretended that De Beaume had deceived the Prince, that he was not the man he assumed to be, and had never paid over the consideration stipulated for and agreed upon.

But suppose the whole consideration had not been received; still it is acknowledged that it was in part paid, and in such valuables as were most likely to abound in the then state of France, and could be most readily conveyed and parted with. Is it not, therefore, presumptive evidence, at least, that other bonds might have been subscribed for money, in a country like France, where persons then, as now, hoarded the specie, because it was the only circulating medium, or, foreseeing the storm, provided against its explosion by an investment on the security of persons of supposed unimpeachable honour? By either of these means, a *bona fide* debt was created, which no ultimate chance could repudiate nor invalidate. How could the trustees of the Prince say when and to whom these securities were conveyed? how ascertain the uses to which they had been converted, supposing it a fraud on the part of De Beaume, or impugn and deny the claims of the holders who tendered them for payment? The diamonds transmitted by

De Beaume, through Perregaux, were converted into cash, and made use of by the Prince. Did he ever pay for these diamonds? and if not, how came they into his hands?

If this reasoning be conclusive, it follows that the diamonds being vouched for as a remittance, and the proceeds acknowledged, was a good and sufficient consideration, according to the terms of the bonds, and, therefore, that their payment was compulsory on the grantors; that the means taken to frustrate the payment were highly illegal, and the parties concerned in doing so guilty, according to the then law, of a misdemeanour, by a breach of covenant, by which the *bona fide* holder was cheated out of his property.

This is rather an argument on the case before stating it; and we now proceed to give what we know to be nearly the whole of the facts which characterize this extraordinary proceeding, and to which we have alluded in another part of these Memoirs.

The plan proposed by Mr. de Beaume, to raise a large sum of money on the continent for the use of the Princes, was very similar to that which was negotiated by the Boas in Holland; the three Princes giving their joint security for the fulfilment of the stipulations. Mr. Bicknell was accordingly directed by the Princes to preparé a bond for their execution for 100,000*l.*, payable to De Beaume, and vesting in him the power to divide it into one thousand pounds each, by printed copies of the bond, which, under the signature of De Beaume, with the amount and number certified by a notary public, should be as binding on the Princes as if executed, by themselves. They made themselves, their heirs, executors, goods, and effects, liable to these conditions, just as they did in the bond to Messrs. Boas. The original bond was deposited, in trust, in the bank of Ransom, Morland, and Hammersley; while an attested copy was immediately delivered to De Beaume, and the bankers' acknowledgment of holding such a security was given as De Beaume's authority and credentials, as the agent of the three illustrious Princes, who, in this instance, seem to

have taken every precaution to secure themselves against imposition.

The bankers, to facilitate De Beaume's plan, gave him a letter of introduction to their correspondent in Paris, M. Perregaux. Thus provided, De Beaume went to Paris as the agent of the Prince of Wales, and established himself there in that capacity. The French Revolution then wore a very serious aspect, troubles seemed increasing, and many of the French wished to leave their country till better times. As by remitting bills to England they sustained a very heavy loss, the securities of the British Princes were eagerly purchased from De Beaume by those who wished to emigrate, because those securities were not only more portable than specie, but they were purchased without being subject to the fluctuations of the course of exchange, and at the time were considered as the best negotiable securities in the market. The unfortunate French who purchased them and came hither, thought themselves perfectly safe in this country; but as they could not get any money paid on them, they were involved in great difficulty, and consequently became very urgent and clamorous.

The Duke of Portland was then Secretary of State for the Home Department, and to him came many complaints from Carlton House against such of the emigrants as were most troublesome and unjust in demanding their money. The Duke of Portland, whose head, in many instances, partook of the nature of the produce of Portland Island, was very attentive to every complaint made on this subject. They were sent out of the country, as in the former instance, and landed on the continent. Twenty-six foreigners, who were creditors of the Princes, and who had placed the most implicit reliance on the honour and faith of a British Prince, were sent out of England, *though no charge was preferred against them.* Of these twenty-six unfortunate creditors of the Princes, so sent out of the country, *fourteen are traced to the guillotine*, and their deaths are recorded in the bloody annals of that instrument. The remaining twelve of the unhappy exiles were creditors under

the bond of Messrs. Boas; every effort to trace them any where has been in vain—no hint at their fate shall be given, the annals of these times are sufficiently black with crime, without our adding unnecessarily to the depth of the colouring. It is, however, an accredited fact, that the Prince of Wales, on several occasions and to various persons, did deny the receipt of any consideration for the bond to De Beaume. We presume not to question the confidence which ought to be placed in his royal word, but it requires no small degree of ingenuity to reconcile the truth of his royal declaration with the *incontrovertible* circumstances disclosed in this narrative. For his conduct in the negotiation of this bond, poor De Beaume was censured, though from the facts that appear, it is not easy to say on what just ground the censure could be maintained. He was greatly blamed, however; and the displeasure against him amounted so high, as to induce the Princes to conceal the bond they had executed, which was actually done, the trustees delivering the bond for the express purpose; which, notwithstanding the manifest injustice of the measure, was cancelled at Burlington House, in the presence of the Duke of Portland, on the 16th of November, 1790—not quite one month after De Beaume had sent to the Prince of Wales more than one third of the whole sum as a single remittance. This remittance was made by De Beaume in diamonds, through the bank of Perregaux at Paris, to the bank of Ransom, Morland, and Hammersley, on account of the Princes. The diamonds thus remitted were to the amount of 38,653*l.* 10*s.*

To animadvert upon the conduct of the Prince of Wales on this occasion, would be a task which we will not take upon ourselves to perform. We have the bills of parcel of these diamonds now before us—they were disposed of by the bankers for the benefit of the Prince: on what ground of common justice, then, could the Prince declare, that he had received no consideration whatever for the bond? An act of this kind, committed by a private individual, would stamp his character for life; we know not, then, why a Prince can do that with impunity, which, if done by a more humble

individual, would subject him to the extreme penalty of the law. Well, indeed, might every exertion be made, which money or influence could command, to prevent these circumstances from being known by the public. The consequences resulting to the Princes from their publicity might have been dreadful. The French Revolution had reduced kingships and princeships far below par; the question of an hereditary right to govern was mooted at the foot of every throne in Europe; wherever the chain of despotism clanked, or the fetters of superstition enthralled the human mind—there flashed forth the ethereal fire of reason—thrones tottered, and monarchies trembled—the sceptre was no longer considered as the symbol of government, and allegiance was laughed at as a chimera engendered in the brain of tyrants and of despots.

At a period like this, princes were called upon, if they regarded the perpetuity of their dynasties, to be rigidly correct, not only in their public but their private conduct—neither the feelings nor the prejudices of the people were to be trifled with; if obedience and allegiance were exacted on the one hand, it was expected on the other that the rights of the people should not be invaded, and that princes should sacrifice their own personal interests for the general welfare of their country.

If these sentiments be founded in truth, by what epithets can we stigmatize the conduct which was pursued by the Prince of Wales in the case of De Beaume's bond? Not the annals of Russia, in the worst times of its history, when a frown cast upon a favourite prostitute was followed by the knout or banishment to Kamtchatka—not the annals of the Inquisition in the plenitude of its persecuting frenzy, can exhibit a deeper tragedy than was enacted with the unfortunate creditors of the British Princes. The assertion, that either of the illustrious brothers was a party to the sanguinary deed—or that they in the remotest degree connived at, or sanctioned the act, must be accompanied with proofs strong as of holy writ, before we can bring ourselves to pronounce their inculpation; nevertheless, it is much to be deplored, that where

such a damning instance of guilt appears, the whole weight of the iniquity should not have been fixed upon the proper delinquents, and the stigma thereby removed which attaches to the character of the Prince of Wales and the agents whom he employed.

To return. Mr. Perregaux was fully informed, by his friendly and intimate correspondent, of every circumstance connected with the bond, from the first introduction of De Beaume to him ; and was particularly requested to pay attention to the business, and to answer any questions put to him concerning it, as by so doing he would oblige the Prince of Wales very much, who in return would very readily acknowledge the services of Mr. Perregaux, by any mode in the power of his Royal Highness. He was perfectly acquainted with the remittance of diamonds made by De Beaume to the Prince, with the dissatisfaction expressed by the Prince of Wales at De Beaume's conduct, with the cancelling of the bond, and with the determination taken by the Prince not to pay either the principal or interest.

Previously to De Beaume's trial, an English gentleman was at Paris, who discharged several considerable employments and who, since that period, has become *Right Honourable*, having distinguished himself by the possession of great abilities*. In Paris he was a member of the Jacobin Club, and some of his speeches in that assembly were communicated through the press to the British public. At the time alluded to, he had just begun to emerge from obscurity at Paris. His whole history was known to Mr. Perregaux, who at that time had been applied to, on the part of the Princes, to get rid of the business entirely. The bond itself had been cancelled in London, and the next step was to get released from De Beaume

* We purposely decline mentioning the name of this *Right Honourable Gentleman* consulted by Perregaux, as the disclosure could not strengthen the evidence of the fact, which unfortunately is too abundantly strong. The time is not yet so remote as to have swept away either the recorded evidence or the living witnesses of this transaction, or any part of it. Sufficient evidence, both oral and written, of all the facts, can now be produced in London.

of the agents employed at Paris. To this gentleman, Mr. Perregaux applied for co-operation; and, after some deliberation between them, it was determined to construe the bond into a treasonable practice against the French nation, for which De Beaume and his coadjutors should be apprehended, and for which it was also determined THEY SHOULD SUFFER DEATH.

De Beaume and his associates were accordingly apprehended and imprisoned. The tribunal did not at first consider it expedient to treat the charge of borrowing money as criminal; and without great exertions on that occasion by Mr Perregaux and his confederates, they would have been acquitted. But this gentleman succeeded in impressing the tribunal with a belief in the criminal nature of the loan, by inflaming them against the prisoners, whom he represented as being in connection with the British Princes, for the purpose of raising money to assist the French Princes in anti-revolutionary measures, and in treasonable attempts against the republic. The very bond negotiated by the prisoners was denounced as treasonable in the face of it, for declaring George III. to be King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the prisoners were *tried, condemned, and executed within twenty-four hours!*

Thus in one day perished Richard, Chandos, Mestriren, Nutte, De Beaume, and Abert, either for negotiating the Princes' securities, or for purchasing shares of them, as was also the case with Viette, a rich jeweller, who had purchased a hundred shares of the bond of De Beaume. The murderous principle thus laid down and the precedent thus established, were adopted on subsequent instances, and from that time, every *foreign* creditor under De Beaumes' bond who was sent out of England, and landed on the continent, was executed in the same merciless mode upon the same pretence, which was extended even to the creditors who had invested their money in purchasing shares of the bonds.

Would that we could here close this black catalogue of

crime. The next victim who bled on the scaffold, for having been the purchaser of twenty shares of the Princes' bond, was Charles Vaucher, a banker in Paris, who quitted France with a large fortune in 1792. He fixed his residence in England, where he married an English lady. Having demanded payment of the interest on his shares of the Princes' bond, he was referred to the bank of Ransom and Co., when he was advised, if he wished to remain in England, never again to apply for his money; for, if he did, he would be sent out of the country, as many in his situation had already been. This threat did not deter him, he repeated his application, and was equally unsuccessful. He laid his case before Mr. Shepherd, afterwards Sir S. Shepherd, Solicitor General, who decided that his claim upon the Prince was just and legal; and at the close of the opinion which that eminent lawyer gave are the following remarkable words: "If any action be brought with this case, it will require the clearest proof of the facts, and that there is no collusion between De Beaume and Vaucher, because as a bill has been passed for the payment of his Royal Highness's debts, subjecting them to the examination of commissioners, *it will be a strong argument against the justice of a demand that has been withheld from such examination*: however, there is nothing in the bill which prevents a creditor of his Royal Highness from suing, if he choose, in preference to going before commissioners.'

In this opinion, the learned counsel seems to have anticipated the very objection that was raised by the commissioners, and the grounds on which they contested the validity of the claim. The Prince inserted it not in his schedule of debts, he disclaimed it *in toto*, and, therefore, as the Prince disavowed it, the commissioners could not be called upon to allow it; and the only redress which Vaucher could hope to obtain, was by an appeal to the laws of the country. A copy of the opinion of Mr. Shepherd was sent, with a polite note, to the Prince of Wales, hoping his Royal Highness would render all legal measures unnecessary, by ordering the interest to be paid. The interest was not paid: the application was renewed to

his Royal Highness, adding, that if no satisfactory answer were returned, such measures would be adopted as would *compel* his Royal Highness to pay the amount. This threat sealed the destiny of Vaucher, for on the 6th of October, an *official* order was given for him to quit England in *four* days. Having other pecuniary matters to arrange, he petitioned the Duke of Portland to allow him to remain until the issue of his claims had been determined. His petition was refused; for on the 11th of October, a warrant was signed by the Duke of Portland, directing William Ross and George Higgins, two of the King's messengers, to take Mr. Vaucher into custody, till he should be sent out of the country. On the 15th, he was taken into custody, and on the 20th he was carried to Harwich, to be sent from thence to Rotterdam, where he arrived on the 23rd of the same month. Not long after his arrival on the continent, he was apprehended, taken to Paris, and thrown into prison, where he remained until the 22nd of December, 1798, on which day he was tried on the same charges as De Beaume, was found guilty, and guillotined !!!

Our limits will not allow us to enter at full into the cases of Mr. D. Lovell, the editor of the *Statesman*, and that of Mr. Auriol; but proof is on record that, with the diamonds remitted by De Beaume, and the money advanced by Auriol, the sum received by the Prince amounted to between £60,000 and £70,000. sterling.

Our comments shall be short. The pages of history present a melancholy picture of the turpitude of the human heart. If we investigate the character of our kings, from the conquest to the reign of George IV., and we were to write a catalogue of the vices inherent in our nature, and the crimes which have resulted from those vices, there is not one against which we could not select some individual king to affix his name, as having been the perpetrator of it. The country has already determined, against what vices the name of George IV. ought to be affixed, and the history which we have now given of these bond transactions, will invest him with an indisputable claim to *one*, which must be too obvious to require any notifica-

tion from ourselves. We may, and we expect to be told, that we are deserving of censure for having now given publicity to a transaction, the principal agents of which are in their graves, and the particulars of which are only to be found amongst the musty records of the antiquary: we answer, that we pretend not to draw a portion of a picture, but *the whole of it*, the black shades of which will force themselves upon our attention, but to which we give no deeper colouring than is required to preserve the truth of the object. The facts of the case have slept, but they are not forgotten; nor can they be forgotten while the claims of justice are unsatisfied, and while atonement and reparation are withheld from the widows and orphans of the guillotined creditors.

Perhaps there never came into any Court a debt so incurred, so unjustly opposed, or of so extraordinary a nature, both in the transaction that preceded, and in those that following it, in its whole history—its rise and progress, as well as its litigation. The British Princes, by their proceedings in the business, appear as if the law of England had no security over them; as if they could, at their pleasure, contract debts, or commit their names to paper, to bind themselves with every legal solemnity; and, then, in defiance of all law and justice, discharge them by a command to their own servant, to destroy what they had so signed. But the servant of the Prince so acting, was a high official functionary of the people, he was also their servant, and although he might not hesitate to compromise his character, as the servant of the Prince, he should have paused before he compromised it, as the servant of the people.

It should be here stated, out of a proper respect for the character of the Duke of Clarence, that he appears to have been drawn into these transactions, not from any very pressing pecuniary exigencies of his own, but from a laudable and generous disposition to assist his elder brothers in extricating them from their embarrassments, by offering himself as a collateral security for the due payment of the bonds. And this opinion is in a great measure confirmed by the circumstance,

that when George III. was informed of the negotiations which were going on for the loan, he expressed the high sense of his indignation in no measured terms at the Duke of Clarence being drawn in to sign the bonds, and thereby rendering himself liable to the payment of an enormous sum of money, with all its accumulating interest, which might eventually reduce him to the condition of abject pauperism. The evil was, however, committed before the transaction became known to George III., and the only question now under consideration was the remedy to be applied, in order to avert the ruin which impended over the three elder branches of his family. A compromise was at first projected with all the *bona fide* holders of the bonds, and that the option should be given to them of [receiving at once half the amount which had been advanced in full liquidation of the obligations, or to receive the whole at such stated periods, and in such sums, as the finances of the borrowers could afford. It is most probable that the latter proposal would have been immediately accepted by the majority of the holders, who had now discovered that the security given was not so solid as had been represented; but the legal advisers of the crown again stepped in, and recommended a total denial of the validity of the bonds, and, consequently, of the responsibility of the grantors. In order, however, to try the latter question, an application was made to the Court of Chancery by a Mr. Martignac one of the principal bondholders, who offered, as such, to verify the security, and the matter came on regularly to be heard by way of motion, when Sir Arthur Pigott, who was then Attorney-General to the Duchy of Cornwall, stated in answer, that he had never heard of the existence of such bonds, and that if such obligations had been contracted, the court must be aware of the difficulties, after the occurrences which had taken place in France and Holland, attending the identification of the *bona fide* holders, as well as the liability of the grantors, provided such securities should be discharged. The immediate impression on his mind, said Sir Arthur, negatived the existence of such bonds, although he should feel it to be his duty to make the necessary inquiries in the proper

quarter, and mention the matter again in court, as soon as he had any communication to make.

On the other side, the applicant stated, that the bonds had not only existed, but were still in existence, and that those to which he was legally entitled were then in his possession, and that he appeared there in person to enforce his claim. The motion was then disposed of, with the understanding that Sir Arthur Pigott should mention it again at as early a day as possible. This, however, Sir Arthur neglected to do, and the court was again moved by the claimant, when it appeared, to the astonishment of all, that Sir Arthur had entirely forgotten the business. It was, however, finally agreed to confer at chambers on the subject, and the matter was no more heard of.

This conduct of Sir Arthur Pigott constitutes one of not the least extraordinary features of this singular transaction, and it goes a great way to prove to what shifts and expedients a lawyer can have recourse, in order to bolster up a rotten and indefensible cause. In the first place, with the most unblushing effrontery, he declared that he never heard of the existence of the bonds in question; and that he verily believed no such obligations ever were in existence. Can it for a moment be credited, that Sir Arthur Pigott, the legal adviser of the Prince of Wales, could enter the Court of Chancery, with the ignorance of a fact on his mind, which was then notorious, not only in this country, but in every part of the continent? The bonds in question were then floating in the money market as common as any other negotiable security. There was scarcely a broker on the Exchange, who had not some of them in his possession to dispose of; and it was well known, that secret agents were employed to depreciate their value, in order that they might be bought up at the lowest price; and it was no later than the year 1829, that Mr. Charles, of Canterbury, had laid before him notorial copies of the whole arrangements, bonds, &c., verified in France by a French notary, upon which legal proceedings were threatened, but which were never car-

ried into effect, on the ground, it is believed, of a compromise having been entered into with the holders.

It is not improbable that Sir Arthur Pigott was obliged to act up to the instructions given to him, and that the part which he had to perform was one of great difficulty and delicacy. His denial of the existence of the bonds, however, tended in a great degree to excite the animosity of the holders, and to make them more clamorous for the liquidation of their claims. The fact also having transpired of the successful issue of the application of Mr. Martignac to the Court of Chancery, the applicants considered that the path was chalked out to them by which they could be equally successful: and, consequently, a number of holders on the continent hastened to this country, for the sole purpose of enforcing their claims, without investing themselves with any political character, or mixing themselves up with either of the great contending parties, which were then struggling in France against the despotism and fanaticism of the Bourbon race.

At this period, that weak and imbecile minister, Lord Sidmouth, held the seals of the Home department; and it was under his administration that the odious Alien Act was put into its fullest force: the spirit of espionage, so uncongenial to the principles of a free constitution, like that of England, was carried to an extent hitherto unknown in this country; and the unoffending foreigner, who had sought an asylum on the British shores from the troubles which devastated his own country, was, on the mere breath of suspicion, or some anonymous information, taken secretly from his bed, and without knowing the nature of the offence which he had given, hurried out of the country, and thrown upon a hostile shore, into the possession of his most implacable enemies, to meet the immediate death of the traitor. As a powerful political engine, at a period of anarchy and rebellion, when kings were fighting for their thrones, and nations for their constitutions, the exercise of the Alien Act might have been tolerated under circumstances of an imperious nature. It is, however, the abuse of it of which

we complain, and its application to individuals, whose cases came not within the sphere of its operation, according to the principles on which the alien laws were founded. In no instance, perhaps, was the severity of the Alien Act carried to a greater extent, than in the case of the holders of the bonds of the royal princes. They came to this country to enforce a just and long-standing claim for moneys, which they had advanced on the security of the future monarch of it, and of his illustrious brothers; and, certainly, it must be acknowledged that if circumstances did not admit of the immediate liquidation of those claims, that degree of courtesy was due to the claimants, which is always readily and willingly granted from a debtor to his creditor, in the most ordinary transactions of life. The exact reverse, however, was the case with the unfortunate bondholders of the Princes. Their claim was disputed on the ground that they were not the *original* holders. In vain they argued that they had given a *bona fide* consideration for them, and therefore that their title was unquestionable to all the advantages which would have resulted to the original holders, in whose shoes they considered themselves to be then standing. This argument was blinked by the subterfuge, that no proof had been given of any *bona fide* consideration having been paid; that the revolution in France, and the consequent troubles in the adjacent countries, had completely altered the political relations of England, and had placed the responsibility of the grantors of the bonds on a very different footing, than it stood at the time when the security was entered into. This, however, was a species of reasoning, which the bondholders could not, or would not understand. They considered the laws of England to be open to them, and to those laws they expressed their determination to appeal for redress. The temper of the English people was not at this period in a state to endure any fresh cause of excitation; much less one which bore immediately upon the extravagance and profligacy of their princes. The French were then reading a most powerful lesson to the Bourbon princes, on the wasteful expenditure of the

nation's riches; and it was feared, not without some substantial grounds, that the English people might be disposed to read the same lesson, in equally expressive terms, to some of their own princes, the catastrophe of which might close in the same manner as had been exhibited in France. An immediate adjustment of the bonds was certainly the most efficient method of stifling the clamour of the claimants; but, although advisable in one point of view, it was attended in another with the greatest danger and embarrassment to the parties concerned; for, on the return of the claimants to the continent, rejoicing in the success of their application, the whole host of the holders would tread in the same steps, and repair instantly to England to substantiate their claim upon the royal Princes. In the mean time, the claimants then in the country shewed by their proceedings that the threat of an appeal to the laws was not an idle breath; and it was judged necessary and highly politic that an immediate stop should be put to them. Accordingly, without a single moment's notice, the whole of the claimants were taken up under the Alien Act, and being put on board a vessel in the Thames, it set sail immediately for Holland; but, *for a particular purpose*, it cast anchor at the Nore, under pretence of waiting for the necessary papers from the Secretary of State's office.

And here begins the gravamen of the charge which we make against the constituted authorities of this country, in the commission of an act which might have been tolerated under the tyranny of a Nero, or the ferocious despotism of a Russian autocrat. The charge is one dark and dreadful;—dark in the secrecy and mystery which still hangs over the transaction;—dreadful as it implies the commission of an act which could only have been engendered in the head of a fiend, and which the hands of fiends could alone have executed. We know not on what head to attach the enormity of the crime; but for the sake of the country which could have nurtured such a head in its bosom, we should hail an official and authentic denial of the fact, as the happy removal of a stain upon its character,

which now adheres to it with the most obstinate tenacity, extending in its inflictions to the very highest quarters, and implicating individuals in the estimation of foreign nations, which were heretofore accustomed to regard the British character as a compound of all that was noble and dignified in human nature.

It was openly declared in a *certain* quarter, that the act was one of mere accident—one of those casualties against which no human foresight could prevail. But it is not customary to throw the veil of secrecy and mystery over a mere accident; for where an evident desire of concealment is manifested, there is generally something more than accident or casualty behind. The particulars of the tragical catastrophe were known but to few; and it was not the interest of those few to divulge all they knew upon the subject. Rumour, which is generally very busy on occasions of this kind, obtained but a very partial insight into the affair; but still such a sufficiency was gathered as to sanction and confirm the suspicion, that accident had very little to do in the affair, but that the whole was a deep-laid, diabolical plan to prevent the unfortunate holders of the bonds from giving any further trouble on the score of their claims.

In some cases, presumptive evidence is as strong as positive proof, and it were natural to presume that the crew of the vessel in which the bondholders were embarked must have had some very powerful reasons for taking to their boat at night, and landing on the nearest shore: but most extraordinary it was that, before they reached it, not a vestige of the vessel which they had just left was discernible above water—it had sunk, and every soul on board perished. If accident had any share in this catastrophe, it must be attributed to a Power which distributes the evil and the good in this world according to its own wise and inscrutable dispensations; but if it sprang from premeditation and design, on the head of man let the whole weight of the ignominy rest; and when the day of retribution comes, the spirits of the victims will rise from the deep, the hour of vengeance is arrived, and woe to those on whom its weight may fall!

Speaking finally of these bonds, it was a question of no trifling import to his late Majesty, how far his liability extended to the liquidation of those which were still outstanding, and for which no provision had been made by either of his royal brothers deceased. The validity of the documents had been repeatedly acknowledged, either by payment in full, or by compromise; and as several of the bonds appeared so late as 1829, it is not improbable that many others are still in existence, the payment of which might have been demanded, and which must have fallen solely on his late Majesty. It may be important to remark, that when the question of the payment of the Prince of Wales' debts was agitated in parliament, shortly after his marriage, it was stated by the Duke of Clarence, that this foreign loan was put a stop to by *the Secretary of State*. We have fully exposed the particular measures which that minister adopted for effecting the end in view.

CHAPTER IV.

THE French Revolution, an event in comparison with which all the revolutions of states and empires recorded in the annals of history are insignificant, was at this period in full activity, and although the details of the circumstances which led to that great occurrence, must be sought in the History of France, yet it has in such an especial manner influenced the state of these kingdoms, that some notice of it is absolutely necessary. Human affairs are generally gradual in their progress, from infancy to perfect maturity, but the Revolution in France resembled the shock of an earthquake, or the eruption of a volcano; nothing could resist its impetuosity.

On the minds of the people of England the impression made by the passing events in France was various. The general opinion, however, was favourable to the Revolution, and even its most criminal excesses, seen through a distorting medium, were viewed by the multitude with a favourable aspect. Nor was this at all strange. Attachment to the British constitution naturally generates an abhorrence of despotism, under every possible form and shape; to this principle may, probably, be attributed the praise which many men of superior intellect, bestowed on what they considered the efforts of the French nation to shake off the shackles of tyranny, and to establish a new government, on the basis of civil liberty. But such men must have contemplated the Revolution in the abstract, and have looked to remote consequences, which their ardent imagination represented to them as certain, without descending to any minuteness of inquiry into the motives in which it originated, the means by which it was accomplished, or the effects which it actually produced. But while the love of freedom led many, certainly without due consideration, to admire the French Revolution, the admiration of others flowed

from a very different source—from a revolutionary ardour, and a fondness for innovation—which led them to look on all resistance to power as commendable, to confound revolt with liberty, and to convert conspirators into patriots. Amidst this general predilection for the new politics of France, there were some few who viewed them with horror, who considered the principles broached by the leading members of the National Assembly, and adopted by the majority, as striking at the very root of society; and who foresaw that those proceedings, instead of producing such a change in the condition of the French people, as every friend to rational and well-regulated freedom must desire, would bring forth the most calamitous consequences, and terminate either in popular anarchy, or in unqualified despotism. Amongst its most ardent admirers were an assembly of persons, who had associated themselves for the purpose of commemorating the British Revolution of 1688, of which Lord Stanhope was President. On the occasion of the anniversary meeting in 1789, one of the most distinguished members, Dr. Price, a dissenting minister, equally eminent for his talents and his zeal, strongly declared his admiration of the new principles which had been promulgated at Paris and Versailles; and the committee resolved to congratulate the members of the Society on the glorious success of the French Revolution, and to express their ardent wishes, “that the influence of so glorious an example may be felt by all mankind, until tyranny and despotism shall be swept from the face of the globe.” The Doctor moved an address to the National Assembly of France, in which the Society offered to that assembly their congratulations on the revolution in that country, and on the prospects it gave to the two first kingdoms in the world, of a common participation in the blessings of civil and religious liberty. They expressed particular satisfaction with which they reflected on the tendency of the glorious example given in France, to encourage other nations to assist the inalienable rights of mankind, and thereby introduce a general reformation in the governments of Europe, and to make the world free and happy. The resolutions of their

club was accordingly transmitted to the National Assembly, whose President duly acknowledged the favour conferred upon them.

At the time that public opinion took this direction, Mr. Pitt and his colleagues remained perfectly quiescent, and contented themselves with a renewal of their assurances of continued unity with France, without expressing either approbation or disapprobation of the measures of internal policy which the Government, or rather the National Assembly, had thought proper to adopt.

Such was the state of affairs, when the British Parliament elected in 1734 assembled for its last session on the 21st of January, 1790. The King's speech contained nothing remarkable. It slightly glanced at the affairs of France, in declaring that the internal situation of the different parts of Europe had been productive of events which had engaged his Majesty's most serious attention. Early indications, however, appeared of the light in which recent transactions in that kingdom were viewed by the English Government. Lord Valletort in moving the address, took occasion to contrast the tranquil and prosperous situation of England with the anarchy and licentiousness of France, and to denounce the revolution in that kingdom as an event the most disastrous, and productive of consequences the most fatal, which had ever taken place since the foundation of monarchy.

Soon afterwards upon the debate which took place upon the estimates, Mr. Burke observed, that on a review of Europe, he did not find that we stood in the smallest danger from any one state or kingdom it contained, nor that any foreign power, but our own allies were likely to obtain a preponderance in the scale. "France," said he, "has hitherto been our first object in all our considerations concerning the balance of power; but France is in a political light to be considered as expunged out of the system of Europe. Whether she could ever appear in it again as a leading power, was not easy to determine; but at present, he considered France as not politically existing, and most assuredly, it would take much time to restore her to her

former existence. It was said, as she had speedily fallen, she might speedily rise again. He doubted this. The fall from a height was with an accelerated velocity, and to lift a weight up to the height again it was difficult, and opposed by the laws of physical and political gravitation. In a political view, France was low indeed; she had lost every thing, even to her name. He was astonished at it, he was alarmed at it. He trembled at the uncertainty of all human greatness. The French had shewn themselves the ablest architects of ruin, that had hitherto appeared in the world. In one short summer they had completely pulled down to the ground their monarchy, their church, their law, their army, and their revenue. Were we absolute conquerors, and France to be prostrate at our feet, we should blush to impose upon them terms so destructive to all their consequences as a nation, as the duration they had imposed upon themselves. In the last age we were in danger of being entangled by the example, in the net of a relentless despotism; a despotism, indeed, proudly arrayed in manners, gallantry, splendour, magnificence, and even covered over with the imposing robes of science and literature. Our present danger from the example of a people, whose character knows no medium, is with regard to government, a danger from licentious violence, a danger of being led from admiration to imitation; of the excess of an unprincipled, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy of a people, whose government is anarchy, and whose religion is atheism. They had made and recorded a sort of institute and digest of anarchy, called 'A Declaration of the Rights of Man,' thus says he, "materially destroying every hold of authority by opinion, religious or civil on the minds of the people. By this mad declaration, they had subverted the state, and brought on such calamities as no country without a long war had ever been known to suffer. He felt some concern that the strange thing called, a Revolution in France should be compared with the glorious event, commonly called the Revolution in England. In truth, the circumstances of our revolution, as it was called, and that of France, were just the reverse of each other in almost every particular, and in the whole spirit

of the transaction. What we did, was in truth and substance, not a revolution made, but prevented. We took solid securities; we settled doubtful questions; we corrected anomalies in our laws. In the fundamental parts of our constitution, we made no revolution, no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy. The nation kept the same rank, the same subordinations, the same franchises, the same order in the laws, the revenues, and the magistracy; the same Lords, the same Commons, the same corporations, the same electors. The church was not impaired; her estates, her majesty, her splendour, her orders and gradations continued the same: she was preserved in her full efficiency, and cleared only of that indolence, which was her weakness and disgrace. Was little done then, because a revolution was not made in the constitution? No, every thing was done, because we began with reparation, not with ruin, instead of lying in a sort of epileptic trance, exposed to the pity or derision of the world for her wild, ridiculous, convulsive movements. The state of Great Britain was above the standard of her former self. All the energies of the country were awakened, and a new era of prosperity commenced, which is still continued, not only unimpaired, but receiving growth and improvement under the wasting hand of time.

Mr. Fox warmly expressed his total dissent from opinions so hostile to the general principles of liberty, and which he was grieved to hear from the lips of a man, whom he loved and revered, by whose precepts he had been taught, by whose examples he had been animated to engage in their defence. He vindicated the conduct of the French army, in refusing to act against their fellow citizens, from the aspersions of Mr. Burke, who had charged them with abetting an abominable sedition by mutiny and desertion, declaring that if he could view a standing military force with less constitutional jealousy than before, it was owing to the noble spirit manifested by the French army, who on becoming soldiers, had proved that they did not forfeit their character as citizens, and would not act as the mere instruments of a despot. The scenes of bloodshed and cruelty

that had been acted in France, no man could hear of without lamenting ; but when the grievous tyranny that the people had so long groaned under, was considered, the excesses they had committed in their efforts to shake off the yoke could not excite our astonishment, so much as our regret. And as to the contrast which Mr. Burke had exhibited, respecting the mode in which the two revolutions in England and France were conducted, it must be remembered that the situations of the two kingdoms was totally different. In France, a free constitution was to be created ; in England, it wanted only to be secured. If the fabric of government in England suffered less alteration, it was because it required less alteration. If the general destruction of the ancient constitution had taken place in France, it was because the whole system was radically hostile to liberty, and that every part of it breathed direfully the spirit of despotism.

The attention of the British people was at this time entirely directed to the progress of the French revolution, but it was on a sudden diverted into another quarter, by a royal message which Mr. Pitt brought down to the house, announcing circumstances which indicated the approach of war. It appears that the celebrated Captain Cook, in his last voyage of discovery, touching at several ports of the western coast of North America, purchased from the natives a number of valuable furs, bearing a high price in the Chinese markets. In order to encourage this branch of commerce, a spot of ground was in 1788 procured from the Indians, and a regular establishment defended by a slight fortification, formed at a place called Nootka Sound, situated about the 50th degree of north latitude. This was regarded by the Spaniards as an encroachment on their exclusive rights of sovereignty, and consequently the *Princessa*, a Spanish frigate, despatched for this purpose, by the Viceroy of Mexico in the following spring, seized upon the fort, and captured the English vessels, the *Iphigenia* and *Argonaut*, trading on the coast. The Spanish commandant, hoisting the national standard, declared that the whole line of coast from Cape Horn to the 60th degree of north latitude,

belonged to the King of Spain. After much delay, and loss, and vexation to the proprietors, the captured vessels were, however, restored by the Viceroy, on the assumption that nothing but ignorance of the rights of Spain could have induced the merchants in question, to attempt the establishment on the coast. Of these particulars, the Court of London had been regularly informed by the Spanish ambassador, so long ago as the 10th of February, and his excellency at the same time requested that measures might be taken for preventing his Britannic Majesty's subjects from frequenting those coasts, and from carrying on their fisheries in the seas, contiguous to the Spanish continent, as being derogatory to the incontestable rights of the Crown of Spain. The claims of Spain in relation to the right of dominion and sovereignty in America, were in the highest degree chimerical. Charles III., however, died in December, 1788, and his son, Charles IV., the succeeding sovereign of Spain, confiding in the justness of his claim, offered to submit the decision to any one of the Kings of Europe, leaving the choice wholly to his Britannic Majesty. The reply of the court of London to the memorial of the Spanish ambassador, is said to have been unnecessarily haughty, and an atonement was demanded for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain.

On the statement of the case in the royal message, the House of Commons unanimously voted an address to the King assuring his Majesty of their determination, to afford the most zealous and affectionate support, in such measures, as might become requisite for maintaining the dignity of the Crown, and the essential interests of his dominions. A vote of credit also passed the House, for the sum of £1,000,000, and a declaration of war against Spain was momentarily expected. Whether the British Government, was, or was not in reality, serious in its designs against Spain, was a question at that time, which engaged the attention of the political world. There was, however, a decided manifestation of hostility, for the most active exertions were made to get the Channel Fleet ready for sea, the command of which was given to Admiral

Barrington, with Sir John Jervis as his flag-captain. The Duke of Clarence was appointed to the Valiant, of 74 guns, and a more striking instance of the want of all discrimination, in the selection of the proper officers, to command the ships of the Channel Fleet, cannot be adduced, than in the circumstance, that notwithstanding the Duke of Clarence made use of all his interest, to obtain for his friend Nelson, an appointment in the fleet, and although the interest of his Royal Highness was backed by Lord Hood, it nevertheless proved unsuccessful. At this time, the great naval hero was leading a life of the *otium cum dignitate*, at the house of his father in Norfolk, from which place he addressed to his Royal Highness the following letter:—

SIR.

“My not being appointed to a ship, is so very mortifying, that I cannot find words to express what I feel on this occasion, and when I reflect on your Royal Highness' condescension in mentioning me to Lord Chatham, I am the more hurt and surprised. Sure I am, that I have ever been a zealous and faithful servant, and have never intentionally committed any errors, especially as until very lately, I have been honoured by the notice of the Admiralty.”

The services of this gallant man, were however, not required, for Spain finding that she was not able to contend alone against England, applied to France to assist her, but that power being unwilling to interfere, she complied with the British demand of previous restitution and indemnification, and on the 2nd of October, a convention was signed at the Escorial by which every point in dispute was conceded by Spain. The settlement of Nootka was restored, the free navigation and rights of fishery in the Southern Pacific were confirmed to Britain; a full liberty of trade, and even of settlement was granted to all the north-west coasts of America, beyond the most northerly of the Spanish settlements, unaccompanied however, by any formal renunciation of their right of sovereignty, and the two powers, were on the other hand, equally restrained from attempting any settlement nearer to Cape Horn, than the most southerly of the settlements, actually

formed by Spain.* An article was also inserted in this treaty," That in all future cases of complaint, or supposed infraction of the present convention, no act of violence shall be committed, but an exact report shall be made of the affair, to the respective courts, who will terminate such difference amicably."

The differences with Spain being adjusted, the channel fleet was laid up in ordinary, and the Valiant being paid off, the Duke of Clarence was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral of the blue squadron.

The Duke may now be said, to have finished his career as a naval officer, and to have given himself up to all the luxuries and splendour of a court, mingling with them the enjoyment of those amusements, which belong more particularly to the more humble classes, amongst which were the theatres, at which he was a regular attendant, and which ultimately led to a connexion, which the fastidious moralist may condemn, but which considering the situation in which a rigorous and unnatural law had placed the Princes of the Blood Royal of this country, deserves to be looked upon, with the eye of indulgence and of charity.

There cannot be a dissentient opinion on the case, that the unfortunate and unjust law against the marriages of the Princes, subjected them to criticism from enemies, who carefully exaggerated their failings, (and they were great enough without having any occasion to resort to exaggeration) and took care to conceal from public view, the cause of those

* With our decided dissent to the general line of politics adopted by Pitt, it cannot be disputed, that he possessed an energy of character, which has never been evidenced in any minister that has succeeded him. Had he been at the helm of affairs, when Russia seized the Vixen, a full indemnification would have been demanded, and if refused, the settlements of the Autocrat on the Black Sea and the Gulf of Finland, would have been blown to atoms about his ears, and the honour of Britain maintained by the fire of her cannon. She has now basely truckled at the feet of the northern despot; she has seen her flag insulted, and preferred an inglorious peace, to the avenging of a national insult.

failings, so firmly rooted in those arrangements that excluded the Princes from rights, without which nobody of men could live, in a manner either virtuously or correctly. They were compelled by the aristocratical pride of their father, acting upon a weak, and besotted head, to lead the life which exposed them to the severe reprobation of that part of the human herd, styling themselves virtuous, moral, and religious, not taking into their account at the same time, that the Princes of the nation were a set of proscribed men; they were even proscribed before they were born, and placed without the pale of the law of privilege and natural right, with respect to the most material circumstances in life. A Prince of this realm must either begin by deceiving or debauching the woman with whom he means to cohabit, or he must cohabit with some one that has already been debauched or deceived. He is entirely deprived from choosing a companion from amongst persons of education, unless chance happens to throw one in his way.

The law of the land compelled the Princes to be either fornicators or adulterers, and it is a most curious anomaly in the history of the Legislation of this enlightened country, that whilst with one breath, a law was enacted compelling the Princes of it to be adulterers, with the next breath, another law was enacted for the prevention of it. The latter however, met with the most decided opposition, it was attacked with all the virulence of party, at the head of which stood the Heir-apparent to the crown, the Duke of York and the Duke of Clarence, in direct and bold opposition to the Primate and the whole bench of bishops. In the arguments used by the royal Princes, considering the peculiar situation in which they stood, there was a goodly share of worldly wisdom, but very little religious knowledge; much liberality of sentiment, but little integrity of principle; much zeal for the worthless part of the fair sex, but little regard for the preservation of public morals. It was indeed said, though perhaps not exactly according to truth that the bishops and judges, particularly the former

were not competent to decide on such a law, as not being possessed of that *worldly* knowledge, which was indispensably necessary to appreciate its merits—

*If knowledge of the world makes man immoral
May Juba ever live in ignorance.*

That the Act of George III. called the Marriage Act, was a bonus for adultery on the part of his children, cannot be denied. The Princes were debarred from the enjoyment of the greatest bliss of life, which springs from domestic, conubial relations. Their knowledge of the most beautiful side of human nature was cramped and contracted, and as to their knowledge of the world, they collected it at the stews, at the gambling table, and all those other detestable haunts, at which fashionable profligacy rides triumphant, bidding alike defiance to the mandates of God and the laws of the realm. Such knowledge however cannot be possessed in its pure and most valuable sense, by titled or untitled adulterers; by titled or untitled panders; by titled or untitled fornicators, or by the titled or untitled ministers to the illicit pleasures of those, whom they are bound by every principle that man should hold sacred to defend from all contamination, nor yet by the titled and untitled profligates who are the partakers of such pleasures and the partners of such guilt. The character of George III. was one of paradox and contradiction. By his Marriage Act, he made his sons, aye, and his daughters too, guilty of adultery and fornication—their sins were upon his head, and yet no man, in the utmost rigidity of morality could be more severe than he was, on any promiscuous connexion that his sons entered into, with some of the beautiful women of the day. Bereft of all political foresight, he saw not that his odious law brought contamination upon society, by corrupting manners at their source, and thereby laying the foundation of ruin to the empire at no very distant day; a circumstance which is the more unfavourable, seeing that the luxury of the times, and the wealth enjoyed by the higher classes, as in ancient Rome, lead naturally to a relaxation of

manners, without the additional aid of the example of the first family in the nation.

If then the injustice of the law be confined to one family; if it be confined to a few, the contamination of examples is extended to the many, the circle indeed on which it operates, has no other bounds, than that of the country in which it is the centre.

We consider ourselves justified in entering upon the previous prefatory matter, as we are now arrived at one of the most important epochs of the life of William the IV. namely his connection, when he was Duke of Clarence, with the celebrated Mrs. Jordan, some of whose children now rank amongst the peerage of the country, but into which, had their father been wise, they would never have been introduced. With all the high respect which we entertain for the character of William IV as the sovereign of the country, we cannot consistently with that spirit of impartiality and truth, to which we have endeavoured to adhere in the delineation of the scenes of his life, wholly avert our view from those transactions which cast, as it were, a cloud upon it, and which still dim the brightness of his earthly fame. It is, however, no trifling satisfaction to us, to know that in the following exposition of the transactions which took place between the Duke of Clarence and Mrs. Jordan, we shall have it in our power to rescue his memory from some portion of that obloquy with which malice and uncharitableness have loaded it, and which it is the interest of a particular party not to have removed.

It is not our province to enter into any of the particulars of Mrs. Jordan's life previously to her connexion with the Duke of Clarence, no further than a slight reference to those circumstances which are immediately antecedent to it, and without which the narrative cannot be considered as regularly connected.

Mrs. Jordan was a native of Ireland, and at an early age evinced a strong predilection for the stage, on which she first appeared at the age of sixteen, under the name of Francis. In regard to the assumption of the name of Jordan, there is a very

singular anecdote related, which however delicacy prohibits us inserting, it had not, however, the slightest reference to those "obvious and pressing reasons," which are alluded to by certain obscure historians, and the signification of which cannot be mistaken.

It has been generally reported that the Duke of Clarence first saw Mrs. Jordan at Drury Lane Theatre, such, however, is not the fact, for it was during the year 1788, when George III. visited Cheltenham, accompanied by the royal family, amongst whom was the Duke of Clarence, that his Royal Highness first saw at that time the first of Thalia's daughters, and it was owing to his influence, that Mrs. Jordan was presented during her stay in that town with a very elegant gold medal, accompanied by a written document, so truly gratifying to her feelings, as to confer a ten-fold value on the token by which it was accompanied.

It appears that the brilliant success and increase of salary awarded to Mrs. Jordan, excited great uneasiness in the Kemble family. Mrs. Siddons in particular, the Melpomene of the day, whose idol was Croesus, could not restrain her internal dissatisfaction, which became so intrusively disagreeable to Mrs. Jordan, that overtures were made to her from the manager of Covent Garden and a *carte blanche* tendered, in order that she might stipulate her own terms. Alarmed at the idea of losing one of the main props of his house, Mr. Sheridan had an interview with Mrs. Jordan, who having stated her grievances respecting the Kemble coterie, he at once closed with her at a salary of thirty pounds per week, then esteemed a very enormous stipend. In reference to the dissatisfaction of Mrs. Siddons, a caricature was issued, we believe, from a design of Bunbury, representing the tragic queen with pockets overgorged with gold and bank paper; while hanging to the prong of a pitch-fork thrust up from the infernal regions, was a bag of gold, to obtain which the hungry Melpomene was stretching forth her hand in a fine tragedy attitude, accompanied by a look of greedy supplication.

If such was a leading trait in the conduct of Mrs. Siddons, Mrs. Jordan was the very opposite; charity being the prominent characteristic of her mind. No deserving object ever applied to her in vain, and even prior to her connection with the Duke of Clarence, the following fact may be relied upon. Bearing in mind the cruel conduct exerted towards herself by Mr. Dayly, and the difficulties experienced during her pregnancy; she always entertained the most humane and lively feelings for destitute females similarly circumstanced. Actuated by that praise-worthy sentiment, Mrs. Jordan provided herself with several complete sets of linen necessary for lying-in women, which, upon application and a knowledge that the objects were deserving, she was accustomed to lend out for the use of females under such circumstances. Being better enabled to indulge her philanthropic disposition after joining the Duke of Clarence, her charitable exertions increased for a time in proportion to her means, and numerous were the objects, who showered blessings upon one, whose benevolence was as unostentatious, as it proved liberal and extended in its varied ramifications.

The winter of 1789 was spent by Mrs. Jordan in personating, during the season, most of those characters in which she had so uniformly obtained the plaudits of her hearers. In the summer she made a trip to Edinburgh, where the same success crowned her endeavours, until towards the close of her theatrical exertions, when the manager sought to cast odium upon her, for not completing her agreement, which she was prevented from doing on account of the death of her revered mother. No female ever felt more unbounded love for a parent than did Mrs. Jordan, who experienced the most acute anguish for the loss she had sustained; it was indeed, an affliction so deeply rooted, that it required every effort of reason and philosophy to counteract its poignant effects. Grief, perhaps, found some alleviation from the efforts of the poetic muse, as at the period alluded to, we find that the accompanying lines were written by Mrs. Jordan, and which were inserted in the *Edinburgh Herald*.

TO THE MEMORY OF A REVERED MOTHER.

" Be ready, reader, if thou hast a tear,
 Nor blush if sympathy bestows it here ;
 For a lost mother hear a daughter moan—
 Catch the last sounds, and learn like her to groan !
 Yet e'en those groans (sad echoes all to mine,)
 Must prove faint off'rings, at so dear a shrine :
 If feeble these, how feebler far must be
 The tribute to be paid by poesy !
 The bleeding heart that's whelm'd with real woe,
 Affects no flow'rs near Helicon that grow ;
 Sobs and swoln sighs ill suit sweet number'd lays ;
 The tear that waters cypress, drowns the bays ;
 Hard then must be the task in mournful verse
 The praise of a lost parent to rehearse.
 Mild suffer'ing saint ! exemplary through life,
 A tender mother and a patient wife ;
 Whose firm fidelity no wrongs could shake,
 While curb'd resentment was forbid to speak.
 Thus silent anguish mark'd her for her own,
 And comfort coming late, was barely known ;
 It, like a shadow, smil'd and slipp'd away—
 For churlish Death refused to let it stay :
 A two-fold dart he levell'd to destroy
 At once a mother's and a daughter's joy ;
 Better a double summons had been given,
 To wipe our sorrow's score, and make all ev'n }
 By kindly calling both at once to Heaven."

We shall not enter into a full detail of the circumstances relative to her connexion with Mr. Ford.

At the close of the season of 1790, incessant attendance on her theatrical duties had so far impaired the health of Mrs. Jordan, that she became seriously indisposed, and a spitting of blood that took place seemed indicative of an approaching decline. As her medical adviser thought change of air essential, and being partial to the north of England, Mrs. Jordan determined upon a visit to York, where she had not been for some years. Thither she repaired, accompanied by Mr. Ford, and performed during the race week in several of her first-rate parts. A dislike, however, to the luke-warm conduct displayed by the

York audience, led her to refuse the fulfilment of stipulations previously entered into, wherefore, she chose to forfeit the sum named in case of failure, rather than play, and being then at Castle Howard for the benefit of the country air, she forwarded a letter, of which the annexed were the contents:—

“ SIR,

“ I agree with pleasure to your proposal of giving you thirty pounds, rather than ever perform in York. I shall return to-morrow, and settle the balance of the account.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your obliged humble Servant,

“ D. FORD.”

After continuing her tour to Newcastle, and other towns of the north, Mrs. Jordan returned to the London boards, being, however, compelled at intervals to absent herself, owing to the increase of her family by Mr. Ford. In this state, affairs continued until the summer of 1791, when following her professional avocations at York, she was on many occasions subjected to gross insults while on the stage, from the interference of some strict moralists, in consequence of her cohabiting with Mr. Ford in the character of his mistress, and it was then for the first time that she began seriously to contemplate a separation, unless he consented to ratify his promise by making her his wife.

On resuming her engagement in London, immediately after the occurrence above referred to, it was the adverse fate of Mrs. Jordan to arrest the attention of the Duke of Clarence, who became particularly fascinated by her personification of “ *Little Pickle*,” in “ *The Spoiled Child*,” The exquisite symmetry of Mrs. Jordan’s form in male attire, and more particularly her unmatched talents, in delineating the character of “ *Little Pickle*,” combined to subdue the affections of the personage in question, and in consequence, overtures were made, when the lady, with that delicacy of feeling so invariably characteristic of her actions, rejected the offer, situated as she still was with Mr. Ford. Thus for a time, matters continued ;

the lover's importunities encreasing, while pecuniary offers were tendered in the way of a settlement, to the amount of one thousand pounds per annum, which ultimately led Mrs. Jordan to conceive that it became a bounden duty, on account of her offspring, to reflect seriously on the subject. The ultimatum of this painful scrutiny, was a proposal on the part of Mrs. Jordan, that as she had for so many years cohabited with, and borne him (Mr. Ford,) a family of children; in consideration also of her having been uniformly introduced into society as his wife, she conceived herself justly entitled to his hand, and in consequence she stipulated that Mr. Ford should at once name a day to ratify the promise so incessantly made, or in the event of refusal, she conceived herself at liberty to act as the dictates of prudence should prescribe. Mr. Ford, however, thought fit to evade the question, when she conceived herself at liberty to embrace the protection offered by the Duke of Clarence, as in that case, she conceived ample means would be placed at her disposal to provide for her offspring, in whose behalf no legal plea on Mr. Ford could be set forth.

This state of affairs was soon bruited abroad, when a party sprung up in vindication of Mr. Ford, by whom he was represented as an abandoned and injured man, to which were added aspersions on her conduct in a professional point of view. Mrs. Jordan, however, who, when roused, was as capable as any woman to vindicate her own wrongs, determined by a bold step to effect that end, and in consequence the following letter appeared in all the public prints, dated from the treasury of Drury Lane theatre, the 30th of November, 1790.

"SIR,

"I have submitted in silence to the unprovoked and unmanly abuse, which for some time past, has been directed against me,—because it has related to subjects about which the public could not be interested; but to an attack upon my conduct in my profession, and the charge of want of respect and gratitude to the public, I think it my duty to reply.

"Nothing can be more cruel and unfounded than the insinuation that I absented myself from the theatre, on Saturday last, from any other cause than real inability, from illness, to sustain my part in the entertainment.

"I have ever been ready and proud to exert myself to the utmost of my

strength, to fulfil my engagements with the theatre, and to manifest my respect for the audience; and no person can be more grateful for the indulgence and applause with which I have been constantly honoured. I would not obtrude upon the public attention to anything that does not relate to my profession, in which I *alone* I may, without presumption, say I am accountable to them; but thus called on, in the present instance, there can be no impropriety in my answering those, who have so ungenerously attacked me,—that if they could drive me from that profession, they would take from me the **ONLY INCOME** I have, or mean to possess, the whole earnings of which, upon the past, and one half for the future, I have already settled upon my **CHILDREN**. Unjustly and cruelly traduced as I have been, upon this subject, I trust that this short declaration will not be deemed impertinent and for the rest, I appeal with confidence to the justice and generosity of the public.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your Obedient Servant,

‘ DOR. JORDAN.”

A variety of ill-natured paragraphs appeared in the daily prints notwithstanding this unvarnished explanation of facts, until the 10th of December, when Mrs. Jordan performed the part of “*Roxalana*,” in “*The Sultan*,” on which occasion, the public displeasure was openly manifested, but conscious of the rectitude of her own sentiments, she advanced boldly to the front of the stage, and alluding only to circumstances connected with her theatrical calling, addressed the audience in the following terms :—

“ **LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,**

“ I should conceive myself utterly unworthy of your favour, if the slightest mark of public disapprobation did not affect me very sensibly.

“ Since I have had the honour and the happiness to strive here to please you, it has been my constant endeavour by unremitting assiduity, to merit your approbation. I beg leave to assure you, upon my honour, that I have never absented myself one minute from the duties of my profession, but from real indisposition. Thus having invariably acted, I do consider myself under the public protection.”

The separation of Mrs. Jordan from Mr. Ford was at length made public, when she immediately became the *protegee* of her royal admirer; it should, however, be explicitly understood that no improper intimacy took place between the parties, anterior to the candid proposal made upon her part to Mr. Ford,

as previously explained, and his non-acquiescence with the same. When the proposal of his Royal Highness became the theme of public discussion, Sir Francis and Lady Lumme, most strenuously advised Mrs. Jordan never to accede to the terms of his Royal Highness, as in such case, however painful to their feelings, they could no longer tolerate her as a visitor at their mansion.

Immediately after Mrs. Jordan's separation from Mr. Ford, the latter gentleman conceived it necessary, on many accounts, to quit the shores of England for a period until the publicity of the affair should have subsided. We have previously remarked that the individual in question had for a series of years introduced Mrs. Jordan into the best societies, in the character of his lawful wife, and it was no very improbable conjecture upon his part, that some fathers of families, or brothers, tenacious in regard to the characters of their wives, daughters, or sisters, might conceive themselves called upon to demand that explanation, which Mr. Ford was not able to give in a satisfactory manner, and must have brought things to extremities. To this may be added, the vacillating conduct of the gentleman, after the assurances so often and so solemnly reiterated, that he would give his *protegee* a legal claim to his affections; being thus placed in no very enviable point of view with men of honourable feelings,—for those reasons he determined on absenting himself from England.

The opposition to Mrs. Jordan, which had previously manifested itself, became more formidable after her open cohabitation with the Duke of Clarence, several attempts being set on foot to drive her from the stage; but these ebullitions gradually subsided, and her talents and sweetness of disposition, ultimately reinstated her completely in public favour.

Among the numerous anecdotes circulated in consequence of this splendid connection, we insert the following:—

The late illustrious parent of Thalia's new protector is reported to have said to his son, "Hey, hey;—what's this—what's this; you keep an actress, keep an actress, they say."

—"Yes, sir."—"Ah, well, well; how much do you give her, eh?"—"One thousand a year, sir."—"A thousand, a thousand; too much, too much! five hundred quite enough,—quite enough!" It is added, that the Duke wrote to Mrs. Jordan expressing this opinion of his parent, and as it was then customary at the bottom of the play bills, to annex these words; "*No money returned after the rising of the curtain!*" that she tore the same off, and enclosed it in a blank cover, to her protector.

The well-known parsimony, and illiberal sentiments of the individual alluded to in the first of the above statements, tend to confer some appearance of validity as to this anecdote; the latter statement, we have merely inserted, in order to give it an unqualified denial, as any person possessing a tittle of our knowledge of Mrs. Jordan's delicacy of sentiment, would pronounce her wholly incapable of having made the indecent allusion referred to.

We have previously spoken of an annuity of one thousand pounds a year, said to have been settled on Mrs. Jordan by her new protector. Now when she ultimately became reduced in circumstances, we should like, in the first place, to enquire what had become of the large sums obtained during her long and brilliant theatrical career, placed in the funds, and intended after her death, for the support of her offspring by Mr. Ford? and secondly, where were the proceeds and brilliant results expected to accrue from this princely boon?

We do not pretend to infer that such settlement did not take place,—that is to say, as far as the signing a legal instrument was concerned:—but what avail sheets of parchment, with their seals annexed, and barren autographs?—the technicalities of the law can neither create gold, nor stamp Bank paper! The only question, therefore, resolves itself to this:—*Was the annuity ever paid?* Prudential motives deter us from answering, but from what will be stated hereafter, we leave its solution to the cool judgment of every dispassionate reader.

Mrs. Jordan was now the inmate of a mansion-house of

potentates; carriages and servants attended her bidding, and she seemed to bask in the full splendour of fortune, while to crown her felicity, she proved in that situation which is uniformly gratifying to those, who feel anxious to present a progeny to their protectors.

In the year 1792, Mrs. Jordan found herself compelled to retire, for a short period, from professional duties, in consequence of a miscarriage, at Petersham, being far advanced in her pregnancy, when she gave birth to a daughter.

In 1796, Mrs. Jordan experienced a miscarriage, and was in consequence detained for a few months from her duties. This circumstance led the writers for the public press to renew their virulent attacks, in the course of which, it was infamously asserted that her non-attendance was the effect of *caprice*—whereas her physician, Dr. Warren, was the sole regulator of her conduct, on that, as well as on other occasions.

From the above period, we have little of consequence to record, until the ever memorable night of the 2d of April, 1796, on which occasion our heroine personated a character in the pseudo drama of Shakspeare, the production of a youthful impostor, under eighteen years of age, in whose work, entitled his *Confessions*, when speaking of our actress and the Duke of Clarence, he thus expresses himself:—

“ I think it but justice in this place to offer my sincere thanks to that lady, for her kind endeavours, on a subsequent occasion, when she had to sustain one of the principal characters in the drama. I also beg to state that I shall be ever mindful of her particular kindness and affability during the visit made to her; as also for her complacency and condescension, during my long continuance in the green-room of the theatre, on the representation of my play; when not only her transcendent abilities as an actress, were exerted in my behalf, before the curtain, but reanimating expressions while in the green-room, continually flowed from her lips, in order to arouse me from the mental depression under which I so obviously laboured on that eventful occasion.”

In reference to his forgeries, young Ireland further informs us, at page 222, of his *Confessions*, as follows:—

“In consequence of the general astonishment and curiosity excited by the manuscripts, his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence became desirous of inspecting the papers, which being intimated to Mr. Ireland, a time was fixed upon, when I was made of the party, and with Mr. Samuel Ireland, repaired to the apartments occupied by his Royal Highness, in St. James’ Palace.”

“Having carefully inspected all the documents produced, the usual questions were put to me respecting the original discovery of the manuscripts, in which Mrs. Jordan also joined—when my former statements were, as usual, adhered to. His Royal Highness, I perfectly remember, made numerous objections, and particularly to the redundancy of letters, apparent throughout the papers. To every question, however, the answers were made as usual, and thus the doubts which arose in his Royal Highness’ mind, were obviated by Mr. Ireland.”

From our personal knowledge of Mr. Ireland, we cannot conceive him so imbued with the attribute of folly, as seriously to have told us that his Royal Highness of Clarence was aware of the mode of spelling in the days of our great poet. The simple fact was, that he was desirous of hoaxing anew, by giving perspicuity to a brain, wherewith he felt fully aware it was not imbued. All this, however, was pardonable; he deceived his Royal Highness, he subsequently [confessed the fraud, and therefore tendered the best salve in his power to heal the wound inflicted.

In the month of October, 1797, a new comedy was rehearsed at Drury Lane theatre, from the pen of Frederick Reynolds, Esq. called *Cheap Living*, in which piece Mrs. Jordan had to sustain the character of *Sir Edward Bloomly*, a boy of fifteen, who pretended to ape all the airs and manners of an adult. She at this period, began to feel repugnance at assuming the male costume, and was particularly dissatisfied with the youthful character above mentioned; a circumstance

that gave great umbrage to Mr. Wroughton, then acting manager, who, during one of the rehearsals of this piece, said to her in his accustomed frank manner—

“ Why, Mrs. Jordan, you are grand—quite the Duchess again, this morning.”

“ Very likely,” was the reply, “ for you are not the first person who has this very day condescended to honour me, ironically, with the same title.”

Assuming her wonted smile, and without the slightest pique being apparent in her gesture, Mrs. Jordan, with all that characteristic humour wherewith she had been gifted by nature, proceeded to make the following statement. That during the morning, having been necessitated to discharge her Irish cook, for impertinence; having paid the wages, the indignant purveyor for the palate, taking up a shilling and vehemently banging it upon the table, exclaimed—

“ Arrah, now, honey, with this *thirteener*, won't I sit in the gallery, and won't your Royal Grace give me a courtesy, and won't I give your Royal Highness a howl, and a hiss into the bargain !”

The fruits of our heroine's brilliant intercourse, were a quick succession of progeny, which, it will subsequently appear terminated in a family of ten children, five males, and an equal number of the opposite sex ; who, with the offspring formerly brought to Mr. Ford, and the child supposed to have been the fruit of the infamous Mr. Daly's criminal proceeding,—placed our actress among the rank of those who are termed prolific females.

Late in the year 1799, Miss Biggs personified *Zorayda*, in the place of Mrs. Jordan, who candidly confessed her predilection for the pathetic, alleging that had she been blessed, early in life, by an intercourse with refined company, she felt convinced that she might have attained eminence as a tragedian.

Early in the year 1800, Mrs. Jordan resumed her dramatic career, and on the 10th of May, performed in a comedy written by Prince Hoare, called *Indiscretion*. On the 15th of the

same month, their Majesties, accompanied by the Princesses, &c. visited Drury Lane theatre, to see *She would and She would not*, and the *Humourist*, of Mr. Cobb, a farce that had been recommended by Edmund Burke to Sheridan, in the year 1785. His Majesty had just entered the box, when a man starting up from the front of the pit, levelled a horse pistol at the King, which he discharged. The monarch, advancing to the front of the box, waved his hand to the Queen, in order to deter her from entering, and then, to dispel all apprehension among the audience respecting his safety, laying his right hand upon his breast, bowed in acknowledgment for the extreme anxiety manifested by the crowds assembled.

Hatfield was secured, but so great was the general horror evinced, that Mrs. Jordan was obliged to present herself, who gave assurance to the audience "that he was perfectly secured, and properly attended," when the play was ordered to proceed.

The Drury Lane company, and more particularly Mrs. Jordan, had long lamented that the political sentiments of Mr. Sheridan should prove a bar to the visits of their Majesties to that theatre; however, from some speeches that had been delivered in parliament, and the patriotic sentiments put into the mouth of *Rolla*, by the manager, it began to be inferred that the King would be led to repeat his visits. This supposition was strengthened by a knowledge that the Princesses were particularly anxious to witness the performances of the lady, who had so completely captivated their royal brother. Such had been the feeling entertained, prior to the above incident, which it was apprehended, would at once put a stop to any further attendance on the part of George the Third, and the Royal Family.

Mrs. Jordan, on the 18th of January, 1800, was delivered of a daughter, at Bushy Park, which circumstance acted as a bar to her appearance in public, until the 12th of March, when she personated the *Country Girl*, with all the fascinations attending its representation in younger days.

Perhaps, no man ever suffered more from public calumny than

did the Duke of Clarence, on account of his connection with Mrs. Jordan. Circumstances of the most degrading nature were bruited abroad relative to his conduct towards her, and particularly to his receipt of her salary at the Theatre, his royal Highness being frequently seen at the Treasury door in her carriage, whilst Mrs. Jordan went in to receive the amount that was due to her. We have reason to believe, that there was a good deal of exaggeration in the business; for the mere circumstance of his royal Highness attending Mrs. Jordan to the Theatre, did not imply that he went thither for the express purpose of appropriating to himself the sum that she had to receive. To such a length, however, was the calumny carried against his royal Highness, that it was publicly stated in one of the daily journals, that his royal Highness extended his influence over Mrs. Jordan to that length as to prohibit her appearing on the boards of the Theatre, unless her salary was paid before hand. It cannot be denied that the Duke's exchequer at that time was in a very low condition; and, when it is considered, as it will be afterwards shewn, that the salary which Mrs. Jordan received was not appropriated to an accumulating fund, but that it was expended by her, or by *some one else*; the conclusion, perhaps, is not wholly devoid of truth, that his royal Highness did actually appropriate to himself the earnings of his mistress, nor is there anything wonderful or extraordinary in this, as numerous instances might be recorded of the *uses* to which beings under the human shape, and calling themselves *noblemen* and *gentlemen* have converted their mistresses; nay, it is by no means a secret, that in numerous instances, the salaries derived from professional avocations, have not unfrequently been applied to the use of such *protectors*.

If, however, the public were highly dissatisfied with the connection of the Duke of Clarence, and Mrs. Jordan, they were more especially so, as she was likely to produce him a large family, for the support of whom, the people of this country would be burdened in some way or the other. The public indignation burst forth on account of the fete that was given at Bushy

Park in celebration of the Duke of Clarence's birth-day, at which, every principle of decorum was violated, and the first characters of the land degraded themselves in being the guests of the acknowledged Mistress of a Prince of the blood royal. The following is the account of the fete as given in the *Courier* newspaper.

"The Duke of Clarence's birth-day was celebrated with much splendour in Bushey Park, on Thursday. The grand hall was entirely new fitted up with bronze pilasters, and various marble imitations;—the ceiling was correctly clouded, and the whole illuminated with some brilliant patent lamps suspended from a beautiful eagle. The dining room, in the right wing, was fitted up in a modern style, with new elegant lamps at the different entrances. The pleasure ground was disposed for the occasion, and the servants had new liveries. In the morning, the Dukes of York's and Kent's Bands arrived in caravans;—after dressing themselves, and dining, they went into the pleasure grounds, and played alternately some charming pieces. The Duke of Kent's played some of the chorusses and movements from Haydn's Oratorio of the *Creation*, arranged by command of his Royal Highness, for a band of wind instruments. About five o'clock the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of York, Kent, Sussex, and Cambridge, Colonel Paget, &c. arrived from reviewing the German Legion. After they had dressed for dinner, they walked in the pleasure grounds, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor, Earl and Countess of Athlone and daughter, Lord Leicester, Baron Hotham and Lady, Baron Eden, the Attorney General, Colonels Paget and M^c Millon, Serjeant Marshall, and a number of other persons. At seven o'clock, the second bell announced the dinner, when the Prince took Mrs. Jordan by the hand, led her into the dining room, and seated her at the top of the table. The Prince took his seat at her right hand, and the Duke of York at her left; the Duke of Cambridge sat next to the Prince, the Duke of Kent next to the Duke of York, and the Lord Chancellor next to his Royal Highness. The Duke of Clarence sat at the foot of the table."

"It is hardly necessary to state the table was sumptuously covered with every thing the season could afford. The bands played on the lawn, close to the dining room window. The populace were permitted to enter the pleasure grounds to behold the royal banquet, while the presence of Messrs. Townshend, Sayers, and Macmanu preserved the most correct decorum.

'The Duke's numerous family were introduced, and admired by the Prince, the Royal Dukes, and the whole company; an infant in arms, with a most beautiful white head of hair, was brought into the dining room by the nursery maid. After dinner, the Prince gave 'the Duke of Clarence,' which was drunk with three times three; the Duke then gave 'the King,' which was drunk in a solemn manner. A discharge of cannon from the lawn followed. 'The Queen and Princesses, — 'The Duke of York and the Army!' His Royal Highness's band struck up his *celebrated march* !'

One of the most powerful writers that this country ever knew, the late William Cobbett, did not allow this circumstance to escape him, and on referring to his *Register*, we find the following remarks after having quoted the foregoing description from the *Courier* newspaper.

'Now, first observing that I do not mean to give this paragraph, as a narrative of real facts, but merely as a publication that I have found in the newspaper above named, and as a statement which I wish to see contradicted by order of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, or some of his brothers; thus observing, and explicitly stating that my object is to remove the evil impression which such a publication must necessarily tend to produce upon the minds of a people, who, *by the express command of his Majesty*, have read to them from the pulpit, four times a day, a long exhortation against vice and immorality, and who have fresh in their minds the huge grant of money recently made for the declared purpose of enabling the several branches of the Royal Family 'to support the dignity of their station,' thus previously observing, I would beg leave as a beginning of my comments upon the publication before

me, to ask the writer of it what march he means, when he talks of the 'celebrated march of the Duke of York?'—and I would further ask him, what necessity there was in a publication of this sort, to remind the people of England of the Duke of York's marches?—and why he could not have so far got the better of his too obvious disposition, as to suffer those '*celebrated*' marches to rest quiet, and unalluded to?

'The representing of the oratorio of the "*Creation*," and arranged by the Duke of Kent too, applied to the purpose of ushering in the '*numerous family*' of the Duke of Clarence: the thus representing the Duke of Kent as employed in an act whereby the procreation of a brood of illegitimate children is put in comparison with the great works of the Almighty, is in this writer, an act of the most indiscreet dialoyalty, and of blasphemy, the most daring.

'We all know that the Duke of Clarence is not married, and, therefore, if he had children, those children must be bastards, and that the father must be guilty of a crime in the eye of the law, as well of religion,—and that he would exhibit a striking example of that vice and immorality which his Royal father's proclamation, so regularly read to us by our pastors, commands us to shun and abhor, and enjoins upon the magistrates to mark out and to punish whenever they shall find them existing among us.

'While we hear this command so often repeated to us, and know that from the form in which it is conveyed, it comes immediately from his Majesty's mind and conscience, can we possibly suppose that he would wink at acts in his own family, such as are described by this writer? And when to this consideration we add the many others that present themselves upon the subject, can we hesitate in declaring that to represent the Duke of Clarence as having a '*numerous family of children*,' is foully to slander his Royal Highness, and that further to represent him as *ostentatiously* exhibiting this '*numerous family*' in public, and in the immediate presence of all his Royal brothers, and of the Lord Chancellor of England, and others of the nobles, is to accuse him of a gratuitous and

wanton insult against the laws, manners, and morals of the country.

‘This representation and accusation, I must and I do, therefore, consider as *false*, and I am confirmed in this my opinion when I hear the same writer assert that the Prince of Wales took *Mother Jordan by the hand*, and in the presence of *a Countess, a Countess's Daughter, and a Baroness,—seated her* at the head of the table, taking his place upon her right hand, his Royal brothers arranging themselves according to their rank, on both sides of the table, the post of honour being nearest Mother Jordan, who the last time I saw her, cost me eighteen pence, in her character of *Nell Jobson*. This part of the account proves the falsehood of the whole. But though amongst persons, who are at all acquainted with the characters of the illustrious personages who are by this writer represented as having been actors in the scene, there can be no doubt that the whole of the representation is false, more especially when we take into view the pious and strenuously enforced precepts of their Royal father's proclamation;—yet amongst that part of his Majesty's subjects, who know nothing of the manners of the great, except what they learn through the channel of the newspapers, doubts upon the subject may prevail, nay—such persons may believe the representation of the *Courier*, particularly as it had been given in nearly the same words, too, by all the other newspapers; and therefore being fully convinced that the representation must produce in whatever degree it is believed, an impression extremely injurious to the character of the parties named;—not less injurious to the manners and morals of the people; and eventually greatly dangerous to the stability of the throne, for this plain reason, that the most virtuous part of the people, that part of them in whose minds truth and justice are predominant, that part of them, on whom alone reliance could safely be placed, would infallibly be the most disgusted, and the most alienated, by the belief of such a representation; being fully convinced of these important truths, I venture to

beseech the royal parties whose names have been so unwarrantably brought before the public in the above cited publication, to cause a formal contradiction thereof, to be publicly made; I venture to beseech them to reflect on the fatal consequences which have uniformly ensued, and especially in recent instances, from proceedings such as are here described in this publication, and to remember that to be blameless, as they doubtless are, in this and all other cases of the kind, is not enough, unless they are also thought to be blameless.

‘I venture to beseech them well to weigh the words of my motto, and to consider whether, though the above cited publication is a tissue of falsehoods, thus permitting it to remain uncontradicted may not expose them among the uninformed part of the people to the imputation of acting upon a principle such as that in my motto described.

‘I venture to beseech them above all things to reflect upon what must be the natural and inevitable effect produced in the minds of the people, if they were once to believe that any portion of the grants made out of the taxes, in times like the present, was expended upon objects such as those described in this poisonous publication; and lastly, as I have, in proportion to my means and my capacity, done as much as any private individual, ever did in support of the throne, and the reputation of the Royal Family, I hope it will not be thought presumptuous that I now make them a tender of my pages and my pen, for the purpose of making and promulgating that contradiction which every truly loyal subject is so desirous to see.’

In this ironical manner did Cobbett treat this subject, but of course no contradiction of the circumstances ever appeared; the public had formed their opinion on the subject, and nothing of an extenuating nature occurred to induce them to alter it.

In reference to the alledged misunderstanding between Mrs Jordan and her royal friend, we quote the following letter, as it refers to the subject, having only to observe that whatsoever disagreement might have existed, we feel thoroughly convinced

the lady in question, would have tacitly submitted to any suffering rather than allow the fact. With this comment, we leave the reader to form his own estimate of the assertions contained in the annexed document.

Bushy House, Sunday.

"DEAR SIR,

"I should be very ungrateful, indeed, if I could for a moment consider as an enemy, one, from whom I have received very decided proofs of kindness and attention. I love candour and truth on all occasions, and the frankness with which you speak of my professional merit, stamps a value on your opinion of them, and which *entre nous* I really believe is quite as much as they deserve, but we do not feel inclined to quarrel with the world, for thinking better of us than we deserve.

"I do not know how to thank you for the humanity with which you seem to enter into my feelings;—they are, indeed, very *acute*, and did you know the three incomparable and truly amiable objects of my anxiety, you would not be inclined to withdraw your sympathy.

"With the regard to the report of my quarrel with the Duke, every day of our past and present lives must give the lie to it. He is an example for half the fathers and husbands in the world, the best of masters, and the most firm and generous of friends. I will, in a day or two, avail myself of your kind offer to contradict those odious and truly wicked reports. I am so ill that I can do nothing myself, but must wait for the assistance of a good and a clever friend, who is at present out of the way, and who (if truth is not quite scared out of the world) will endeavour to do away the ill impression those reports were meant to make. In the mean time, accept my thanks, and believe me.

"Yours truly,

"DORA JORDAN."

As the daily prints continued their attacks upon the conduct of the royal personage alluded to, Mrs. Jordan was at length prompted to seek the advice referred to in the above communication; after which we find from the same authority, a second epistle, containing the result of the conference, and the ultimatum of the Duke's wishes as regarded the future proceedings of Mrs. Jordan in her professional career.

Bushy House, March 27th, 1809

"DEAR SIR,

"When I last did myself the pleasure of writing to you, I mentioned that I waited for the assistance of a friend, who was not just then in the way, to contradict the cruel and infamous reports that were then in circulation; but on my application to him, (perhaps he was right,) he said what had *been done*, had every good effect that could possibly be expected or wished for; and that a *renewal* of the subject might do more harm than good.

"Of this I should like to have *your opinion*, when you have read the enclosed. —I need not add that you will set the author down for a very partial friend indeed. In obedience to the Duke's wishes I have withdrawn myself, for the present, or at least till there is a theatre royal for me to appear in. Mr. March, and Mr. Alsop, the two gentlemen whom my daughters married, will do themselves the pleasure of leaving their cards at your door next week,

"I ever am,

"Sir,

"Your obliged humble servant.

"DORA JORDAN."

"I am to play to-morrow week at the Opera House, and as this is likely to be my *last night*, it would not be amiss to have it insinuated into the boxes."

Whether there existed any real ground for the reports circulated in regard to a quarrel between Mrs. Jordan and her friend, we do not take upon ourselves to decide; it however appears evident that not only herself, but her family were also rendered subservient to the scurrility of the public press, as we find from an undated letter, written in 1809, the following statement relative to her three daughters.

Without date, written in 1809.

"DEAR SIR,—

"Having frequently experienced your kindness in assisting to do away any unfair impression, your candour, believe me, cannot be better employed than in the defence of three as good and virtuous girls as ever existed.

"It would be painful to me, and unnecessary to you to mention the cruel and infamous reports for some time in circulation, and to the extent of which I was really a stranger till last week. To say it has made me sick at heart, is saying little.

I remain,

Your obliged humble Servant.

DORA JORDAN.

In a postscript to the letter preceding the above, mention is made of Mrs. Jordan having to perform at the Opera House, which she did gratuitously, for the benefit of the necessitated members of the Drury-lane company, after which she quitted London to perform at Bath, being accompanied on that occasion by one of her daughters. Mrs. Jordan, soon after her arrival, discovered that the tales, so industriously circulated in the

metropolis respecting a separation from the Duke, had found their way to the gay circles of that celebrated resort of fashion, as in a communication to a friend, we find the ensuing curious statements respecting herself, and the subject adverted to.

Bath, Sunday, 22d April; 1809.

“DEAR SIR,

“I should be more insensible than my heart tells me I am, if I did not experience much gratification from your very kind and friendly letters;—*friendly* they must be, for though I am asking favours of you, I feel it impossible that I can ever return them.

“My professional success through life, has indeed, been most *extraordinary*, and consequently attended with *great emoluments*; but from my first starting in life, at the early age of fourteen, I have always had a large family to support. My mother was a duty;—but on *brothers* and *sisters* I have lavished more money than can be supposed; and more, I am sorry to say, than I can well justify to those, who have a stronger and prior claim on my exertions.

“With regard to myself (as much depends upon our ideas to riches,) I have certainly enough; but this is too selfish a consideration to weigh one moment against what I consider to be a duty. I am quite tired of the profession. I have lost those great excitements, *vanity* and *emulation*; the first has been amply gratified, and the last I see no occasion for; but still without these, it is a mere money getting drudgery.

“The enthusiasm of the good people here, is really ridiculous, but it brings ‘grist to the mill,’ and I shall, notwithstanding the great drawback of unsettled weather, clear between this place and Bristol, from £800 to £900.

“Though I very seldom go out when from home, I was tempted by my dear girl to go to a fashionable library, to read the papers, and not being known, was entertained by some ladies with a most *pathetic* description of the parting between me and the Duke!—My very dress was described, and the whole conversation accurately repeated!—unfortunately for the party, a lady came in who immediately addressed me by name, which threw them into the most ridiculous and (I conceive) embarrassing situation imaginable. In pity to them, I left the place immediately, and flatter myself I did not shew any disgust or ill nature on the occasion.

“The last favour I asked of you, was not to gratify my own vanity, but my *best friends*;—who in spite of the world, are I can assure you as much interested about me as they were seventeen years ago.

“Believe me ever,

“Your truly obliged,

“DORA JORDAN.”

We wish it were in our power to point to any circumstances, which could warrant us, in extenuating the conduct of the Duke of Clarence in regard to the ill-fated object of his attachment. Considering, however, the paucity of facts which were made known to the public, relative to the state of affairs at Bushy House, it would perhaps be illiberal and unjust to impute to his Royal Highness that extreme moral delinquency, which was at this period attached to his character, and which has been suffered to adhere to it, like the cankering rust on the polished steel. It was, indeed, well known at this time, that the Duke of Clarence, was labouring under great pecuniary difficulties, and that the most desperate and ruinous measures were resorted to provide for the exigencies of the day. If, however, the hard earnings of Mrs. Jordan had been swallowed up in the vortex of royal dissipation, and the riches of a Miss Long, or a Miss Weckham were requisite to avert the storm, which was gathering round the head of his Royal Highness, still we cannot wholly excuse him from allowing Mrs. Jordan to be the object of rancour and malice of a certain party, whose infamous design it was to attach criminality to her, and in a point in which she was, "as pure as the snow which lies in Diana's lap."

It may imagined to what an extent the scurrility and abuse levelled at Mrs. Jordan was carried, when her quiescent spirit was at length so wrought upon, that she came to the determination of applying legally for redress, a proceeding that would in all probability have been put in force, but for the timely and salutary advice of some confidential friend.

Shortly after the determination of this disagreeable business, the battle of Talavera was fought, when her son displayed his gallantry, on which subject, the annexed document is sufficiently indicatory of the agitated state of her feelings.

"Bushy Thursday, August, 17, 1809.

"I am very vain, but still I have judgment enough to be fond of doing that which I know I do very ill. Still I feel pleasure in writing to you who so kindly enter into my feelings. You may easily guess what they were last

Monday night, when I heard of the battle of Talavera. Five thousand killed !—the Duke at Brighton !—I went to bed, but not to sleep.

“ The Duke set out at five o'clock on Tuesday, to be the first to relieve me from my misery. I am mentally relieved ; but it has torn my nerves to pieces. I have five boys, and must look forward to a life of constant anxiety and suspense. I am at present very ill—excuse this hasty scrawl, and believe me,

“ Your ever obliged,

“ DORA JORDAN.”

The coolness on the part of Mrs. Jordan's protector, which had been so long talked of, seemed at length confirmed by her removal from Bushy Park, when she took up her abode at Hammersmith, not far from the late villa of the deceased Margravine of Anspach, which also became the partial residence of her illustrious friend. The sensitive feelings of Mrs. Jordan were ill attuned to witness this neglect with stoicism, and in order, therefore, to recruit her finances, and separate herself from scenes that goaded her mind to agony, she undertook some professional excursions.

Notwithstanding, however, her removal to Hammersmith, we nevertheless find that there were short intervals during which, she was either at Bushy, or St. James' as two or three subsequent correspondences tend to prove, of which we shall speedily have proofs to demonstrate.

At the above mentioned residence it was currently reported that very unpleasant bickerings frequently occurred ; that the children of Mrs. Jordan were estranged from her, and as *pecuniary resources failed*, a palpable coldness and total neglect became apparent in a certain quarter. We do not pretend to deny that a want of money might be experienced by one individual, but we are by no means enabled to account for any such deficiency in another quarter.

From all the foregoing statements, containing every event on record relative to Mrs. Jordan, whilst under the protection of of the Duke of Clarence, we cannot trace one feasible reason for her being reduced in circumstances, yet that she did begin to feel pecuniary embarrassment is a notorious fact, the solution of which some persons, perhaps, may shrewdly surmise, notwithstanding all varnish used to gloss over and mystify the fact.

Although we cannot, for a certainty, point out the precise period when the final interview took place between Mrs. Jordan, and her *soidisant* friend, yet the effects produced upon her feelings will be gathered from the following circumstances.

She happened to be on the point of sustaining a character at the Cheltenham Theatre, when a letter was received from the Duke of Clarence, appointing a meeting at Maidenhead for the purpose of exchanging an eternal farewell. Mrs. Jordan, at the time referred to, had actually terminated her engagement for a few nights, having only to continue one evening longer, in order to appear in the character of *Nell*, in the *Devil to Pay*, for the benefit of Mr. Watson, then manager of the Cheltenham company.

It was during the afternoon of the last mentioned day, that the fatal letter came to hand, notwithstanding which, with that generous kindness which uniformly characterized her conduct, she refused to withdraw her name from the play-bills, though her mental agitation at the time, was such, that on her arrival at the play-house, from having suffered continued hysterics, it might be said she was saturated from excess of grief.

The following circumstance, however, having occurred during the performance, we deem it necessary to record the incident.

In the scene with *Jobson*, the *Conjuror* having seen her, *Nell* laughs immoderately, upon which the former is made to exclaim—

‘Why *Nell*, the conjuror has not only made you drunk, but he has made you laughing drunk!’

On this occasion, when the suffering creature attempted to laugh, she burst into a flood of tears, upon which the personifier of *Jobson*, with great presence of mind changed the text, saying—

‘Why *Nell*, the conjuror has not only made thee drunk, he has made thee *crying* drunk!’

By which means the scene passed off with the accustomed eclat. At the conclusion of the performance, Mrs. Jordan more

dead than alive, was placed in a travelling chariot, without having time to throw off her dress as *Nell*, and in that state set off to keep the final appointment with her former protector.

It may in this place be requisite to insert a list of Mrs. Jordan's progeny by this illustrious connection thus terminated, which runs as follows :—

George Fitzclarence, Viscount Fitzclarence, Baron Tewkesbury, Earl of Munster, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom ;—born the 29th of January, 1794, married Mary, Daughter of George, Earl of Egremont, the 18th of October, 1819, by whom he has issue ; —

William George, Viscount Fitzclarence ; —born the 19th of May, 1824.

Frederick Charles George ; — born the 1st of February, 1826.

Adelaide Georgina ;—born on the 28th of October, 1820.

Augusta Margaret ;—born on the 31st of July, 1822.

Colonel Fitzclarence was raised to the peerage in the above dignities, by Letters Patent, dated, May 1831, with special remainder, in default of his own male issue, to his lordship's brothers, Lords Frederick Adolphus, and Augustus Fitzclarence, primogeniturally, and their male descendants. The Earl of Munster is a Colonel in the Army, Aid de-camp to his late Majesty, and Lieutenant of the Tower.

The Earl of Munster has the following surviving brothers and sisters.

2. Frederick Fitzclarence, a Colonel in the Army, and Aid-de-camp to the late King ;—he married Lady Augusta Boyle, daughter of George, Earl of Glasgow, and has one daughter.

3. Adolphus Fitzclarence, Captain in the Royal Navy, Commander of the Royal Sovereign Yacht.

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4. Augustus Fitzclarence, in Holy Orders, Rector of Maple Durham, Oxfordshire.
5. Sophia Fitzclarence, married to Sir Philip Sidney, eldest son of Sir John Sidney, Bart. of Penshurst Place, Kent.
6. Mary Fitzclarence, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Fox, of the Grenadier Guards.
7. Elizabeth Fitzclarence, married to William George, Earl of Errol, hereditary Lord High Constable of Scotland, who has issue.
8. Augusta Fitzclarence, married to the Honorable John Kennedy Erskine, second son of the present Marquis of Ailsa, (who died the 16th of March, 1832,) by whom her ladyship has issue.
9. Amelia Fitzclarence, married 27th of December, 1832, to Lucius, Viscount Falkland, and has issue.

His late Majesty, William the Fourth, was pleased on the 24th of May, 1831, to grant to all the above mentioned *ladies and gentlemen*, with the exception of the Countess of Errol, and Viscountess Falkland, (who, through their marriages had already attained higher rank), *the title and precedence* of the younger issue of a Marquess. We are neither so fastidious nor strait laced as to quarrel with, and look contemptuously on persons born out of the pale of matrimony; on the contrary, where splendid talents are elicited, we care little whether the parents of such persons ever received the hymeneal blessing at the altar. It is only when illegitimates, gifted with no brilliant qualifications, think fit to aspire to high posts and honours, and seek to subvert the just rights of an injured people, that we conceive it equitable to remind them of their origin;—for not all the officers of the College of Heralds can raze from their escutcheon, the *Bar of Bastardy*.

The Earl of Munster once thought fit to render himself conspicuous in the upper House of Parliament, to which he had been recently elevated, and that, too, in a manner hostile to public feeling, which very justly entailed upon him the anathema of the public press.

The sentiments delivered so strongly in the diurnal publications, led to the following explanation, delivered in the House of Peers by the noble Earl, which we quote from the 'Times,' newspaper.

"EXPLANATION OF THE EARL OF MUNSTER."

"THE EARL OF MUNSTER then rose and addressed their lordships from the opposition side of the house.—He said that he wished to take that opportunity of explaining to the house and to the country, the course which he had felt it his duty to take with respect to the measure of reform now before their lordships; and also to correct certain misrepresentations which had been published respecting his conduct on the occasion of the resignation of His Majesty's ministers. He was fully aware of the difficulties of the task he was about to enter upon, but he trusted that he should not ask in vain for their lordships' indulgent consideration. He assured them that he would not have trespassed on their attention at all, were it not that his conduct had been made the subject of the grossest misrepresentations, the injustice of which he hoped to be able to prove to their lordships. He must premise what he had to say to their lordships, by declaring that his opinions, however valueless they might be, had always been what is called liberal; and it was well known that he had always considered reform—a moderate reform—to be just and necessary. Indeed, many individuals were aware that in October, 1830, he had advocated, in a quarter where his opinion was attended to, a moderate reform, which if it had been adopted, would he believed, have relieved the country from the difficulties in which it was now placed. But he confessed that the extent of the present measure of reform did alarm him; and he stated his opinion openly, for it was not his habit to hide his sentiments. Holding as he did, these opinions, yet, when called to their lordships' house, he considered it was impossible for him to do otherwise than to support the ministerial measure of reform; because he felt that if he opposed the clauses of the bill to which he objected, he might have created a false impression respecting

the opinion of one to whom he owed everything. Under these circumstances, he did not hesitate what course to pursue; and he determined to avoid, as far as in him lay, producing those results in the country, which of late their lordships had witnessed, and of which, God forbid, that they should see the like again. He trusted that he had vindicated this part of his conduct to their lordships' satisfaction; but being upon his legs, he would take the opportunity of alluding to certain aspersions, which had been cast upon his character out of doors. —He was at first inclined to consider these calumnies hardly worthy of notice, being convinced that those who knew his character would need no other proof of their falsehood; but as they had been very generally disseminated, he thought, upon consideration, that it would be as well publicly to refute them. It had been stated that he had unhandsomely intrigued against Earl Grey's Government, and endeavoured to undermine that noble lord's Administration. This was a very serious charge; but he would convince their lordships, by a short and simple statement, that it could not, with any justice be imputed to him. The truth was, that for six months before, and for four-and-twenty hours after the resignation of his Majesty's ministers had been accepted, it was, from certain circumstances, out of his power to act in the manner imputed to him, even if he had been so unworthily inclined. The noble Earl, after apologizing for having occupied the time of the house so long, concluded by stating that he felt it to be his duty to make these few observations, for the purpose of setting himself right with their lordships and the country."

In reference to the above lame and wholly insufficient palliatives of his lordship's conduct, we beg leave to quote the following samples of the comments issued in the daily prints, being sufficiently explanatory of all we desire to say on the subject of his lordship's mediocre talents, and new fangled honours.

"It would be the most threatening symptom attending the permanence of the monarchy, if it were understood that persons in Lord Munster's situation were allowed to sway the

councils of state, or in any way affect the movements of Government. A century at least should be suffered to elapse before it should be made known by any public speech or act, that there was such a person as Lord Munster in existence. Then, when something of antiquity was added to the title, and the obscurity of years cast over its origin, the possessor, if otherwise unobjectionable, might take his place and station in society, without remark ; this cannot be the case at present."

Times, May 31st, 1832

From the *Chronicle* of June 2nd, the following letter signed *Vindex*, is extracted, pretty clearly demonstrating the ambitious views entertained by that newly fledged lordling. We have, however, one piece of information to add to the accompanying — namely, that it was the wish of this illegitimate to have his earldom converted into the ducal title, which, coupled with the Governorship of India, would have made him continue staunch to the cause of Reform.

" MY LORD,

" After having been so lately engaged in unveiling the character of one political adventurer, I little thought that you were next to step forward and provoke an enquiry into your conduct. I was content to give you that place in my estimation which the public assigned you ; and, indeed, I know not whether I am more moved to indignation by your effrontery, or to derision by your unutterable folly.

" Under the inspiration of what God were you emboldened to offer to the House of Lords that thing which you call an explanation ? Whether sober or not, your sudden emergency from the shade in which you have hitherto concealed yourself, would be surprising, if you possessed more capacity for the business of a plotter, to which you have vowed yourself ; but what can or ought to surprise us in a man who, without substantial merit of any kind, and having no public services to boast of, has preferred claims to rank on the ground of a shameful birth alone, and who, on following up his suit, has not hesitated to set aside his duty to his Sovereign, and forget his gratitude to his parent, of which he now makes theatrical exhibition ?

" But, my Lord, to the point of your speech. Did you, or did you not, serve the Duke of Wellington in his intrigue to overthrow the Government of Earl Grey ? To my mind, no better answer to this question is wanting than your own speech. Your bitterest enemy could not have desired a stronger

proof that every thing which is said of you is true, than the evidence you have afforded against yourself. A speech more clearly betraying the embarrassment of him who made it, more palpably evincing the confusion of ideas and reproachful feelings which proceed from a mind ill at ease, could not have been put into your mouth by the imagination of a poet. You say that for six months before the resignation of Earl Grey, you were so situated as not to be able to intrigue against the Government. You had better, my Lord, have spoken out more clearly, for the benefit of those persons, the great mass of your countrymen, who are unacquainted with the secret History of the Court. You should have told them that Lord Grey had refused you the office of Governor General of India, that, not satisfied with the efforts made by a high personage for the attainment of this object of your mortified vanity, you had conducted yourself in such a manner as to make your presence at Court extremely undesirable.

"From the moment, my Lord, though you voted for the Bill, you were heard in all societies to inveigh in bitter terms against it and the Government. You were again received into the favour and intimacy of certain illustrious dames, and when you had matured yours and their plot, by the success of Lord Lyndhurst's motion, you returned to favour at St. James' with the ease of an expected guest.

"Is not all this true, my Lord? Who was it that was seen to drive from Belgrave Place to Hyde Park Corner at an early hour in a close hackney-cabriolet, several mornings together, previously to the memorable division on Lord Lyndhurst's motion? How was the arrival of that cabriolet so easily known to the porter of Apsley House? By what magic did the gates fly open to receive the unwonted visitor without the necessity of the career of the horse being in the least checked? Why were they closed again with such speedy and mysterious precaution?

"My Lord, we have the greatest obligations to your illustrious father, and for his sake we are willing to overlook the errors of his children, when those errors are confined to the impertinences of the Court. But do not forget your maternal origin. Forbear to provoke enquiries, lest we should discover in you rather the manners and the designs of a soubrette than the lofty bearing of a Prince. Write bad books, and borrow the unacknowledged assistance of others, as you have done before.—Think no more of India. That country cannot be made the plaything of a child. Renounce Court intrigues, in which you alone can injure us; and remembering that your understanding does not keep pace with your ambition, we shall in future allow you to follow what course in politics you will, without complaint."

Respecting the circumstances which led to the separation of the Duke of Clarence, and Mrs. Jordan, the latter in the following letter to a confidential friend, gives a slight allusion to them, but can it be credited, that MONEY was the cause which induced the Duke of Clarence to break off the connection

with a female, who had borne him a family of ten children, who had been seated at the head of his table, in the presence of the heir apparent to the Crown, his royal brothers, and the upright and *conscientious* keeper of his father's *conscience*. Mrs. Jordan asserts that MONEY had some influence with his Royal Highness, in breaking off the connection, and we not only give our implicit belief to her statement, but we know that money was the cause of the separation, but it was not the money of Mrs. Jordan that he wanted, but that of one of the richest heiresses in the country, who, it was supposed, would not listen for a moment to his overtures, so long as he was living in a disreputable style with a mistress under his roof, who had brought him a numerous family, and likely to make an annual addition to it. On this subject, however, we shall have to enter into some further particulars, in a subsequent part of this work.

The following is the letter alluded to:—

“ Bushey, Saturday.

MY DEAR SIR,—

I received yours and its enclosure, safe this morning. My mind is beginning to feel somewhat reconciled to the *shock* and *surprise* it has lately received; for could you or the world believe that we never had, for twenty years, the *semblance* of a QUARREL. But this is so well known in our domestic circle, that the astonishment is the *greater*! MONEY, money, my good friend, or the *want* of it, has, I am convinced, made HIM at this moment, the most wretched of MEN; but having done *wrong*, he does not like to retract. But with all his excellent qualities, his domestic *virtues*, his love for his lovely children, what must he not at this moment *suffer*! His distress should have been relieved *before*;—but this is *entre nous*.

All his letters are full of the most unqualified praise of my conduct; and it is the most heartfelt blessing to know that to the best of my power, I have endeavoured to deserve it. I have received the greatest kindness and attention from the Regent, and every branch of the Royal Family, who, in the most *unreserved terms*, deplore this melancholy business. The whole correspondence is before the Regent, and I am proud to add that my *past* and *present conduct* has secured me a friend, who *declares* he never will forsake me.

My forbearance, he says, is beyond what he could have imagined;—but what will not a woman do, who is firmly and sincerely attached? Had he left me to *starve*, I never would have uttered a word to his disadvantage. I enclose you two other letters, and in a day or two you shall *see more*; the rest being in the hands of the Regent. And now, my dear friend, do not hear

the Duke of Clarence unfairly abused. He has done *wrong*, and he is *suffering* for it; but as far as he has left it in his *own power*, he is doing every thing *KIND* and *NOBLE*, even to the distressing *HIMSELF*.—I thank you sincerely for the friendly caution at the end of your letter, though I trust there will be no occasion for it; but it was kind and friendly, and as such, I shall ever esteem it.

I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

DORA JORDAN.*

“These letters are for your eye alone.”*

Let it be observed that notwithstanding the praise lavished upon the Duke of Clarence, which sprang from the writer's goodness of heart, she nevertheless cannot refrain at the close of her epistle, from allowing that he had done wrong, and was suffering for it. The first assertion no one can deny; but in regard to the second, we cannot judge of persons but by their actions; and for our parts, we very much doubt whether an individual, having so conducted himself, could be susceptible of a compunctious, yearning towards the being, who was withering under the blight of his unkindness.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I should be sorry if the letters I have enclosed to you were the only vouchers I could produce to the world, if necessary. But, good God! what will not the world say? I received two letters this day, telling me I was accused of *intriguing* with the Duke of Cumberland!

“I am heart sick and almost worn out with this cruel business, but

“I am very gratefully yours,

“DORA JORDAN.”

Well, indeed, might the wretched lady exclaim, that *she was heart sick* at such a monstrous idea, as that referred to in the above note. It is true, *tastes may be DEPRAVED*, but there is one *EXTREME* in *DEPRAVITY*, which scarcely occurs, as to rank almost impossible; and of that description, would have been all intercourse between Mrs. Jordan and the being above ad-

* The two letters enclosed by Mrs. Jordan, were returned faithfully to herself, the condition attached to their communication.

verted to. *De gustibus non est disputandum*, says the Latin adage, and certainly had such a *taste* been manifested by Mrs. Jordan, it would have ranked her, not on a level—but far more degraded than the lowest trull at Wapping; as there are certain associations, which even the most dissolute of the female race would shun enhorrowed, and of such a nature is the supposition to which we allude. We know of no greater stain that could be attached to the character of a woman, than that of intriguing with the Duke of Cumberland, now luckily removed from this country. It would have been prostitution in its lowest and rankest sense, and the woman who could descend to it, who could so lower herself in the scale of human beings, deserves to be sent to herd with the savages of Torres Straits, who may be said to stand in the lowest degree of the scale of humanity.

From the ensuing letter, as well as the next but one, it seems that although the separation had taken place, Mrs. Jordan continued under the roof of her late protector, as these communications are dated from Bushy and St. James'; however, they are the last bearing such superscription; whence it may be inferred, that she was preparing to quit the royal residences for ever.

Bushy, Thursday.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Allow me to thank you for your kind attention to my request. We really live so much in the country, and so entirely within ourselves, that we might be dead and buried, without our friends knowing even that we had been ill. I have the heartfelt happiness of informing you, that the Duke is considerably better, though far from being as we could wish; however, his physicians have given his Royal Highness permission to go to town to-morrow. I have been confined ever since my return, owing to the fatigues and anxiety I have gone through. I fear it will be some time before I recover the very great *shock* I received. I hear there are to be two Drury Lanes; I believe just as likely as one.

"Yours, ever,

"DORA JORDAN."

Cadogan Place, Thursday.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I fear I must have appeared unmindful of your many kindnesses, in having been such a length of time without writing to you ; but really, till very lately, my spirits have been so depressed, that I am sure you will understand my feelings, when I say, it costs me more pain to write to those interested about me, than to a common acquaintance. But the constant kindness and attention I meet with from the Duke, in every respect, but personal intercourse, (and which depends as much on my feelings as his) has in a great measure restored me to my former health and spirits. Among many noble traits of goodness, he has lately added one more, that of exonerating me from my promise of not returning to my profession. This he has done, under the idea of its benefiting my health, and adding to my pleasures and comforts ; and though it is very uncertain, whether I shall ever avail myself of this kindness, yet you, if you choose, are at liberty to make it known, whether publicly or privately.

" Yours, ever,

" DORA JORDAN."

" P.S. I wish I could see you, but it is such a long way for you to come."

It appears from the above letter, that all *personal association* between the Duke and Mrs. Jordan had terminated, while she eulogizes his bounty in permitting her to resume her theatrical avocations, should she be desirous of so doing. Truly, a mighty condescension this, to permit a repudiated mistress, after *twenty years cohabitation*, to betake herself to a profession, after growing grey in the service, for the *purpose of contributing to her pleasures and comforts*. PLEASURES forsooth ! a mighty accession of delight she had to contemplate from toiling on the theatrical boards, of which she had long been sick ; and as to *comforts*, indeed, the labour was seasonably recommended as the good things of this life can only be procured through the medium of money, whereof she was then disburdened ; consequently, the profits accruing became a very requisite *desideratum*.

We are such rooted admirers of the divine Shakspeare, that we never fail to bear him in our remembrance ; and, therefore, as Polonius observes, speaking of Hamlet harping on his daughter ; we must still continue to harp upon the old string

and enquire, what in the name of Heaven had become of the hundred and ten thousand pounds ?

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I lose not a moment in letting you know that the Duke of Clarence has concluded and settled on me and his children, the most liberal and generous provisions ; and I trust every thing will sink into oblivion.

“ Yours, ever,

“ DORA JORDAN.”

What was to sink into oblivion ? The remembrance of an intercourse of *twenty years* standing ? the having borne a numerous progeny ? or the *hic presto* disappearance of a hundred and ten thousand pounds ? These are events in a persons life not easily to be erased from the memory ; and, however, forgiving the generous creature might be, we have a shrewd surmise that she did not FORGET !

In reference to the foregoing correspondence, the biographer of Mrs. Jordan, observes,—“ The letters which have been laid before the reader will have given all the information that Mrs. Jordan *thought herself* AT LIBERTY to communicate to paper.” No doubt, and a very scanty crop of information do they afford us ; in short, we learn from their contents every information, but that which we were desirous of learning ; namely, the cause of the separation, and the mysterious disappearance of one hundred and ten thousand pounds ! The same biographer then continues in the following strain.

“ It may be remarked on this occasion, that there were three distinct sources of calumny concurring to swell the tide of persecution, which now assailed Mrs. Jordan, and the press was equally disposed to all the three, for they equally purposed mischief. The *first* was a pretty numerous set of scribblers, who, with the usually wanton ignorance of his conduct and merits, hated the Duke, her illustrious friend.—The *second*, a few writers connected with the theatres, who, crediting every rumour with which provincial towns supplied them, attributed to the charming actress every description of sordid or loose attachment ; who converted her very virtues into pitch ; and if she exerted

herself to benefit any witness of her early progress in life, stated, like Iago, in the instance of Cassio and Deedemonia :—

“ That she repeal’d him for her body’s lust.”

A *third*, were perhaps, set on by persons of graver consideration, but not less doubtful morals, who do *evil* that good may come out of it; who affecting a high sense of public virtue, and regard for the family on the throne; and its members, within the probability of succession, spared no pains to excite distrust or disgust in the royal person connected with her; trusting to powerful aids in the embarrassments of his circumstances; which, with every disposition to frugality, had accumulated to the noble Duke’s serious annoyance.”

The writers, contumaciously designated by Mr. Boaden, as scribblers, who thought fit to express their sentiments of disgust at the conduct of the Duke of Clarence, acted like men possessed of honourable feelings, who disdained to pamper greatness at the expence of veracity. They averred, and true was the assertion, that Mrs. Jordan was shamefully and scandalously abandoned.

As to the *third* class of individuals portrayed by Mr. Boaden, they must indeed have been of *very doubtful morals*, since they were infamous enough to cast upon Mrs. Jordan the taint of an intrigue with the Duke of Cumberland. When we first heard the detestable falsehood bruited at the time; we experienced a feeling that forcibly brings to mind the line of Virgil, where he says;

“ Obstupui, steterant, que comæ et vox faucibus liææ.”

At the period of the separation, an intended union between the Duke of Clarence and the late ill-fated Miss Tylney Long was publicly talked of, and report went so far, as to state that the Prince Regent contemplated the bringing the bill into parliament, in order to sanction such union. In reference to this topic, Mr. Boaden observes :—“ In fact *TWENTY YEARS of sympathy and truth* leave always strong impressions upon the mind; and I have no doubt full justice has always been done to the

attachment of Mrs. Jordan, by the royal personage to whom it was borne."

If this be not offering undeserved adulation, we never heard of flattery before; however, upon more mature consideration we conceive that Mr. Boaden may not merit reprehension, as the daubing is so truly preposterous, as to verify the famous line of Pope:—

"Praise undeserved is satire in disguise."

Mr. Boaden next observes—"The letter from Mrs. Jordan upon the subject of the disagreement, mentions her *forbearance*, and that it was highly applauded by a Great Personage." We take it for granted, he means, the then Prince Regent, "*nor is it unlikely that she might have placed some part of her fortune at the temporary disposition of her noble friend.* Every thing of a *pecuniary* nature, however, it will be shewn by adequate proof, was settled, with interest, up to the very hour of adjustment, and Mrs. Jordan's receipt in full taken by the gentleman commissioned to make the arrangement."

Here then we have something like an admission, that the poor lady had *forbearance*, and that a *portion of her fortune might have been placed at the disposal of her protector.* We now wish to enquire *the motive of this forbearance*, that gave such delight to an exalted personage. Was it her concealment of the nature of those pecuniary transactions? their amount? non-restitution, or failure in the payment of the annual allowance of a thousand pounds which had been secured by a bond? **FORBEARANCE!** a great personage to applaud the lenity of an actress towards no less an individual than his own brother! it must indeed have been a circumstance of no very trifling nature, that could wring such plaudits on a vagabond actress, from one of the haughtiest men in existence!

Although we have on former occasions commented on the large sums realized by Mrs. Jordan during her professional career; we cannot refrain from recurring to the theme. We once more beg leave to advert to the ample settlement of £1000 a year, and a sum bequeathed her by a deceased relative of her

mother's; making with her professional gains, an annual rental of no less than £8000, including the £1000 annuity. Now suppose we deduct the latter amount as never having been paid £7000 per annum still remained, being the interest of a capital of £140,000. We next find it stated that Mrs. Jordan settled £30,000 on her three daughters, and ultimately, that she was necessitated to abandon England on account of numerous demands on a bond and bills she had accepted; now if such be the fact, she had not liquidated them; then how were the £110,000 that remained, disposed of? The advocates for certain illustrious and fashionable individuals, may turn round upon us with brazen impudence (for assurance dwells with the great) and say,—“Ah! but the bills and bond concerns were only in part cancelled” What? £110,000 a mere partial wiping off of those incumbrances; paltry evasion—wicked subterfuge! Then we again demand, what became of the capital? Mrs. Jordan was no gambler, her habits were uniformly frugal, and for a series of years her house rents; expenditure for the table, &c., had or ought to have been defrayed by another; the advocates of greatness will never solve this problem—not so the abettors of truth; they see through the flimsy veil: sponges will suck up and sinks ingulph the largest torrents.

Now the pecuniary embarrassments under which Mrs. Jordan suffered, did certainly result from a bond and bill involvements, the amount of which is stated at £2000, a sum she could not liquidate, although it seems more than probable, her claims upon others were of such magnitude, and this was coupled with other circumstances, that completely annihilated her peace, and compelled her to abandon her native land.

In regard to the thousand pound settlement, such things have been heard of as procuring the loan of a bond under specious pretences, and never returning the same. Transactions of this nature will sometimes occur in families, as a lady of the name of Robinson could testify, were she still in existence.

Par nobile fratrum. The *cacoethes iniclaudi* is proverbial with certain races, great as well as plebeian, with this sole, but

wide difference, that the former escape, while the latter invariably meet the punishment due to their offences. Great men may keep mistresses, expend their earnings, and then discard them pennyless—they may have friends to exhilarate their spirits at the festive board, who being ruined by imitating their extravagances, are dismissed to close life's scene in penury. These are privileges denied to common bipeds like ourselves; we are burdened with that stale commodity, called HONOURABLE FEELING. The mistress and the friend have imperious claims upon us, and we cannot, however necessitated ourselves may be, abandon them after years of enjoyment, to wretchedness and the grave.

The mind gifted with purity of sentiment is not framed for the unfeeling and the heartless, there is only one species of companion, fitted for such a formation, we mean the *Tartur*, a creature for instance, like Mary Ann Clarke, who while indulging licentiousness and depravity, watched with the wary eye of the vampire—in the unguarded moment extracted the hidden secrets of the breast, and treasured them until a fitting moment, when the threat of disgorging woke the dissolute idiot from his slumber, and the syren who had enslaved and fooled him, received a golden boon as the reward of basest treachery. Such are the fitting companions of men, void of soul, whereas it is the fate of some wretched victims to bare their bosoms to the vulture's beak, that it may pluck their hearts out.

The greatest stain which attaches to the character of the Duke of Clarence, is the almost certain proof that he participated largely of the profits of the theatrical exertion, of Mrs. Jordan which were upon an average seven thousand a year, and independently of which, when Mrs. Jordan was first connected with Mr. Ford, she was living in affluence, kept a carriage, and all the necessary auxiliaries; in short, her income was estimated as amounting to two thousand pounds a year, being the interest of a capital of £40,000. Miss Frances Jordan, her eldest daughter, was then of course an infant, from which time to her marriage with Mr. Alsop, a lapse of twenty-five years took

place, during which, as previously shown in the progress of these memoirs, Mrs. Jordan was indefatigable in pursuing her professional career, both in the metropolis and various parts of England.

Sir John Barrington whom we shall have occasion to quote in the sequel, asserts that at the close of her theatrical career, when age, corpulency, and other circumstances combined to diminish her former attractions, she nevertheless netted in one year, seven thousand pounds, a calculation we certainly conceive, overrated. Without wishing, therefore, to make our estimate on such an exaggerated scale, suppose we average her gains at four thousand pounds per annum, which is certainly speaking within compass, when all the fascinations and novelty of the zenith of her powers be taken into consideration,—the result at the end of twenty-five years, would be a gross amount of one hundred thousand pounds, which added to her previous fortune, made a total of one hundred and forty thousand pounds.

During her long continuance with the Duke of Clarence, it is but natural to conjecture that house-rent, the expenditure of the table, &c. were not at her charge, consequently, she had only to find her private wardrobe and theatrical dresses, which taken at the most extravagant rate, could make a very trifling, inroad upon an annual income of seven thousand pounds, the interest of the capital above mentioned.

However, we now find Mrs. Jordan anxious to make a provision for her three daughters, to effect which, she settles upon each ten thousand pounds, being a reduction of thirty thousand pounds from the fortune she had acquired, when there still remained one hundred and ten thousand pounds,—a statement, we believe, not to be refuted by the ablest calculator existing. We shall, in the sequel, have occasion to speak of a bond executed in favour of a valued relative, together with acceptances given in blank to the same party, for which she was in dread of legal pursuit; but to what amount were those claims?—why *two thousand pounds*, which would have been a very trifling diminution from the £110,000. of which by right she

ought to have been possessed, yet notwithstanding this, we find her compelled to sacrifice property of every description, and fly for refuge to the continent for the comparative trifling amount of *two thousand pounds*.

'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in our philosophy.'

At the period when Mrs. Jordan's daughters were disposed of in marriage, it was currently reported that a quarrel had taken place between that lady and her illustrious protector, for which various causes were assigned; and at the same juncture another exposure took place in regard to an elevated personage and his notorious mistress, Mary Anne Clarke.

Had we any desire to interlard our pages with anecdotic matter relating to this last mentioned transaction, we might insert materials as multifarious and diversified as they would prove in opposition to correct morals and common decency. These were derived from an intimacy with Colonel Wardle, M. P. of so much celebrity at the time, by whom we were informed that the royal inamorato now deceased, used to relate to his mistress, all the secrets of an exalted progeny, not forgetting those of his own parents, the whole condensing a body of materials calculated to form a record of iniquities, crimes, and fooleries that might afford excellent scope for a modern Gay to found a new opera, under the title of *Royal Knaveries*.

An impenetrable mystery hangs over the circumstances of Mrs. Jordan's separation from the Duke of Clarence, but at all events it was on her part wholly unexpected, nor have the circumstances which rendered this step necessary on the Duke's part, as far as we are aware, been explained.

Mrs. Jordan now returned to the stage, but in the following year went to France, in consequence of the state of her finances. She took up her residence first at Boulogne, and thence, "after paying her *louage* like a goddess," she proceeded to Versailles, and subsequently, in still greater secrecy, to St.

Cloud. There totally secluded, and under the name of Johnson, she awaited, in still growing anxiety, the completion of an adjustment, which never took place. It was unfortunate, with the sincere regard for Mrs. Jordan, that Sir Jonah Barrington undoubtedly bore, that this ill-starred seclusion was so strict, that she seems to have lain like a culprit, expecting the officers of justice, though in personal safety. Had she gone abroad, the worthy knight must have met her; had she retained her own name, he must have heard of her. As an able advocate, indeed a Learned Judge, a gentleman and attached friend, he would soon have reduced her anxieties within more reasonable bounds, and by fortifying her mind, have considerably lightened her bodily complaint. Her disorder was jaundice, called by the French, *la maladie noire*. Exercise was vital in such a case. Every thing should have been cheerful around her. On the contrary, her very habitation at St. Cloud was a disease. Let us read the diagnostics, as stated by Sir Jonah. "The apartments she occupied at St. Cloud, were in a house in the square adjoining the palace. The house was large, gloomy, cold, and inconvenient, just the sort of place which would tell in description in romance. In fact, it looked to me almost in a state of dilapidation. I could not, I am sure, wander over it at night without a superstitious feeling. The rooms were numerous, but small; the furniture scanty, old, and tattered. The hotel had obviously once belonged to some nobleman, and a long, lofty, flagged gallery stretched from one wing of it to the other. Mrs. Jordan's chambers were shabby; no English comforts solaced her in her latter moments! In her little drawing-room, a small old sofa was the best looking piece of furniture. On this she constantly reclined, and on this she died. The garden in her time, was overgrown with weeds, and two melancholy cypress trees pointed, and almost confined her reflections to the grave." In its improved state, seen in a cheerful day, with an English family residing in one of its wings, and the garden cultivated, the learned writer adds that "were the mansion presented to him on the condition, he would not reside in it one month." We should like to know

who chose such a situation for Mrs. Jordan? Why near a royal palace at all? Was it to remind her of Bushy, and the society and the comforts she had enjoyed for TWENTY YEARS? Did it suit the "gloomy habit of her soul?" It should not have been indulged. Was her languishing frame to be hidden in a sepulchre, to preserve her person from her creditors? She had none so remorseless, as deserted and stately seats of nobles passed away; grass-grown in the walks of former happiness and health; the long bleak gallery that opened to her from the sofa, and the beckoning cypresses that allured her, and closed the prospect in this world upon her.

The master of the house a Mr. C—— (why his name is thus guarded, we know not: we asked it ourselves in *another* quarter, and an answer was cautiously *declined*)—the master of the house gave to Sir Jonah an account of her last moments. He, too, with the *nommee*, Madame Du Camp, thought her poor, and offered her the use of money. This was of course declined, for it was not needed. Her seeming penury of circumstances was perfectly irreconcilable with the superb diamond ring she constantly wore. To his feeling she must have resembled some crazed representative of the ancient noblesse of his country, in poverty and exile; who had preserved the costly bauble of former splendour, and "saved only that:" who would part with the hand itself sooner than what adorned it; and was contented to perish, so that she bore the symbol of departed greatness, useless to the grave. Mrs. Jordan herself gave four hundred guineas for this superb ring. We could not have suspected so much weakness. She, it appears had other valuable trinkets in her possession at St. Cloud. From her arrival, she had always appeared in restless anxiety for news from England; her uneasiness increased hourly upon her, and latterly her skin became wholly discoloured. From morning till night she lay sighing upon her sofa. At length an interval of some posts elapsed, during which she received no answers to her letters; and her consequent anxiety seemed too great for mortal strength to bear

up against. On the morning of her death, this impatient feeling reached its crisis. The words used now by Mr. C——, become of the greatest value. "The agitation was almost fearful: her eyes were now restless, now fixed; her motion rapid and unmeaning; and her whole manner seemed to bespeak the attack of some convulsive paroxysm." She eagerly requested Mr. C—— to go for her letters, before the usual hour of delivery. On his return, she started up and held out her hand, as if impatient to receive them. He told her, "there were none." "She stood a moment motionless; looked towards him with a vacant stare; held out her hand again, as if by an involuntary action; instantly withdrew it, and sank back upon the sofa from which she had arisen. Mr. C—— now left the room to send up her attendant, but she had gone out; he, therefore, himself returned to Mrs. Jordan. On approaching her he, observed some change in her looks that alarmed him. She spoke not a word, but gazed at him steadfastly. She wept not—no tear flowed. Her face was one moment flushed, another livid. She sighed deeply, and her heart seemed bursting. Mr. C—— stood uncertain what to do; but in a minute, he heard her breath drawn more hardly, and as it were sobbingly. He was now thoroughly terrified; he hastily approached the sofa, and, leaning over the unfortunate lady, discovered that those deep-drawn sobs had immediately preceded the moment of Mrs. Jordan's dissolution. She was already no more!" Nothing is said of the attendant, how soon or how late she returned. Nothing is said of any resort to the FACULTY, as is common in such cases, that after trying the usual resources of their art in convulsive spasm, they might ultimately pronounce the actual extinction of life. Mr. C—— was satisfied that she was no more; and after all, Mrs. Jordan, it seems, was really NOT DEAD. Towards the latter end of June, a letter was received, written by Mrs. Jordan's companion to one of her daughters, informing her that "after a few days illness, that lady had died at St. Cloud." At the same time, the death was announced in some of the morning journals. Mr. Barton says, that she

died in the month of June. Her daughter was dreadfully shocked, as may be supposed, at the intelligence; at the time it arrived, a month had not elapsed since her own accouchement. Three days after the first tidings, a second letter was received, from the same writer, saying that "she had been deceived by Mrs. Jordan's appearance; that she was alive, but very ill." Immediate preparations were now made for this daughter's going to her mother; but before they could be completed, a third letter arrived, announcing that "Mrs. Jordan was really dead." General Hawker himself then went to Paris, to ascertain the fact, and we believe arrived there about three days after the interment had taken place.

Oh, where were the yearnings of filial affection,—where the manly sympathy of the dutiful son,—where the tender commiseration of the sensitive daughter? At such a season even the paternal command should have been spurned with indignation, and the base thirst of lucre resulting from exalted patronage been rendered subservient to a mother's wants and anguish. Well, indeed, might Thalia have exclaimed in the emphatic language of the heart-broken Lear,—

‘How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is,
To have a thankless child.’

Go, and adorn yourselves in the tinsel gew-gaws of fashion,—go, and indulge your pampered appetites at the ample board, and wallow on the couch of luxury,—we envy not your glittering guise, we covet not your splendid banqueting, nor seek to share your down beds of voluptuousness; poverty with a light heart and approving conscience is to us more acceptable than splendour purchased at such a price.

We cannot refrain from remarking on this occasion, that any father ranks a despicable being, who only controls the affections of his offspring in proportion to the necessity they experience of ensuring his support and patronage; a parent should be respected on account of his virtues, and rendered estimable in the eyes of his children by the goodness and rectitude of his heart.

It is impossible that we can stand acquitted of the obligations due to a mother, and it is one of the greatest reproaches wherewith human nature is burdened; that in respect to tenderness, the maternal instinct far surpasses that, wherewith the child is imbued. Benefits received are less powerful incentives to gratitude and love than those accorded, and the care bestowed renders the child dearer to the mother than the parent to her offspring.

A child who exposes life to preserve that of a mother only performs what is in strict accordance with justice—his duty is to serve her at all times and under every circumstance. Notwithstanding this, we incessantly find sons and daughters neglecting the authors of their being when they have attained a certain age; they blush to keep them company or even acknowledge them. They consign them to banishment or oblivion without a sigh, and leave to a sordid menial, the care of providing for their necessities. Children thus conducting themselves should be regarded as monsters, and deserve to be held in execration by every member of civilized society.

Of such an imperative nature are the duties of children towards their parents, that they rank next to the awe, veneration, and love due to the Divinity himself. Upon this head, however, independent of the Fifth Commandment, let us consult the page of Holy writ, and adduce proof among the numerous instances therein recorded, and we shall find what anathemas await on the undutifulness of children

'The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it.'—Prov. c. 30. v. 17.

Can there be anything more energetic than the above language, or more explanatory of a sentiment instilled by the Most High? It is no palliative to state that the nuptial rites were never solemnized between our parents. Nature has instilled a sacred sentiment in the human heart, and those who refuse to listen to her calls, have severed the great bond implanted by Omnipotence.

Mrs. Jordan having died intestate, after her effects had been administered to in the usual form, the King's solicitor collected the same, *ex officio*. Letters of Administration were then taken out at Doctor's Commons, on the 24th of May, 1817, the amount of assets being sworn under £300. Seven years subsequently to that date, a partial settlement of the affairs of the deceased took place with her creditors, though an advertisement had appeared on the 8th of December, 1823, running as follows :—

‘DOROTHEA JORDAN, DECEASED.—The Creditors of Dorothea Jordan, late of Englefield Green, and Cadogan Place, Sloane Street, in the county of Middlesex, *Spinster*, deceased, who have proved their debts, may receive a dividend of five shillings in the pound, by applying at the office of the Solicitor to the Treasury, No. 5, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn. And those Creditors who have not yet proved their debts, are requested forthwith to furnish the Solicitor of the Treasury with proof thereof.’

In consequence of the above announcement, which seemed to infer that the payment was tendered by way of a composition with the creditors of Mrs. Jordan, various attacks were made upon the Duke of Clarence, from which we select the following,—paragraphs which appeared in the daily papers.

“MRS. JORDAN,—TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEWS.

“SIR,—

“I observed a few days ago, (and with sentiments of great indignation,) an advertisement in the daily papers, announcing a dividend of five shillings in the pound as now in course of payment to the *bona fide* creditors of the late Mrs. Dorothea Jordan, formerly of Cadogan Terrace, and last of St. Cloud, in France.

“To those, sir, who have witnessed, as I have often, the honourable and liberal feelings of this lamented lady, in pecuniary matters, the generosity and self-denial with which she permitted her theatrical salary to be taken weekly, and devoted to expenses of a domestic nature, which expenses in any

similar case would have been defrayed from other funds,—it must prove a source of much pain to see her name held up to the world as that of an Insolvent who had lived beyond her income, and defrauded the honest tradesman of his just due. I am persuaded that there are enough of her admirers still living, who by a public subscription would have rescued her memory from this degrading, but undeserved reproach. Though poor, my mite should cheerfully have been contributed to such a purpose, and hundreds there are I am assured, who would have been eager to have done the same. If strangers to her domestic hospitality, and persons who never partook of her bounty, so feel, what—may I be allowed to ask—must have been the sensations of her high-bred children, when they saw their noble minded parent thus held forth to public animadversion !!

“To have been spared their feelings, had I, Mr. Editor, possessed no other resources, the privations of nature should have furnished the means to have rescued a beloved mother’s name from such foul and unmerited obloquy.

“I am, sir,

“AN ADMIRER OF FILIAL PIETY.”

“MRS. JORDAN.

“*To the Editor of the Morning Herald,*

“Sir,

“I am a plain matter-of-fact man, a tradesman, and steer as clear as I can of all party. The late Mrs. Jordan contracted a debt with our house eighteen years since, for which I could never get satisfaction. Lately I was informed of an advertisement calling upon all creditors of the late Mrs. Jordan to come to the Solicitor of the Treasury, and receive five shillings in the pound, and those who had not proved their debts, to come in and prove them. I was one of the latter, and went accordingly with a copy of my account, when to my surprise, and I may say indignation, I was informed the account had been too long standing, and I would not be allowed

to prove. If every long standing account were thus rejected at the *ipse dixit* of the Solicitor, then I consider the advertisement a humbug ; and as there are possibly more creditors than myself, who have felt the same disappointment, I shall feel obliged by your giving this statement to the public in any other way you may think proper, than in the hasty way I have penned this, under the signature of

“ A CREDITOR.”

In order to repel the various aspersions fulminated against the Duke of Clarence, some friend of the aspersed issued the ensuing statement. These reiterated attacks, however, not having been refuted by authority, were generally credited ;—in consequence of which appeals were made, calling upon the confidential friends and advisers of his Royal Highness to repel such assertions, and vindicate his character, which ultimately produced the letter from Mr. Barton, which will be found in the sequel of our Memoir.

“ MRS. JORDAN.

“ Sunday, Jan. 4, 1824.

“ A paragraph is now in progress through the newspapers, stating that the debts of this lamented and interesting lady, have been compounded for five shillings in the pound, which is now in course of payment—this statement is not correct : Mrs. Jordan died intestate in France ; the consequence of which is, her property rests in the crown, and it has become the duty of the King’s Solicitor to collect her effects, and apply them in the first instance to the payment of her debts. He has done this, and announced a payment to the extent stated. This is the fact, but it is not a composition of the lady’s debts, the same course would be adopted in the case of any other British subject dying abroad intestate ; but perhaps it would not have been necessary to notice the misrepresentation, were it not for the use to which it is applied by some of the public prints, in

which it is made the ground of a bitter invective against a royal personage, formerly connected with that interesting female, by many dear and intimate ties. Nothing can be more unfounded than the charge in which it is stated that she was left totally unprovided—to pine and die in want in a foreign land. Mrs. Jordan enjoyed an income of 2000*l.* a year settled upon her by the royal duke. It was paid quarterly at Coutts' bank, in the Strand, and the last quarter, which did not become due until after death, was received by a lady, formerly a governess at Bushy, and afterwards resident with her as a companion in France, who came over to London for the purpose. But the report of the abandonment and destitution of Mrs. Jordan is not new, it has been so long and frequently reported, and suffered to pass without contradiction, it is now received as truth in every circle. That it has not been noticed by some of the friends of the royal personage aspersed, may excite surprise. We feel it our duty, however, to expose the misrepresentation, without regard to the wishes of the friends of his Royal Highness. The exposure is due to the cause of truth, it is due to the country which has an interest in the character of the illustrious individual so near the throne, which could not belong to the case of a subject, however important, of inferior rank."

As this document did not appear conclusive nor tend to allay the indignant feelings excited in the public mind, Mr. Barton, of the Royal Mint undertook to espouse the cause of his illustrious employer, accompanying the same with such epistolatory communications from Mrs. Jordan, as he conceived necessary to elucidate the point in question, all of which we now beg to lay before our readers.

"THE LATE MRS. JORDAN.—TO THE EDITOR.

"SIR,

"The attention of the public has lately, as it has many times before, been drawn by notices in the daily papers to the

case of the late Mrs. Jordan, and much pains have been taken to stigmatize the conduct of an illustrious personage, as relates to that celebrated and much esteemed favourite of the public. These censures upon the conduct of the Duke of Clarence, have been often repeated, and as often treated with silence upon the part of his Royal Highness' friends. This silence has, however, been constrained by many into an admission of the accusations, till at length the stories so often told of Mrs. Jordan having been obliged to leave her country and fly to a neighbouring kingdom, where it is said she died insolvent for want of a trifling allowance being made her by the Duke, are assumed as facts.

"It has gone on thus until some persons have exclaimed: 'Has the Duke of Clarence no friend, who, if the accusations are groundless, can rescue the character of his Royal Highness from such gross calumny? All who knew the Duke or his connections intimately, are acquainted with the truth; but none being so fully possessed of the whole case as myself, I feel that any further forbearance would amount to a dereliction of duty on my part, and, therefore, in justice to a much injured character, I take upon myself to submit the following statement to the public, acquainting them in the first place, that it was through my hands the whole transaction, upon the separation, of the Duke and Mrs. Jordan, passed; that it was at my suggestion, Mrs. Jordan adopted the resolution of leaving this country for France, to enable her the more readily and honourably to extricate herself from the trouble into which she had fallen through a misplaced confidence; and that I possess a correspondence with Mrs. Jordan, subsequently to her leaving England, which corroborates my statement in the minutest points.

"Upon the separation, which took place between Mrs. Jordan and the Duke, in the year 1811, it was agreed that she should have the care, until a certain age, of her four youngest daughters, a settlement was made by the Duke for the payment by him of the following amounts:—

" For the maintenance of his four daughters	-	£1,500
" For a house and carriage for their use	-	600
" For Mrs. Jordan's own use	- - -	1,500
" And to enable Mrs. Jordan to make a provision for her married daughters, children of a former connexion	- - - -	800

" In all, £4,400

This settlement was carried into effect, a trustee was appointed, and the monies under such trust were paid quarterly to the respective accounts, at the banking-house of Messrs. Coutts, and Co.

It was a stipulation in the said settlement, that in the event of Mrs. Jordan resuming her profession, the care of the duke's four daughters, together with the £1,500 per annum, for their maintenance should revert to his Royal Highness; and this event actually did take place in the course of a few months, in consequence of Mrs. Jordan's desire to accept certain proposals made to her to perform.

Mrs. Jordan did resume her profession, and not long after reflections were thrown out against both the duke and herself, whereupon Mrs. Jordan, indignant at such an attack upon his Royal Highness, wrote the following letter which was published in the papers of the day.

" Sir,

" Though I did not see the morning print that contained the paragraph alluded to in your liberal and respectable paper of yesterday, yet I was not long left in ignorance of the abuses poured out against me; this I could silently have submitted to, but I was by no means aware, that the writer of it had taken the opportunity of throwing out insinuations which he thought might be injurious to a no less honourable, than illustrious personage.

" In the love of truth and justice to his Royal Highness, I think it my duty publicly, and unequivocally to declare, that

his liberality towards me, has been noble and generous in the *highest degree*; but not having it in his power to extend his bounty beyond the term of his own existence, he has with his accustomed goodness, and consideration, allowed me to endeavour to make that provision for myself, which an event that better feelings than those of *interest* make me hope I shall never live to see, would entirely deprive me of.

"This then, sir, is my motive of returning to my profession. I am too happy in having every reason to hope and believe that under these circumstances, I shall not offend the public at *large* by seeking their support and *protection*, and while I feel I possess those, I shall patiently submit to that species of unmanly persecution which a female, so particularly situated, must always be subject to. Ever ready to acknowledge my deficiencies in every respect, I trust I may add I shall never be found wanting in candour and gratitude—nor forgetful of the care that every individual should feel for the good opinion of the public,

"I am, sir,

Your much obliged humble servant,

"DORA JORDAN."

It should have been before stated, that upon settling the annual allowance to Mrs. Jordan, every thing in the shape of a money transaction was brought to account, and that the most trifling sums even upon recollection were admitted, and interest being calculated upon the whole in her favour to the latest period, the balance was paid over by me on the part of the Duke, and for which I hold Mrs. Jordan's receipt. It was also to be understood that up to the day of their separation, Mrs. Jordan had received a large annual allowance from his Royal Highness.

"A cessation of correspondence between Mrs. Jordan and myself ensued until September 1813, when I most unexpectedly received a note from her, requesting to see me immediately. I found her in tears and under such embarrassment

from a circumstance that had burst upon her, as she said like a thunder storm ! She found herself involved to a considerable amount by securities which all at once appeared against her in the form of bonds and promissory notes, given incautiously by herself to relieve as she thought, from trifling difficulties, *a near relation, in whom she had placed the greatest confidence.*

"Acceptances had been given by her in *blank* upon stamped paper, which she supposed were for small amounts, but which afterwards appear to have been laid before her capable of carrying larger sums.

"She was fearful of immediate arrest ; she wished to treat all her claimants most fairly and honourably, and to save if possible, the wife and children of the person, who had so deceived her, from utter ruin. She could not enter into negotiations with her creditors unless at large, and apprehending that if she remained in England, that would not long be the case, she instantly adopted the resolution before mentioned of going to France.

"A list of creditors was made out, and an arrangement was in progress to enable her to return to this country. All she required to set her mind at ease on the extent of the demands that might be made out against her, was that the person who had plunged her into all these difficulties should declare upon oath, that the list he had given her included the whole. This the party from time to time refused to do, and disappointed thus in the hope she had so fondly cherished of again returning to this country, and seeing those children, for whom she had the most tender affection, she sunk under the weight of her afflictions, and in the month of June, 1816, died at St. Cloud.*

"In support of the foregoing narrative, the writer has the most incontestible evidence ; but he trusts nothing can be more satisfactory or convincing, to the public than the following extract from a letter, addressed by Mrs. Jordan, dated at Paris, 18th of January, 1816.

* No ; she died on the 3d of July.

"SIR,

"I have forborne writing to you, that I might occupy as little of your time as possible; my spirits are in so disturbed a state that my weak hand is scarcely able to brace the still more feeble efforts of my mind. * * * * He assures you that I am in possession of the names of my creditors, to whom he has made me answerable by filling up those blank acceptances that I so unguardedly gave him, and *yet declines* making an oath to that *purpose*; this has caused me much uneasiness, for it appears to me *vague*, if not *equivocal*.

"I can solemnly declare that the names I sent you, are are the only ones I know of, and the greatest part utter strangers to me.

"I was in hopes that not only out of humanity and justice to me, but for his own sake he would have done it voluntarily, as it would have been the means of removing in a great degree, the unpleasant impressions such a determination might cause in the minds of those, who still remain anxious for his future well doing. I do not command or enforce it, but *entreat* it as the only relief he can give to a being he has almost destroyed. * * * * What interpretation can be put on his refusal?—If he says he will not take the oath, it is cruel; and if he add that he cannot, what is to become of me? Is it in nature possible for me to return to an uncertain home with all the horrors I have suffered there fresh on my mind,—with the constant dread of what may be hovering over me? I really think (under these circumstances,) that when my presence would be absolutely necessary, that it would not remain in *my own power* to be able to encounter such misery. It is not, believe me, the feelings of *pride* or *avarice*, or the absence of *those comforts* I have all my life been accustomed to, that is killing me by inches;—it is the loss of my only remaining comfort, *the hope I used to live on from time to time of seeing my children*. The above assertion I can convince the world of, if driven to it, by leaving the bond (all I have,) to the creditors, and the Duke's generous allowance to the decision of law.

It is now, and ever has been my wish to save * * * *

for even now, I feel a regard for him I cannot conquer; but surely I may expect some return of gratitude from a man, who by a single act could relieve those fears that are nearly insupportable. The idea is shocking.—Excuse this long letter, but I am sure you will see and feel the motives and the urgency.

“Once more, dear Sir, forgive and excuse,

“Yours,

“DORA JORDAN.”

“With the death of Mrs. Jordan, ceased the allowance, which by His Royal Highness’ means she was enabled to make of £200. a year to each of her three married daughters. Surely then, no blame can attach to the Duke of Clarence, whose liberality in order to enable Mrs. Jordan to make a suitable provision for them in the event of her death, has been acknowledged by her, and shows him most noble and generous in the highest degree.

“All sorts of means were resorted to by one of the parties (now no more,) to compel a continuance of these allowances. The Duke did not chuse to be driven in this respect, but when the importunity from inefficacy of threats had died away, His Royal Highness of his own generous accord, did give to each, his kind assistance, and I am to this day paying, and as long as it shall be his Royal Highness’ pleasure, shall continue to pay annual gratuities to the two surviving daughters.

“Who, after this statement of facts, shall accuse the Duke of Clarence with want of generosity towards Mrs. Jordan or her memory?

“The administration of the effects of Mrs. Jordan by the Solicitor of the Treasury, was *ex officio*, and the advertisement which appeared in the papers, and which has called forth this last attack, was put in regular discharge of his administration.

“I must conclude with one assurance, that after having given a true, and I trust a candid recital of facts, I shall treat with contempt anything further that may be said on this

subject; resting satisfied, if after an attachment of six-and-thirty years service to a good and generous master, I shall have added anything to his comfort in convincing a single individual of the injustice he has sustained.

“I am, sir, &c. &c.

“JOHN BARTON.”

“Royal Mint, January. 21st, 1824.

Four days after the appearance of the foregoing letter, the following strictures were inserted in one of the daily papers, which we conceive in every respect applicable to the subject. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our astonishment that the queries proposed by this writer did not elicit some reply from Mr. Barton, unless indeed that gentleman was incapacitated from satisfactorily vindicating the character of his noble employer.

“THE LATE MRS. JORDAN.”

“A gentleman who signs himself JOHN BARTON, “Royal Mint,” has volunteered in the “Morning Herald,” of yesterday, a defence of the Duke of Clarence, as to his conduct towards Mrs. Jordan. This defence is supposed to be called for by some remarks which have lately appeared in the journals, touching an advertised dividend of five shillings in the pound, now in progress of payment to the creditors of that lady. Some of these remarks have appeared in the “News,” but in our opinion, they did not apply exclusively, if at all, to the Duke.—Others might safely have appropriated to themselves a large share of them. Be this as it may, we proceed to Mr. Barton’s vindication of His Royal Highness.

“After premising that he (Mr. Barton) was the medium, or go-between of the separation of the Duke and Mrs. Jordan; he says:—

“Upon the separation which took place between Mrs. Jordan and the Duke, in the year 1811, it was agreed that

she should have the care, until a certain age, of her four youngest daughters, and a settlement was made by the Duke for the payment, by him, of the following amounts :—

“ For the maintenance of his four daughters	-	£1,500
“ For a house and carriage for their use	-	600
“ For Mrs. Jordan’s own use	- -	1,500
“ And to enable Mrs. Jordan to make a provision for her married daughters, children of a former connection	- - - -	800
<hr/>		
“ In all,		£4,400
<hr/>		

“ This settlement was carried into effect, a trustee was appointed, and the monies under such trust were paid quarterly to the respective accounts, at the banking-house of Messrs. Coutts and Co.

Now if Mr. Barton had confined his laud of the Duke to the performance of a mere act of justice, we might have joined him in his praise ; but when he talks of liberality and generosity, we become inclined to examine the matter a little more closely. We would ask of this vindicator, how much of the latter sums was the Duke compelled to pay to Mrs. Jordan, pursuant to articles signed at the commencement of his connexion with her, and in the event of a separation arising from his wish ?— Mr. Barton must know the terms on which Mrs. Jordan consented to abandon her former “ friend,” and live with his Royal Highness. Let him give those terms to the public, and it will quickly be seen whether one shilling more than the strict letter of the law demanded, was conceded on the occasion alluded to. The allowance for the maintenance of her four young ladies, stands on similar grounds, as to liberality and generosity, as the sums we have already discussed. It did not suffice, as the young ladies were required to be educated and maintained, and even Mr. Barton is compelled to admit this, accordingly to what follows.

"It was a stipulation in the said settlements, that in the event of Mrs. Jordan's resuming her profession, the care of the Duke's four daughters, together with the 1500*l.* per annum for their maintenance, should revert to his Royal Highness, and this event actually did take place in the course of a few months, in consequence of Mrs. Jordan's desire to accept certain proposals made to her to perform."

We now proceed to the cause of Mrs. Jordan's leaving England, which Mr. Barton states as follows :—

"A cessation of correspondence between Mrs. Jordan and myself ensued until September, 1815, when I most unexpectedly received a note from her, requesting to see me immediately. I found her in tears, and under much embarrassment from a circumstance that had burst upon her, as she said, like a thunder-storm. She found herself involved to a considerable amount by securities which all at once appeared against her in the form of bonds and promisory notes, given incautiously by herself to relieve, as she thought, from trifling difficulties a near relation in whom she had placed the greatest confidence.

"Acceptances had been given by her in blank, upon stamped paper, which she supposed were for small amounts, but which afterwards appear to have been laid before her, capable of carrying larger sums.

"She was fearful of immediate arrest—she wished to treat all her claimants most fairly and honourably, and to save if possible, the wife and children of the person who had so deceived her from utter ruin. She could not enter into negotiations with her creditors, unless at large; and apprehending that if she remained in England, that would not long be the case, she instantly adopted the resolution before mentioned of going to France.

* If this poor lady was thus compelled to abandon her country, and fly as it were from the face of her creditors, what, we would ask, had become of the many thousands she had for a length of years been in the habit of receiving as the produce of a long and well merited theatrical course of success? It is well known her receipts from the theatres were all supplied to the support of her

“A list of creditors was made out, and an arrangement was in progress to enable her to return to this country. All she required to set her mind at ease on the extent of the demands that might be made out against her, was that the person who had plunged her into all these difficulties should declare upon oath that the list he had given her included the whole. This the party from time to time refused to do; and disappointed thus in the hope she had so fondly cherished of again returning to this country, and seeing those children for whom she had the most tender affection, she sunk under the weight of her afflictions, and in the month of June, 1816, died at St. Cloud.”

We shall make no comment on this *ex-parte* statement, parts of which, considering Mrs. Jordan's long acquaintance with the world, appears almost incredible, but at once proceed to the cause which has occasioned its publication. And here we must say that our opinion as to the unseemliness of the *immediate connexions* of Mrs. Jordan allowing the payment of a dividend on her debts to go forth to the world, remains unchanged.

We must here be understood as looking to the situation in life of those persons, and to the rank they fill, and are likely to fill in society. Is it fitting that in the same newspaper we should read of visits paid to Royalty at Brighton, and of dividends of so much in the pound on a mother's debts? The late Mrs. Jordan's creditors may, we admit, be for the most part composed of persons in possession of bills, originating in the blank acceptances alluded to by Mr. Barton,—but is he prepared to assert that when Mrs. Jordan left England, all her common and daily tradesmen were paid?—Besides, the bills were received by the other creditors on the faith of Mrs. Jordan's name, and are entitled to consideration equal with the rest of the claims.

children and the maintenance of a household of which she at that time formed a part. If liberality and generosity had been the order of the day, every shilling of this money should have been invested in trustees for her sole use and disposal. Would she then have had cause to fly her native soil?

On the whole, when we consider with what little difficulty we might satisfy creditors placed in similar circumstances to those of Mrs. Jordan—how ready they must be to make the conditions of payment of her debts easy and accomodating to those who would generously, because voluntarily, propose to pay them ;—we do think it lacks of common sensibility, putting out of the question filial duty, and a due regard to a mother's memory, to allow her to appear before the public in the light of an insolvent debtor !*

We now present a curious document issued by an unknown writer, and after considering the general tenour of Mr. Boaden's remarks on a certain character, we must confess that we feel no little astonishment that it should have found insertion in his biography of Mrs. Jordan. Our own comments upon this paper will close the labour we have undertaken.

“ MRS. JORDAN.

“ To John Barton, Esq., six-and-thirty years servant to His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence.

“ SIR,

“ As I have doubt that the paper appearing in the morning prints, with your signature, was intended to become part and portion of the public record, I will offer no apology for troubling you with this letter.—As a state document, put into wide circulation to explain away the charges which have been perferred against one of the blood-royal, between whom and

* “ In further proof of the *liberality and generosity* of the Duke of Clarence towards Mrs. Jordan, Mr. Barton quotes a circular letter, which was some years ago addressed by her to the different London journals, in which, in allusion to reports then in circulation of the Duke's treatment of her, she says :—

“ In love of truth, and justice to his Royal Highness, I think it my duty thus publicly and unequivocally to declare that his liberality to me has been noble and generous in the *highest degree*.”

We are not all disposed to lessen the consideration of any act of kindness from the Duke to Mrs. Jordan, prior to her leaving the kingdom ; but it should be borne in mind that Mrs. Jordan was a *mother*, and as such, ever inclined to spare

the throne of these realms there is but one slender life,—towards a lonely, yet ill-fated creature, it is deserving of respect; and as an answer to some remarks introduced in a former number of this paper, it is entitled to some observations. Yet anxious as I most truly am, that the character of your amiable and illustrious master should come forth pure and unalloyed from the ordeal of criticism, and that you yourself after an attachment of six-and-thirty years, to a good and generous master, should be the happy instrument of contributing to this end, I must be excused from going along with all the conclusions contained in your address. I am inclined, in the first place to think, though the opinion of the world be against me, that the long and continued connexion which subsisted between your illustrious master and Mrs. Jordan, was in the eyes of morality equivalent to a marriage, and as such it was registered in heaven.'

"It is true that the Royal marriage act, the policy of which may well be doubted, does certainly bar the house of Brunswick from allying any of its princely members even, to the highest, dame in the country; and that far less could a young, beautiful, and accomplished female commoner ever aspire to be lighted to the bridal chamber by the torch of Hymen;—still the interchange of affection—the communication of interests—the sharing of the honours of the table and bed—the birth of children—are acts and circumstances which can be but feebly supported by the mere formal nuptial tie.

"It is not the pronouncing of a few set phrases, no, nor the conformity to a legal and outward mark of intention, that can beget so undue and dreary a vacuum in the intercourse of the sexes. Man clings to woman—his feelings and his wants attach him to her; and woman, fond, relying woman, leaves the guardian of her youth, and the sworn protector of her ripper years, for him who captivated her heart, and holds out the hand of welcome and protection. To Mrs. Jordan this hand was the father of her children from feeling that, which might have embittered him against his offspring.

freely extended, and many, many were the years during which she lay in the bosom of your illustrious master. But, tis truly said,—

“Affection changes as the mood inclines.”

“The domestic comforts began to wax cold, and a separation took place. What advice should you have offered to your master?—Ought you not to have dissuaded him, by kindling the sparks of half-buried love, from allowing a creature shorn of her attractions, and worn down by cares and toils in his services, again to offer herself before the public?—You will answer that ample provisions were made to avert this necessity. These, indeed, look fair upon paper, but what are the conditions with which they were clogged?—If Mrs. Jordan were to return to the stage, 2,200*l.* were to be struck off for her daughters portions and equipages; and she was to shun their society.

“Does a mother love to be torn from her offspring? Distracted between the two alternatives—either to lose their company, or to give up the hope of earning a livelihood for the children of Mrs. Jordan, and of securing some independence, should His Grace be called to his audit;—she at length preferred the latter course. One thousand five hundred pounds, therefore, became her sole independence; but scarcely had she begun her career, than this sum was snatched from her by an unfortunate guarantee—she was therefore destitute.

“With your approbation she fled to France, and there lived in want and misery. Your amiable and illustrious master was not ignorant of her embarrassments; yet they were unheeded. How they affected her, the letter she wrote from St. Cloud is too melancholy an evidence:—

“My weak hand,” says she, “is scarcely able to trace the still more feeble efforts of my mind.”

“It is well known she sunk under the pressure of her situation,—foreigners supplied her with rags to cover her squalid and emaciated frame, and the benevolence of foreigners was taxed to lay her ashes in the tomb.—Why do not you, sir communicate these circumstances to your master?—Why did

you not say that the annuity was a sealed book—that she was wretched and forlorn in a foreign land? Had your amiable and illustrious master heard this tale of woe, he must have flown to her relief—*repaid the large sums which he had drawn from her theatrical talents*; or at least taken some steps to withdraw the arrest upon her annuity. Surely you must have known that a slanderous world would have interpreted *your* apathy into the apathy of your patron; and that there was risk, however pure and spotless the House of Brunswick is, of a shadow passing across the lustre of one of its brightest ornaments. And busy tongues, too, might have said that the bond had a careful provision, by which *legal* or voluntarily assignees were to annul its efficacy, and that the prospect of these had swayed the noble-hearted and munificent grantee in amplifying its contents.

“Unjustifiable and malicious as these allusions were, the credulous public might have given them ear, and it was your duty to have prevented them. You are not entitled, in exculpation, to plead the profuse allowance of two hundred pounds sterling afterwards granted to Mrs. Jordan’s daughters. Is it any excuse to an ungrateful country that monuments are reared and pæans are sung to one whose lamp had expired for want of the oil of subsistence?”

“The Athenians honoured their Socrates *after* compelling him to drink the hemlock juice.

“But I have said enough to show the tender anxiety I feel for the character and conduct of your amiable and illustrious master; and how sincerely I wish that his manifold virtues should shine as conspicuously as his rank.

“Yours,
“HUMANUS.”

In the foregoing reply to Mr. Barton’s explanation respecting the conduct of his Royal master, we certainly have a document of more sterling value than all the letters and statements previously given. From the commencement of Mrs Jordan’s pecuniary embarrassments to their termination,

the two prominent circumstances to be remarked are; the strenuous attempts of the Duke's friends to substantiate that Mrs. Jordan was never reduced to want, on the one hand,—and the assertions on the other, that prior to dissolution she was in a state of complete exigency, the latter of which opinions we certainly cherish.

As to the connection that had subsisted between the unfortunate lady and the personage adverted to, after twenty years of cohabitation, and the having borne him such a progeny, we conceive with Humanus, that no nuptial ceremony could have rendered the tie more permanently binding to the parties in the face of Heaven; and in regard to the Royal Marriage Act, we have ever been led to regard it as one of the most unnecessary and cruel piece of state policy that have ever disgraced the statutes of the realm.

We must next advert to the ample settlement stated by Mr. Barton to have been made upon the lady who did not, however, think fit to publish *the particular clause contained in the deed*, which is so forcibly adverted to by the writer of the last document; namely, that in the event of Mrs. Jordan's return to her theatrical profession she was to forfeit in favour of her daughter's equipages, &c. £2000 a year, and also be deprived of the society of an offspring she adored. By thus stipulating, that in the event of having recourse to the stage, so serious a diminution of income would certainly accrue, she was necessarily compelled to relinquish all idea of providing for her offspring by Mr. Ford, through the medium of her own exertions, and thereby that portion of her family was to be left destitute. Well, indeed, might Humanus inquire of Mr. Barton why he did not advise his patron against the adoption of such a heartless and cold-blooded line of conduct.

When the income, however, became limited to 1500*l.* in consequence of Mrs. Jordan's noble resolution to sacrifice her own maternal feelings for the sake of providing for her portionless daughters, and that this latter sum became a dead letter, owing to pecuniary involvements for another, she fled to

France, in a state of destitution, when pursuing that desperate measure, she actually received the approbation of Mr. Barton, although he must have been well aware that penury would ensue. Yet although her necessities were cognizable to the Duke of Clarence and himself, they remained unattended to, notwithstanding the tenor of her letters afforded evident testimony of the agony of her mind.

We now come to the most pointed paragraph in this exposition ; namely, the point blank assertion, " That had his amiable and illustrious master heard this tale of woe, he must have flown to her relief—repaid the large sums which he had drawn from her theatrical talents ; or at least taken some steps to withdraw the arrest upon her annuity."

Throughout the foregoing pages, we have only dealt in queries upon the above topic, whereas Humanus makes the direct charge, which Mr. Barton never thought fit to contradict ; we therefore leave the reader to judge from what has been so frequently remarked in the progress of these pages respecting the disappearance of Mrs. Jordan's fortune, how it could have been expended, and if the statement of the above writer be correct, whether or not she received anything like an adequate remuneration for the immense sum, we have clearly proved were the result of a display of her long protracted and inimitable talents.

The character of the Duke of Clarence is so deeply implicated in the affairs of Mrs. Jordan, and especially in the latter days of that highly gifted and amiable woman, that every incident is worthy of being treasured up which can throw the least light upon the mystery, with which the conduct of his Royal Highness appears to be accompanied.

The advocates of his Royal Highness, have indeed attempted to extenuate his conduct, but there are documents unfortunately existing, which completely refute the statements which they sent forth, and which tend rather to mystify the matter, than exculpate the Duke from the charges which have been brought against him.

The following is one of those documents, and perhaps a more flimsy, inconclusive defence was never made for an

individual, who, considering the rank which he held in the country, and an affectionate intercourse of twenty years standing, and a numerous progeny the result of it, ought to have made him hesitate before he committed himself, so deeply in the estimation of the public, and laid himself open to some severe reprehension.

"In the autumn of 1813, Mrs. Jordan was called upon very unexpectedly, to redeem some securities given by her, for money raised to assist a near relative. The cause of this aid was the pressure of matters, purely of a domestic nature. The call upon her was sudden and certainly unexpected, and not finding herself in a situation to advance the 2000*l.* claimed, she withdrew herself to France, deputing a friend in England, to make every necessary arrangement for paying all the creditors as soon as possible. At the time of Mrs. Jordan's quitting England, she was in the receipt of an annual income of upwards of 2,000*l.* paid with the greatest punctuality quarterly, without demur, drawback, or impediment, and so continued to the hour of her death. Up to April 1816, Mrs. Jordan's drafts on Messrs Coutts and Co. were duly paid; never for a moment could she have felt the griping hand of poverty.

"I can positively assert, that never during her LIFE-TIME was one shilling paid towards *liquidating* the securities in question; nor was it URGENT that it should be done; because the creditors, for the most part personal friends, well knew the upright principles they had to depend upon; nor were they ignorant, that the transcendent talents of this GIFTED being were always sure to receive a munificent reward from the hands of the public, whenever she should again seek their assistance; and in the fruits of this, THEY were sure of participating. Her protracted stay abroad was occasioned by untoward circumstances, over which the PRINCIPALS had no control.

"Up to the hour of Mrs. Jordan's leaving England, she had been living under the same roof, with the relative with whom

she was concerned in the securities alluded to. Reciprocal acts of kindness, mutual confidence in all domestic matters, and many points of private affairs tended to create in Mrs. Jordan's mind, a reliance upon this person. Never for a moment during the six years that her daughter had been married, had Mrs. Jordan reason to doubt his sincere affection or his veracity; nor did she doubt them, when she left England.

"Immediately upon the derangement of Mrs. Jordan's affairs, and *before* she left England, a STATEMENT OF ALL the CLAIMS to which she was *liable*, was made out, together with a LIST OF THE PERSONS holding her bonds and bills of acceptance; the result of which *convinced* Mrs. Jordan that her liabilities did not much exceed 2,000*l.*, and that the claimants were *one* and *all* the personal friends of the parties.

"In August 1815, Mrs. Jordan left England for France, with the intention of remaining away some ten days, the time computed necessary to place matters in that state, as to render her person legally secure from *arrest*. Her affairs were placed in the hands of persons well informed in every particular thereof, as of all other matters connected with her life. Mrs. Jordan was well aware that the creditors were only anxious to have their claims placed in a secure state, and that they were willing to give every accommodation required. She was also aware that her FELLOW SUFFERER had given up a considerable portion of his *income*; and she felt that her *representative* in England could in one hour's time settle any doubtful point that might arise during the arrangement. In short, she knew that no *impediment* existed. Consequently, when she found that month after month elapsed, without anything being finally settled, her mind became troubled.

"Mrs. Jordan left England; she took with her as a companion, a lady who had for some years previously been employed in superintending the education of Mrs. Jordan's younger children, and who had for the last twelve months, had been Mrs. Jordan's constant attendant. This person came to England in January 1816, to receive, and take Mrs. Jordan

her quarters' income, then in Messrs. Coutt's house. From the moment of her arrival in England, until she quitted it, she pursued a line of conduct towards the daughters of Mrs. Jordan, (then residing in Mrs. Jordan's house) that was offensive beyond measure; she peremptorily and in a most insulting manner, called upon the person concerned with Mrs. Jordan in the affairs of the bills and bonds, to make oath that Mrs. Jordan was not liable to any claims *beyond* those of which she already knew. The demand was accompanied by base insinuations. Justly doubting this to be really the wish of Mrs. Jordan, and irritated at the circumstances attending the demand, it was *refused*; and on the same day, this lady returned to France, and there is little doubt, but then for the first time, that Mrs. Jordan did become apprehensive.'

During her stay in England, the lady alluded to, informed two of Mrs. Jordan's daughters, that Mrs. Jordan's future place of residence in France, was to be kept a profound secret from them, and that all letters from them to their mother, must be sent through a third person, and be directed to Mrs. James, instead of Mrs. Jordan; thus, from that time, all such communications first passed through the hands of a person who might withdraw Mrs. Jordan's confidence and affection, from those most interested in getting her back to England. It is necessary to revert to the *verbal refusal* given to take the oath demanded, because it has been made a point of much importance as connected with Mrs. Jordan's state of feeling, in consequence of the publication made in the *Morning Chronicle* of January 26, 1824, of a letter of Mrs. Jordan's, bearing date January 16, 1816.

Mrs. Jordan's letter must have been written immediately after the return of the above-mentioned lady to France, and there is great reason to think that then only for the first time, did a feeling of apprehension of further demands awake in Mrs. Jordan's mind, and the fatal step of cutting off the source of communications prevented altogether, or perhaps only delayed the receipt of a letter written by the person refusing to take the oath on the very same day; to say that he was truly

willing to do whatever Mrs. Jordan should herself require, and that the oath should be taken whenever she wrote to say it was her wish.

There can be no question that the mind of this great woman had been long and grievously oppressed. Nor will this be any matter of wonder when a retrospect is taken of her eventful life. Who can deny, that in the greatest flow of her prosperity, she had many bitter memorials that good and ill will mingle in every human condition. The greatest pleasure that acquiring could bestow upon Mrs. Jordan, was its affording her the power of shedding greater happiness around her. Can there be a severer censure on her memory, than to think that pecuniary difficulties, even weighty, (which her's never were) could for any length of time have depressed a mind such as her's in its perfect state?

I have thrown this statement together, in the hope that you will deem it satisfactory, and remain, my dear Sir,

Most sincerely your's,

* * * *

This document we take it for granted, is given as a most satisfactory and conclusive elucidation of all that may be required by the reader on the subject of Mrs. Jordan's pecuniary embarrassments. Now, so far from conceding to such opinion, we regard this authentic statement as one of the most unsatisfactory and inconclusive papers we ever perused. The unfortunate lady, it seems, was very unexpectedly called upon to pay two thousand pounds, and not having assets so to do; she, in order to secure her personal safety, fled to France. At the period alluded to, she was in the enjoyment of upwards of 2000*l.* a year, yet no security could be given, nor any composition entered into with the claimants; finally, nothing short of expatriation could ensure her safety. So much for the first paragraph. We are next told that during the lady's life time, not one shilling was ever paid in liquidation of the bonds and bills, whereon the 2000*l.* were claimed; and why? because the creditors were personal friends of the debtor, who felt so perfectly satisfied with her honourable conduct, that nothing could

be further from their minds, than having any recourse to any unpleasant measures. Then why in the name of common sense, did she absent herself from England? and what is the meaning of the conclusive lines of the second paragraph, "that her protracted stay abroad was occasioned by untoward circumstances over which the *principals* had no control." Who are the persons alluded to under the term, principals? were they the creditors; her own family; or the individual with whom she had last cohabited? We confess there is something so enigmatical in this sentence, that we are not ashamed to own our inability to solve its meaning.

Again, in the fourth paragraph, we find it repeated that Mrs. Jordan, after all the claims upon her had been ascertained, was not involved to a greater amount than 2000*l.*, which debt had been incurred to assist another; while the creditors, one and all, were personal friends of the parties. How singular then, we again repeat, that she should have gone abroad, and still more extraordinary, that her absence should have been protracted by events, over which the principals had no control.

The fifth paragraph states in direct contradiction to the above, that her intention was to be absent some ten days, "the time computed necessary to place matters in that state, as to render her (Mrs. Jordan's person) legally secure from arrest." What fear could exist when we have been twice assured they were one and all her personal friends? Added to this, we are further instructed that the poor lady's FELLOW SUFFERER had given up a considerable portion of his annual income, and she felt certain her representative in England, could in one hour's time settle any doubtful point in the arrangement. In short, she knew that no impediment existed. Consequently, finding month succeeding month, and no settlement taking place, her mind became troubled. Well, indeed, it might, and our only astonishment is, that the worm thus trampled upon was so quiescent as unavenged to carry her weighty sufferings to the grave. In the sixth paragraph allusion is made to the staunch friend of Mrs. Jordan, who visited London to receive her money

at Coutts', the banker's, and who was, no doubt, perfectly aware of the neglectful manner in which her employer had been treated during her absence, consequently pursued a line of conduct towards her daughters by Mr. Ford, that gave great offence; she further, as it subsequently appears at the express desire of Mrs. Jordan, demanded an affidavit on the part of the friend she had obliged in the bond and bill transactions, stating that he had not involved her to a larger amount than the 2000*l.* stipulated, which oath he refused to ratify; when we are sapiently informed at the close of this paragraph, that, "then for the first time, Mrs. Jordan did become apprehensive." So then, her leaving England in the greatest terror—"the necessity of such a measure for ten days, to secure her from arrest,"—all was mere moonshine, as her only real terrors were awakened, when she was in perfect security from the harpies of the English law, on the soil of France.

We should like to know after a such an *expose* as the above assertion affords, what can be said in support of this alleged *Authentic Statement*, which is, in our opinion, the most garbled and mystified document we ever perused, and all we have to say is, that the reader must be endowed with a far greater portion of credulity and discernment than ourselves to extract anything like a satisfactory elucidation of the points it was intended to develope.

It was at this period that the conduct of Mrs. Alsop gave great umbrage in a certain exalted quarter, in consequence of a most virulent epistolatory correspondence which she carried on, while under the roof of her sister's husband, Mr. March. Now, who was enabled to know more intimately the affairs of Mrs. Jordan, than her eldest daughter, Mrs. Alsop, who, smarting from the effects of personal exigency, and fully aware of the fortune her parent *ought to have enjoyed*, and was bereft of—gave vent to her acrimonious feelings. The result was an interview, by the Duke's command, between his agents, Messrs. Wilkes and Barton, who were perfectly satisfied that Mr. March had not been at all instigatory to the objectionable correspondence forwarded by Mrs. Alsop:—in short, the

latter mentioned lady, being remonstrated with upon the subject, by Mr. March, she at once absented herself from his house.

During Mrs. Alsop's absence at Bath, whither she was invited in her theatrical capacity; her lodgings were occupied by her sister, Mrs. March and the family, at which period the death of Mrs. Jordan occurred. Ere the latter melancholy event was known to Mrs. March, it so happened that the quarterly allowance paid to her by Messrs. Coutts, the bankers became due, and she in consequence repaired thither to receive the same, having promised ten pounds of the money to her landlord, Mr. Withers, in part liquidation of Mrs. Alsop's debt, in order that he might pay an arrear of taxes, for which he was importuned by the collector. On application, however, at the banker's it was found that the news of Mrs. Jordan's decease having previously been ascertained by the Duke of Clarence, his agent had by his command, prohibited all further payments two days prior; notwithstanding the annuity was on the eve of becoming due. Of course, the payment to Mrs. Alsop was equally prohibited, who in consequence began to commit her memoirs to paper, which would have proved no very palatable publication in a certain quarter, she being in possession of letters and manuscripts sufficient to fill a moderate sack, containing among other documents, the whole correspondence from its origin, between her mother and her former illustrious paramour. Indeed, so indignant was Mrs. Alsop, that she applied to her landlord, desiring that he should commit her manuscript to the press, saying all she wished was to be imprisoned for a libel, as in that case she should by such publicity acquire public commiseration;—Mr. Withers, however from prudential motives declined interfering. From part of Mrs. Alsop's production, as read to her landlord, it appears that her mother's nightly salaries at Drury Lane, were constantly paid in advance on the night of performance, ere she made her appearance upon the boards, which sums were accustomed to be remitted by a messenger, sometimes to a gambling

house in Pall Mall, and at others, to St. James's Street, for certain purposes which we leave the reader to surmise.

No sooner had Mrs. Alsop acquired a knowledge of her parent's melancholy dissolution, than she hired a post chaise, and repaired to Englefield Green, Mrs. Jordan's former residence, where she found the old nurse who had for years attended our actress, and from whom she claimed various articles on the premises, as Mrs. Jordan's eldest child, which she secured to the value of a hundred pounds. Among these objects were some china chimney ornaments; a pendule; an original oil picture of Mrs. Jordan; and in particular, a mirror, formerly the property of David Garrick, which during his career had adorned the dressing room of our Roscius, at Old Drury Lane Theatre. The last memorial Mrs. Alsop possessed of her mother, was a rug, half finished, the work of her hands, being intended for an urn, upon the tea table.—One curious fact connected with this object is Mrs. Jordan having been engaged in working the same at the precise juncture when it was announced to her that a final separation from his royal Highness was indispensable:—the purposed alliance with the then wealthy Miss Tilney Long, being adduced as the plea.

Some altercation taking place, and words growing high, the unfortunate lady in the irritation of the moment arising from wounded pride and indignant feelings,—threw the rug, which piece of workmanship we have recently had in our hands, at the head of the duke. We give this as one of the statements frequently reiterated by Mrs. Alsop, which becomes the more valuable as tending to confirm the statement we have previously made respecting the real cause of Mrs. Jordan's separation from the duke.

We must now recur to the melancholy subject of our history, who found the last gleam of prosperity cloud upon her for ever. She was not only cut off from all intercourse with a progeny of ten beloved children, (and how she was capable of adoring her offspring those might avouch who knew her as intimately as ourselves,)—but further subjected to encounter pecuniary

claims for domestic expenditures which she found it far from convenient to liquidate. Too noble in spirit to sue for assistance where she might have commanded justice—and too delicate in sentiment to make any appeal to a heart she had found proof against every latent touch of sympathy, she rather chose to pine in secret;—

And let concealment, like a worm i'the bud
Feed on her damask cheek.

Nothing is more harrowing to the mind of sensibility than the being subjected to encounter persons and objects we were accustomed to greet under more prosperous circumstances. Every square and street through which Mrs. Jordan passed, reflected, as in a mirror, the gaudy scenes of days gone by London, therefore, became irksome from a variety of causes, but more particularly a conviction that she almost inhaled the same breath as her children, without possessing the power of clasping them to her heart.

Thus circumstanced, no course was left her to pursue, but to fly for secrecy and refuge to a foreign soil. What pangs this step inflicted on the unfortunate lady, we too well know;—days of weeping, and nights without a moment's repose, preceded the adoption of this measure; and when she bade adieu to London, it appeared as if materiality had left the spirit behind to hover over those she loved, and was fated never to meet again!

The following anecdote, never recorded, is one of the last occurrences that took place previously to Mrs. Jordan's bidding a final adieu to the land she had so prominently embellished—to the soil that gave her birth.

Mr. Charles Wigley, who possessed the spacious apartments formerly existing in Spring Gardens, and appropriated to the display of public exhibitions, was applied to by Mrs. Jordan, of whom he had some previous knowledge, in order that he might become the purchaser of her furniture, &c. The above mentioned gentleman, who was well acquainted with Mr. Fisher,

the auctioneer, father of the celebrated Clara Fisher, of histrionic fame— called upon the latter, and requested he would accompany him to estimate the household goods, pictures, &c. at a dwelling in Sloane-square, without intimating the name of the individual to whom the property belonged.

Mr. Fisher accordingly accompanied Mr. Wigley through the apartments, and as had been previously agreed, without proceeding to ~~make an~~ inventory, gave his estimate from the cursory glance, being from habit perfectly conversant with the value of furniture. Having completed the survey, they adjourned to a coffee house, when Mr. Fisher informed his friend that supposing an individual wanted the articles as they stood, the carpets, &c. being fitted to the rooms, they were well worth three hundred pounds; but if to be removed, he conceived one hundred less would be a fair estimate, though he might go as far as 220*l*.

Mr. Fisher then accompanied Mr. Wigley back to Sloane Square, when the former gentleman, to his no small astonishment, was introduced to Mrs. Jordan, whom he then found to be the proprietress of the articles he had been requested to appraise. After some conversation upon the subject, Mr. Fisher, retired, leaving Mr. Wigley to close the bargain with Mrs. Jordan alone, which was done for the reduced sum of *one hundred guineas*, notwithstanding Mr. Fisher had stated that the property was worth 220*l*.—added to which, the lease of the premises was thrown into the bargain, which the last mentioned gentleman assured the writer, was in his estimation worth 500*l*. yielding to Mr. Wigley, the purchaser, a very snug profit, if he could reconcile the transaction to his conscience.

This melancholy fact tends to prove two things; first, the unsuspecting and easy mind of Mrs. Jordan, and lastly, her anxiety to conclude the sale without the least delay, in order that she might quit the country with all the expedition possible, so much had her feelings been wrought upon, and her apprehension of legal proceeding, excited in the event of a protracted continuance in London.

Mrs. Jordan retired from her native soil with all the secrecy

possible, when the first spot she selected for her residence, was a cottage at Marquetra, about a quarter of a mile from the town of Boulogne-sur-Mer. The habitation was small, but neat, and the general appearanee extremely cheerful. To this residence we find a single, solitary letter, forwarded by one of her ten children, which runs as follows:—

“Colonel Fitzclarence, to Mrs. Jordan.

“MY DEAR MOTHER,—

“My dear Sophia* has been very low spirited since she received my ever dear Dora’s letter : and she took the earliest opportunity to speak to Mrs. Arbuthnot, who would speak to her husband about it. I am afraid we shall not come home for this long time. I long to see dear Lucy. The Arbuthnots are very kind to me.—I have got a room in Paris. Hall is better behaved. I have had a horse shot. Tell all about the ——’s. If you want money for them, don’t ask me for it, but take my allowance for them ; because with a little care I could live on my Father’s till *their* business. Now, do as I ask you, —mind you do, for they have always been so *kind* to us *all* ;—and if I can make any return, I should be a devil if I did not ; so take my next quarter,—and as you may want to give them some, do that for *my sake*,—I am very well.

“God bless you !

“FRED. FITZCLARENCE.

“P. S.—Sophia will write to you on Thursday.”

Addressed—“To MRS. JAMES, Post-office, Boulogne, France.”

We know not at what school, nor under what masters this Colonel Fitzclarence was educated, but the foregoing letter, is one which would in its language and construction disgrace a boy of twelve years old. But what are the contents of the

* His sister, no doubt attracted to Paris by the extraordinary events of 1816.

letter to a fond and affectionate mother, under the circumstances in which she was placed, what consolation could the information that he had had a horse shot, or that he had a room in Paris impart to his afflicted mother, and why did he not leave his room in Paris, and repair to the lonely one of his mother, and thereby convey the balsam to her wounded heart, that she had *one* child who sympathised with her in her sufferings. But, no—the paternal authority was upon him, and that is the only exculpation we can offer for him.

At this residence, however, Mrs. Jordan did not long remain, for the mind ill at ease, becomes naturally restless, and that which affords delight one day, becomes irksome the next. From that tranquil residence, her care-worn mind was next directed to decide upon Versailles, whither she repaired to sojourn but for a transient period, when under the idea of living in greater seclusion, she made choice of St. Cloud, and adopting the name of James, there established herself.

Previously to her arrival at the latter place, she was rendered miserable by receiving no communications whatever from any of her children, or the last individual with whom she had cohabited for such a series of years,—though every member of her family had been repeatedly addressed in the most urgent manner. She therefore still continued to await letters, under a depression of spirits not to be described. Independently of her anxiety to acquire information respecting her offspring, the situation of her finances was much reduced, and on that account, advices from England were absolutely necessary to determine the future line of conduct she ought to pursue.

Day succeeded day, yet no letter came to hand, when the sentiment of indignation that pervaded her mind, was succeeded by disgust at the base ingratitude and inhumanity displayed towards her, by the father of her offspring, on the one hand,—and the cruelty and undutifulness of her children, on the other;—in short, the mask which had so long veiled the truth from her eyes, was withdrawn, and she perceived with horror that the fixed determination was to abandon her to her wayward destiny.

It appears obvious that Mrs. Jordan, who had naturally been imbued with no small portion of nervous irritability, even during her prosperous days, was not framed, in the decline of life, when fortune frowned upon her, to rally her feelings and become, as it were, by supernatural agency gifted with powers to stem the torrent of adversity. She entertained dreadful apprehensions as to her personal safety, and the thought of incarceration shook her mind to its centre. This terror, far from being repelled through the medium of any wholesome advice, was rather fomented by persons who under the specious pretence of friendship used every effort to urge an abandonment of her native land. It was this manoeuvre that prompted the almost instantaneous resolution previously detailed of quitting Sloane Square, and sacrificing her property as she did up to that occasion. We have traced our heroine to her several residences in France, and we have now to record circumstances never before published to the world. In the days of her prosperity, and when basking in the sunshine of princely protection, Mrs. Jordan had been in the habit of visiting with her infant offspring the residence of a confectioner to his late Majesty George the Third, where she used to meet her former acquaintance, whom she could not with propriety tolerate in the Stable Yard, St. James'. On such occasions, the party to whom we refer used to gambol with the thriving progeny of the princely father, and, as may be supposed, the choicest of sweetmeats used to be spread to regale them; in short, during such visits (and we are not exactly certain that the Royal parent himself was not in some instances present) all reserve was laid aside, and Mrs. Jordan enjoyed that unrestrained intercourse, which was so consonant with the unsophisticated effusions of her heart.

Thus far we have to state as regards the season of prosperity; we must now suffer the revolution of years and events previously developed in these pages to transpire, when not only had Mrs. Jordan experienced the sad reverse already portrayed, but the individual to whom we allude, from enjoying affluence acquired as a confectioner of George the Third, became in some

degree reduced and repaired to Paris; in which city with the residue of his means he established himself in his former business. Aware that his old munificent visitor was at St. Cloud, he proceeded thither under the hope of obtaining an interview, but to his no small astonishment found Mrs. Jordan subjected to a positive state of *espionage*. A variety of questions were asked, and in reply to his anxious desire to be introduced to the unfortunate lady, evasive answers were given, so that he was ultimately compelled to relinquish the attempt, and thus retired without seeing the object of his inquiry.

Shortly after this occurrence, a letter came to his hands penned by Mrs. Jordan, entreating he would attend after midnight under a certain window designated of the dwelling she inhabited at St. Cloud, when it may naturally be supposed he proved punctual to the appointment given. From the casement in question he ascertained that our wretched actress was in a complete state of captivity; that *she was environed by spies*; and stood in need of the necessaries of life—being reduced to a state of great indigence. This interview continued for two hours, and such were the immediate wants of the poor supplicant, that she literally received the eighteen or twenty francs her visitant had about him, with a promise that he would return the following day; an appointment being made when she might communicate with him unmolested; he having further promised to provide himself with twenty pounds, the loan required at his hands, in order to make the necessary arrangements preparatory to her escape to England.

True to his word he met the suffering creature, and gave into her hands twenty-four Napoleons, when it was agreed that in ten days after they should meet—the requisite plans being entered into—and that, under his protection, she would return to her native land. Strict to his promise, he attended at the time stipulated, when, to his infinite mortification and sorrow, he was given to understand, she had expired the day preceding.

A few years elapsed, when circumstances not becoming more prosperous with our informant, he returned to England; and,

pressed by the exigency to which he was reduced, made application in a certain quarter for the repayment of the twenty pounds advanced as above-mentioned, but the demand was resisted, under the plea that he possessed no receipt from the borrower—though letters were produced, supplicating the loan in question—and thus the matter terminated; at least when we last saw the creditor (a year ago,) who at the period in question produced a bundle of documents which he stated his determination to make public, in consequence of the nonliquidation of the advance so philanthropically made upon his part. He farther added, that in the course of his application—being much changed in appearance and dress, and not being recognized by them—he nevertheless saw two or three individuals enjoying posts in a great establishment, whom he recollected as having held the situation of spies, or keepers, over Mrs. Jordan. We may be asked the name of the individual of whom this information was acquired, *which we certainly could communicate*; but as twelve months have elapsed, and since that period he may have obtained the twenty pounds, we forbear to implicate him further. We know the last lodging in which he resided, where a sum for rental has been left unpaid; but we have not been able down to the present moment to trace him further, otherwise a more detailed account of this mysterious and black affair should have been given to the public, as we have very little idea that his applications were attended to subsequently to our final meeting.

To return to Mrs. Jordan. Left to feed upon the anguish of her mind, she gradually became enfeebled in body, and a bilious attack was the result, which slowly increased; but its growth did not create uneasiness, so completely dejected and lost was the wretched lady to every thing connected with herself, or that took place around her. Thus circumstanced, life became so burthensome, that she was led to contemplate the approach of dissolution with calmness, being resolved to welcome the final struggle with placidity.

The chambers occupied by our sufferer, were in a hotel in

the square adjoining the palace; the mansion was spacious, gloomy, cold, and inconvenient—similar to those habitations so frequently pictured in the romances of thirty years back. A long flagged corridor stretched from one extremity of the building to the other, the chambers were lofty and comfortless, and the *tout ensemble* demonstrated that the edifice had once been the habitation of a French nobleman. The apartments of the poor sufferer were most shabbily decorated; not one of those domestic comforts, so common in her native land, having saluted her regard during the last scene of her existence! A small tarnished sofa was the most respectable article of furniture that adorned what might be termed the drawing-room, whereon she incessantly reclined, and on which she yielded up her tortured spirit into the hands of her Maker.

We shall now proceed to delineate the closing scene of Mrs. Jordan's life, as described by the owner of the dwelling; and we venture to say a more affecting finale never stood recorded in the pages of biography.

The individual in question, denominated as Mr. C——, conceived she was poor and tendered her the loan of money, which was declined; notwithstanding this, he uniformly regarded her apparent poverty and the wearing upon her finger a diamond ring, an enigma not to be unravelled. The gem in question, from some secret motive, she never would relinquish—added to this, she is stated to have been possessed of some other valuable articles of jewellery.

From the moment of her arrival at St. Cloud, as previously observed, Mrs. Jordan manifested the most restless anxiety for intelligence from England. That feeling gradually increased, and became so intense that her skin actually became discoloured; she continued from morning till night sighing deeply, and in a dejected posture on the sofa. Several posts arrived, yet no tidings reached her, so that the intensity of her anguish became at length too oppressive for mortal strength to endure. When the morning of her death arrived, this torture of suspense had attained its acme; her agitation was dreadful; her regard, now

restless, would then become rivetted to one spot; the motion of her limbs assumed a rapid and unmeaning movement, and her whole demeanour seemed to indicate that a convulsive paroxysm was on the point of taking possession of her frame. In this situation, she eagerly requested Mr. C——, prior to the accustomed hour for the delivery of letters, to go to the post-office, and on his return, starting up, she stretched forth her hand, as if impatient to grasp the expected communication from England. She was informed no letters for her had arrived:—for a moment she continued motionless, regarding Mr. C—— with a wild and vacant stare; and again held forth her hand, as if by an involuntary motion not to be controlled; she then as quickly withdrew it, and fell back upon the sofa from which she had so recently arisen.

Alarmed, Mr. C——hastily left the apartment to summon her attendant, who had however, stepped out on an errand. He then returned, and advancing to the sufferer, remarked an alteration in her countenance that appalled him. She uttered not a word—she breathed not, but gazed steadfastly upon him. She wept not—no tear bedewed her cheek, which was one instant flushed, and then assumed the livid hue of death. Deep drawn sighs were heard at intervals—it seemed the convulsive struggle of a heart on the point of bursting.

Mr. C—— continued irresolute, not knowing how to act. In a minute he heard the breath drawn with increased difficulty, accompanied, as it were, by an internal sobbing; at which moment the stupified observer became thoroughly terrified. He hastily advanced to the sofa, and stretching over the unfortunate creature, found that the last deep sob had been the immediate precursor of her untimely dissolution. She was a corpse! Alas! Mrs. Jordan breathed no more!

We have thus preferred giving the history of the connection of the Duke of Clarence in a connected narrative, rather than by detached paragraphs according to the dates when the particular events happened, and we will therefore now take a retrospective view of other scenes, in which his Royal Highness bore a

more honourable and laudable part, and which in some degree manifested the advantages which he had derived from his residence in foreign countries. With the majority of individuals, foreign travel enlarges the mind; and gives or improves experience, but there are many men who have spent a whole life in foreign travel, without drawing from it the necessary or the customary advantages, and no better example can be adduced of the truth of that remark than in the late Duke of York, who after having spent nearly a quarter of his life on the continent, returned to his native land, the slave of prejudice and the subject of all the vices, which are engendered in the rank atmosphere of a court.

William IV., when Prince William, completed what the French style *le grand tour*, and we have seen the manner in which he did accomplish it, no doubt much to his own satisfaction, but whether the purposes were accomplished for which he undertook his continental travels, is a wholly different question. The benefits of travelling do not consist in noticing the width of rivers, the height of mountains, the distance of post towns, the number of houses in every city, the comparative beauty of the women, and the profligacy and the debauchery of the men; with those acquirements, a man instead of being made wiser by his travels, will on his return show himself to be an arrogant and superficial coxcomb, who is ambitious in every company to display his absurdities and fatigue his hearers. On the same principle, a man may be versed in all the occurrences of modern times—he may know the spot and the event of every battle; the number of years which every king reigned, and the very day of the month on which he died, and will be yet only encumbered with his knowledge, and become a shallow pedant, instead of a statesman or a politician. On the other hand, the aim and tendency of the foreign travels of our royal princes, were directly military. They travelled not with the design to judge and compare; they examined not in what human nature is alike in various parts of the globe, and in what it differs; they remarked not what was most

worthy of observation in European nations, their character and manners, their laws and policy, their arts and literature, their civil or religious institutions, and thus return from other countries, more desirous to appreciate and adorn their own. Such was not the aim of the foreign travel of our Princes; reviews, military spectacles, sham-fights, the most speedy method of degrading human beings into machines, and the power of invention in reducing them by a harlequin kind of costume, into fops and coxcombs; such was the extent of the knowledge which our Princes were sent to obtain, and which in one of them displayed itself pre-eminently, and to the cost of the nation, in his attempts, as it was at the time pompously bruited, to reform the English army.

The residence of the Duke of York on the continent was however attended by one important circumstance, that is, if the perpetuation of the family of the Guelphs be considered as possessing any importance in the estimation of the people of this country. The Prince of Wales was at this time a bachelor, according to the opinion of the nation, though not according to that of Mrs. Fitzherbert, and although the German Courts had been minutely examined by individuals appointed purposely for the occasion, with the view of discovering some female scion of princely blood, worthy of sharing the bed and throne of "the most polished gentleman of Europe," yet hitherto their researches had been unsuccessful, or perhaps it proved a difficult matter to convince the Heir Apparent that, it was a part of his duty to enter into the married state, in order that the succession to the throne might be confirmed and the happiness of the nation established. Not one of the princes of the blood royal was at this time married, and strange to say, not one of them, considering the incalculable extent of their amours, ranging from the kitchen to the boudoir of the titled demirep had, as yet, troubled and burdened the nation with any issue. The bugbear of the day began to be the dreadful apprehension that one *day or the other*, it was possible the country might want a king, and the female scions of nobility

began to be alarmed that a queen might not be found to whom they could be presented. It was greatly to be feared, that England, hapless, ill-starred England, might be erased from the list of nations, because some one could not be found possessed of the requisite stock of legitimacy, who was according to the course of nature to be placed in a situation, in which good eating and drinking are the principal labour, and one of the most important duties of which is receiving a salary of nearly one million a year, to spend for the honour, and the glory, and the dignity of the British nation.

At that time, the banners of reform had not waved over this ill-fated, and mis-governed country, and with the administration that it was then blessed with, it was, indeed, a most shocking thing to run the risk of wanting a good King, which of course the Duke of York would have been, had he succeeded to the throne, even if he had just risen from the hot and voluptuous couch of Mrs. Clarke, to place the regal diadem on his head. It was the dread of such a shocking thing occurring, that frightened all the pretenders to political second-sight, and set all the feelings of the loyal adherents of the House of Brunswick in a state of ferment. On the continent, it was true, there was yet a considerable stock of royalty left, enough, indeed, to supply the demands of all the Princes of the blood-royal of England, and to supply all the islands in the South Seas with legitimate rulers, but the dreadful query returns, would they be kind enough to rule, if they should be wanted?

"You may call the spirits from the vasty deep,

"But will they come?"

One might think, indeed, from such fears, that the crown of England was a crown of thorns; that its multifarious duties left no moments for recreation; no hours of relaxations, no time for dalliance in the arms of meretricious love; that the English were a stiff-necked race, so troublesome to their royal riders, that it required extraordinary courage to mount, and extraordinary skill to keep the seat of government. This might, it is true, have been the case when the rough inhabi-

tants of England was as uncultivated as the ground on which he trod,

“ When the brave Briton foreign rules despised,
“ And kept *unconquered* and uncivilized,”

when Englishmen were so ill-bred and impolite as to call Kings to an account, and subject Ministers most cruelly to a severe responsibility, in those times, above all; when the populace shed that royal blood upon the scaffold, which they should have cherished to run freely in the veins of a thousand succeeding monarchs, all reigning by the grace of God, at the point of the bayonet, for the comfort of all the future generations of Englishmen to the termination of the world. These were, indeed, turbulent times, and in those days it was not to be expected that any one would voluntarily subject himself to decapitation for the empty honor of being called a king. Even in somewhat later times, the refusal of a man *tolerably sane* might have been expected, if requested like James II. to seat himself on a throne behind which, the people were waiting to kick his Majesty off, upon the very first convenient occasion. But times are now much altered for the better, as far as kings and ministers are concerned; there is now no such thing as danger; the cause of legitimacy has triumphed; the Holy Alliance has established the right divine of kings; a king may sleep in safety, for he has the bayonets of his mercenaries to defend him; and a minister may repose in security without the fate of Strafford before his eyes, who was cruelly beheaded for *obeying his master instead of the laws*. An English monarch now may rest unawed by the headless trunk of Charles, who, had he been born in these times, might have worn his head peaceably to the grave, and been thought as pious and accomplished as more than one of his successors. But the genius of liberty in her indignant mood had then lighted on these shores. The falchion glittered in her hand, and her flagging pinions could only be moistened for fresh flight with royal blood.

To be the monarch of a free sturdy and independent race of people is a very troublesome kind of an affair, and it is not

to be expected that the German legitimates, who now stand in succession to the throne of England, in default of direct lineal issue by the *divine right* of being by great good luck born in wedlock of a certain family, would be willing even at any price to undertake the drudgery of such an unthankful office. Thanks, however, to the spirit of reform which pervades the people of this country, there is now no immediate danger of the sturdy independant Englishman being "modified by circumstances," into a passive piece of mute furniture for the drawing room of a King of Hanover, or of Wurtemberg; he has been made sensible of the rights which are his by his birthright, but which despotism, oppression and kingcraft have withheld from him; he knows that kings govern, or ought to govern by the will of the people, and that when they act in opposition to that will, the ties of allegiance are broken, and that which would under certain cases be denominated treason, then becomes a virtue.

The people of this country are now said to be inimical to monarchy; it is, however, not the fact, they only complain of the abuse of it; they cheerfully acknowledge there must be a supreme head of the government, but they murmur, and justly too at the expence which the present head of their government entails upon them, and especially when it is now clear to them, that the duties of it are not so arduous and intricate, but that a girl of eighteen can perform them, and the nation appears to be rapturously delighted with the manner in which they are performed. Courtiers, however, are sometimes, though it may seem rather out of character, the greatest libellers of sovereignty. When William in a fit of despondency, once threatened to resign the crown of England, "Does he so?" said Sunderland, "there is Tom of Pembroke," meaning Lord Pembroke "who is as good a block of wood as a king can be cut out of. We will send for him, and make him *our* King." To the same purpose, the Princess of Wales in 1753 expressed herself as to George the Second, in a conversation with Mr. Dorrington. "She said with great warmth, that when they talked to her of the king, she lost all

patience, for she knew it *was nothing*; that in those great points she reckoned the king no more *than one of the trees we walked by*, or by somewhat more inconsiderable which she named, but that it was their pusillanimity which would make an end of them. She said, if they talked of the king, she was out of patience, it was as if they should tell her, that her little Harry below would not do what was proper for him; that just so, the king would sputter and make a bustle, but when they told him that it must be done from the necessity of the service, he must do it, *as little Harry must*, when she came down."

Having, however, in our remembrance the fable of the frogs and Jupiter, we will rest satisfied with the monarch that we have, rather than pray for another, from a fear that a stork may be sent us from the Hanoverian marshes, who would soon attempt to swallow up all the liberties of the people, unless the people wisely cut off his head, and show him at once that they were in *earnest*.

To these remarks we have been led by the danger which at this time, hung over the succession to the crown by the celibacy of the royal princes. The marriages of princes are generally more the effect of state policy than of personal attachment, for they generally court by proxy; in the case, however, of the Duke of York, his long residence at Berlin had given him frequent opportunities of studying the character of the illustrious lady, on whom he had determined to bestow his hand, and who, as appearances then presented themselves, might be elevated to the exalted station of queen of the first country of the world. In her natural disposition, the Princess Royal of Prussia was good and amiable, but in her exterior qualifications, she was little suited to support the royal dignity. She was excessively diminutive in stature, nor could her features lay any claim to beauty; to suppose, however, that a Princess could possibly be destitute of all personal attractions, would be at total variance with the custom of Courts, and the slavish servility of those, who inhale their noxious

atmosphere. The panegyrists of her Royal Highness not being able to discover in her countenance any peculiar charm on which to bestow their adulation, proceeded to the other extremity, and there they found, that *if* she had been born in China, owing to the smallness of her foot, she would have been one of the most celebrated beauties of the celestial empire:

The marriages of the Princes of this country are events, which divesting them altogether of their political character, are always attended with an increase of the burdens of the people. They manage these things better in other countries, and particularly in the German principalities, in which if the Princes of the reigning families marry, they are supported from the revenues of the paternal estates, and, therefore, considering their general poverty, a numerous family is a circumstance by no means to be coveted; if, however, we direct our eyes to this country, we shall find that not a single marriage ever took place in the royal family, without its being followed, by a message from the crown to the *faithful guardians* of the public purse, calling upon them to make such a provision for the newly-married couple, as is consistent with the dignity of the crown, its splendour and its privileges. A message from the crown is tantamount to a command, and the representatives of the people immediately enter upon the consideration of the most gracious message, and fully agree in the recommendation of an immediate provision being made for the proper maintenance of the royal bride, who is generally sent from her paternal home, with a fortune, scarcely sufficient to defray the expenses of her journey. It is a circumstance not unworthy of observation, that in all the marriages contracted by the male branches of the Royal family of this country, not the slightest benefit has accrued to the people of it, by any dowry or fortune belonging to the bride; on the contrary, the marriage no sooner takes place in this country, than a settlement is made upon the bride in the event of her becoming a widow, which settlement in common life is generally derived from the fortune to which she

is entitled on her marriage. It might have been supposed that the Princess Royal of Prussia on her marriage with the Duke of York, as the daughter of a powerful monarch, would have had such a fortune bestowed upon her, that there would not have been any necessity to apply to the people of this country for a settlement on her Royal Highness in the event of the demise of the Duke, her husband; but such was not the fact. Her Royal Highness received a few thousands as an outfit, which went into the pockets of the Duke of York, where they did not long remain, as at the time of his marriage he was overwhelmed with debt, and he knew that his marriage would bring him an addition of 8 or £10,000 a year to his income, which at that time was of greater consideration to him, than the possession of *La petite Princesse*, as she was styled at the Court of Berlin, or any political advantages which might be derived from a union of the Brunswick or Brandenburg families.

The marriage took place on the 29th September, at Berlin, in the presence of all the functionaries of the court, and the bride having received the customary presents, which in value, did not exceed 2,000*l*, the *happy couple* set off for England, and reached London on the 19th November. Their Majesties were then residing at Buckingham House, whither the Duke of Clarence immediately repaired with the intelligence of the arrival of the illustrious bride and bridegroom; but so strict was the etiquette of the Court of St. James' that the bride was obliged to observe a strict *incognita* until the 23rd, when the ceremony of re-marriage was performed, according to the rites of the church of England, and in conformity with the act of Parliament, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. The certificate of the marriage being signed by their Majesties, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Clarence and the Lord Chancellor.

It would be irrelevant to our present purpose to follow the Duke of York through his inglorious career, but deeply did the Princess royal of Prussia repent that she had ever left the dominions of her father. No prospect existed of the noble

line of the Guelphs being perpetuated by the matrimonial alliance which she had formed; she was at times heard of as frequenting the levees and drawing-rooms; but in regard to any connubial happiness, she became a forsaken and neglected woman, amusing herself with her dogs, her cats, her monkeys, and her parrots at Oatlands, whilst her illustrious husband was leading a life of debauchery and profligacy at the gambling tables,* and the boudoirs of the titled courtezans. The conduct of her royal Highness during the affair of Mrs. Clarke, gained for her the sympathy and esteem of all ranks of the people; at the same time, it must be acknowledged, that the relations which existed between the Duke and Duchess of York, were anything but those of an affectionate or connubial nature; they often met in public with the indifference of persons apparently strangers to each other, and they have been known to be at a levee, without exchanging a single word, or the Duke paying her even the slightest of those attentions, which, as her husband might have been expected from him.

To return to a more pleasing part of our duty.

During the naval career of the Duke of Clarence, he had frequent opportunities of observing the gross defects in the naval architecture of this country. He had witnessed in some of the engagements of the late war, the superior advantages which the French possessed, on account of the comparatively skilful construction of their vessels, particularly in the superiority of their sailing, which far surpassed anything to which the British navy could aspire. There was not at that time a single school, in which naval architecture was taught, and so rivetted was the Board of Admiralty to the antiquated principles of ship-building, that even with the example of France before their eyes, who had schools in almost all her principal ports for instruction in that valuable branch of know-

* So strong was the passion of gambling rooted in this ill-fated prince, that one night he lost the whole of the beautiful domain of Oatlands to the Duke of Bedford, who, however, was generous enough to settle it upon the Duchess for her natural life.

ledge, they could not be induced to alter their system, which was foreseen by the intelligent portion of the profession to be fraught with the most dangerous consequences to the country, in the event of another war breaking out between England and France. It is, however, rather a singular circumstance, that considering the many eminent men, who, at that time were the ornaments of the British navy, the scheme for the improvement of our naval architecture did not emanate from any of them; but from an individual, who, from the nature of his business, and his particular location, was perhaps, one of the last men, who would make the naval architecture of the country his study. This person was Mr. Sewell, the bookseller of Cornhill, who by some papers inserted in the *European Magazine*, called the attention of some practical nautical men to the subject, and also some officers of high standing in the navy, amongst whom were Lord Howe, Earl Spencer, the Duke of Northumberland, Lord Rawdon, Sir John Borlase Warren, and especially the Duke of Clarence. The latter entered upon the subject with that enthusiasm which his royal Highness always evinced in all matters connected with the navy, and under his patronage, a Society was formed, the avowed purpose of which, was an improvement in the naval architecture of the country.

The following were the principles on which the Society was founded.

“The society purpose to encourage every useful invention and discovery, as far as shall be in their power, both by honorary and pecuniary rewards. They have in view, particularly to improve the theories of floating bodies, and the resistance of fluids, to procure draughts and models of different vessels, together with calculations of their capacity, centre of gravity, tonnage, &c.; to make observations and experiments themselves; and to point out such observations and experiments as appear best calculated to further their designs, and most deserving those premiums which the society can bestow.

“But, though the improvement of naval architecture in all branches, be certainly the principal object of this institution,

yet, the society do not by any means intend to confine themselves merely to the form and structure of vessels. Every subordinate and collateral pursuit will claim a share of the attention of the society, in proportion to its merits; and whatever may have any tendency to render navigation more safe, salutary, and even pleasant, will not be neglected.

"It is with confidence that they repeat their solicitation for assistance to enable them to extend their views—to make experiments on a large scale—to assist young persons in the attainment of this most useful art, and even to institute an academy for the regular study not only of the art itself, but of those sciences which ought to form the basis of it.

"But the society do not merely call upon the public for pecuniary assistance: in particular, they solicit the officers of the royal navy and merchants' services to examine carefully the hints, proposals, and plans which may at any time be laid before this society; and to suggest any improvement that may occur, however minute they may appear to them: they being confessedly the best judges of the advantages to be derived from the facility of manœuvring ships, of the comparative excellence between one vessel and another in sailing, and all other desirable properties."

The English are called, and they call themselves an enlightened people, and yet, in some respects, there are few people more sottishly ignorant, or more obstinately stupid, and these remarks cannot be better verified, than by referring to many schemes and plans which have been set up by the talents and patriotism of private individuals for the benefit of the country, but which have completely failed, because the government, either from jealousy, or a wilful blindness to the advantages of the plans, has refused its co-operation. Thus, in the present instance, the society for the improvement of naval architecture, after having proceeded in their operations for some time, found that all their efforts would prove abortive, unless it was made a national concern, and that they could insure to the Society the co-operation of the Board of Admiralty. The latter could not be accomplished, and the Society

was dissolved, much to the chagrin of the Duke of Clarence, who had hoped better things from it, and whose severe and pointed remarks on the subject did not render him a special favourite with the governing powers of the Admiralty. At the time, however, when Earl Spencer was at the head of the naval affairs of this country, a board of naval architecture was formed under the direction of the Admiralty, from which the greatest benefits have resulted to the country, and which subsequently displayed themselves in the long and arduous struggle with the French government, in which Britain nobly maintained her sovereignty of the seas, and to a certain extent annihilated the maritime power of Europe.

The Duke of Clarence was not much accustomed to public speaking, nor could he under any circumstances lay claim to the character of an orator. There was, however, one occasion in which he appeared anxious to put forth all his strength, and that was on the occasion of the Divorce Bill, which was brought into Parliament, and in which his Royal Highness displayed an extraordinary zeal for "the fair sex," but in which, considering the peculiar circumstances under which he was then living, though not exactly with the wife of another man, yet with the repudiated mistress of another man, he exposed himself to some very severe animadversions from the public press, and to the ridicule of many, who thought they could perceive in his Royal Highness' sentiments, a strong mixture of hypocrisy and false morality. We will not give the whole of the speeches of his Royal Highness on this occasion, but merely enter into a brief *expose* of the leading topics of them, bearing as they do strongly upon the peculiar situation, in which not only the Duke of Clarence, but all the princes of the blood royal were placed, on account of the marriage act, and their consequent exoneration from the full weight of that delinquency in regard to their intercourse with the female sex, which would necessarily attach to persons, who are allowed to follow the bias of their dispositions, in that most important of all human relations, the act of marriage. Of the expectancy of a bill of this

nature, various and most discordant opinions were held, and whilst some maintained that the manners of the age was distinguished by morality and decorum, others maintained that at no period, in regard to female virtue, was a greater degree of profligacy and debauchery ever exhibited, and the theatres and the streets were adduced as proofs of the latter allegation. It, however, does not appear to us that the comparative state of the sin of adultery, and of other public vices at that, or at any former period, could supply just grounds for deciding on the expediency or necessity of a Bill of Restraint. The only fair criterion by which the question could be tried was this, whether or not the sin of adultery prevailed at the present moment to such a degree as to justify the interposition of the legislature for the purpose of restraining its progress by additional punishment? No positive evidence can be adduced to prove the affirmative of this question; its decision therefore, must depend on the personal observation and knowledge of individuals, as to the state of public manners and morals.

In the course of the debate, it was strenuously contended by some, that immorality had not increased of late years, but still it was urged by many, that when immorality became the question in the legislative councils of the nation, the Princes of the blood royal were of all others the most competent to speak upon the subject, as they were more deeply acquainted with the extent of it, than any other member of the house. That Mr. Sheridan, the very focus himself of immorality, but who, in the House of Commons, pronounced a panegyric on the manners of the age, which he represented as distinguished for *gentleness* and *amiability*, or that a noble lord, also a confirmed debauchee, in the other House, who in an essay that was published soon after, improved upon the panegyric, should strenuously maintain that point, think no reform necessary, and regulate their votes by such opinion, was naturally to be expected. But never, we insist, was an opinion worse founded, and never were men less competent to decide on such a question, as it relates to the community at large, than the higher classes of society. Perhaps the records of no country in the

world could present a more extraordinary scene than the House of Lords did in England, when the Divorce Bill was argued before the hereditary wisdom of the country, and three of the most important personages composing it, namely, the Heir Apparent to the Crown, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Clarence, appeared as hostile to the bill, each of them at the time living in a state of adultery and fornication. The Prince of Wales was an adulterer with Mrs. Fitzherbert, the Duke of York with Mrs. Clarke, and the Duke of Clarence, though not exactly an adulterer, was according to the nineteenth chapter of St. Matthew, very nearly approaching it. The Bill, indeed, only applied to such of the sex, as should violate the marriage vow, we, therefore, cannot conceive that such zeal for adulteresses ought to have been so warmly displayed by their Royal Highnesses. It was certainly impossible for any man to express more strongly his detestation of the crime of adultery in the abstract, than was done by the Duke of Clarence, nor to entertain more just ideas "of its most pernicious effects on society." (Hear, hear, from the Duke of York). He represented the adulterer "as an insidious and designing villain;" as one who was, and "and ever would be held in disgrace and abhorrence by an enlightened and civilized society." This description, we know to be correct, but we are wholly at a loss to reconcile it with the appellation bestowed on the same offender in another part of the speech of his Royal Highness, where the adulterer is represented *as a man of honour*. The test of this honour, however, it seems, is his subsequent marriage with the adulteress. A singular mode truly, of effacing a crime by a continued enjoyment of the fruits of it. It will not be denied that the loss of a mother to her family, or of a wife to her husband, is much more severely felt than the loss of property; yet what would any man say to a thief, who having robbed him of his property, repelled the imputation of dishonesty, by an allegation of the good use which he made of it?

In the speech of his Royal Highness, we, however, find

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another species of *honourable men*, of whom we had no idea. *The husband, who by suing for pecuniary damages obtained a verdict, was considered not a very honourable man, if when he received them, he put them in his own pocket, instead of returning them to the purse of the defendant.* So then in the language of *the world*, those are called honourable men, who conspire to render abortive the wisdom of the legislature by eluding the effect, and consequently defeating the purpose of our penal statutes. Upon this principle, if Mr. Robinson had obtained heavy damages from the Prince of Wales for adultery with his wife, or Lord Graves had called upon the law to make the Duke of Cumberland pay heavily for his criminality, and neither Mr. Robinson nor Lord Graves had repaid to the criminals the sums awarded to them for the injury which they had sustained, they would in the opinion of the Duke of Clarence, been dishonourable men, if they had not restored the amount of the damages into the royal pockets. We trust this strange assertion attributed to the Duke of Clarence was a mistake on the part of the reporter, for had such a principle been generally admitted in either House of Parliament, we should then begin to fear that our representatives, hereditary and elective, were all degenerated into mere *men of the world*, and that the triumph of *liberality* was complete. The Duke, it must, however, be observed, is made to say, that it was not sufficient for him to consider the question only as a legislator, a statesman, and a politician, a task we should have thought amply sufficient for any individual, but he was to consider it also as a man of the world. *Now a man of the world*, is a very difficult animal to describe, and God forbid that any question of morals should ever be decided by *men of the world*. We have heard of a certain lord, who is said to be a *man of the world*, who objects to marriage on principle; now, if he be true to his principles, as a member of the upper House, he ought to bring in a Bill for the abolition of marriage. We know another noble Lord, a *man of the world*, who connives at the prostitution of his own wife; this Lord, therefore, to be

consistent, should endeavour to have enacted a law for a removal of all restraints upon the free intercourse of the sexes, and should he not be able to carry it through the two Houses, let him join the St. Simonians, and then he can act upon *principle*. We are acquainted with another Duke, though not of the blood royal, who for years had lived in the continual practice of *double adultery*; now he, of course should seek to procure by legislative authority the expulsion of the decalogue from our bible and common prayer. But if such men of the world are to be allowed to amuse themselves with the art of legislation, we should hope they will only legislate for themselves, and live wholly apart from the rest of society.

But the strangest of all strange things, which the reporter put into the mouth of the Duke of Clarence was the assertion, that he did not come within the pale of the decalogue, nor of any other law prohibiting a free intercourse of the sexes, for that in consequence of the Royal Family Marriage Act, *he could not marry*, it, indeed, placed him in the same situation; that the present contemplated Bill would generally place those who should unfortunately fall under its provisions. Now the whole scope of the argument here detailed goes, to establish this point, that if the Bill passed into a law, its inevitable effect would be to reduce divorced adulteresses to the necessity of leading a life of prostitution, nay, *perpetual prostitution*, is as expressly stated to be the consequence of the Bill. The analogy contended for, is then, according to the sentiments of the Duke of Clarence, that the Act alluded to, absolutely prevents the marriage of the male members of the Royal Family, and reduces them to the necessity of living in perpetual fornication, and as that is really the effect of the Act, it must meet with the unqualified reprobation of every good Christian, and ought instantly to be expunged from the statute book. It is however, curious to observe the manner in which the advocates of this illegal Act have attempted to gloss over its unnatural provisions, and they maintained, in their strictures on the speeches of the Duke of Clarence, that the Marriage Act of George III., has no such sin to answer for, as that of compel-

ling the male branches of the Royal Family, and we may add, the female branches also, to live in a state of fornication, for they say, that the act only *prohibits the marriage of the Royal Family without the previous consent of the King*, nor is even this prohibition absolute, for when any one of the Royal Family of the age of twenty-five has given twelve months notice to the Privy Council of his intention to marry, he is at liberty to marry, *unless in the interval*, both Houses of Parliament have expressly declared their disapprobation of his marriage. Now it must be allowed that amongst the many mockeries of legislation with which this country has been blessed by its sapient rulers, this Marriage Act is one of the greatest, and could only have emanated from a doltish head, which considered the happiness of the members of his family as a trifle in comparison to the perpetuation of the royal native blood by the admixture of the royal blood of another country. There was, perhaps, no member of the Royal Family whom the provisions of this Marriage Act affected more than the Duke of Clarence, for twice did he attempt a marriage with a wealthy heiress of common extraction, and twice was he disappointed. The consent of the King was most peremptorily refused, and, therefore, his next recourse was to give twelve months notice of his intended marriage to the Privy Council. Now, who sits at the head of the Privy Council? Why the King himself, and was it to be supposed that he would grant that in his council, which he had refused as King! and further could it be supposed that the two Houses of Parliament, in an affair which in some measure concerned only the private feelings of the Sovereign, would grant their approbation of a measure which they knew was repugnant to him, and to which he had, as a King and a father given his decided refusal? The Parliaments of this country, in matters which concern the King, have seldom evinced any great degree of independence, on the contrary, they have always been distinguished by the greatest servility and a tame acquiescence in those measures, which had the slightest tendency to retrench the royal prerogative. It is, indeed, true, that the Princes of the blood royal

belong to the nation, as a kind of appendage, which it takes under its special keeping, and, therefore, they stand in a different relation to their father, and he to them, than the son of the common individual to his parent; but, nevertheless, it was a direct mockery to tell the members of the Royal Family, that in the event of the refusal of the Crown to their marriage, they might apply to the Privy Council, where they were certain of meeting with the same refusal, as they had received from the King himself.

We cannot refrain inserting the following short commentary upon the speech of the Duke of Clarence, as a specimen of the most extravagant reasoning on the condition in which the Princes of the blood royal of this country are placed, by the Marriage Act, and in which is contained a tacit censure on the male branches of the royal family, as they exhibited themselves at that time to the country. According to the opinion of the commentator, the speech of the Duke of Clarence had no other tendency, than to supply an excuse for himself and his illustrious brothers, *if any such there should ever unfortunately be*, who forgetting what they owed to their God, their country, and themselves, should be induced to lead a profligate and an immoral life. Now was this sapient commentator ignorant of the profligate and immoral life, which the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Clarence, were then leading? but he follows up this tacit censure of them, with a piece of wholesome advice, to which the country at large is pretty well conscious, that they never paid the slightest attention. If, says the commentator, "personages so circumstanced, should ever feel the hardship of being unable to contract such marriages as their inclination might lead them to form, they should recollect, first, the *principle of the prohibition*; the sacrifice of individual convenience to general good, deducing the wisdom and necessity of it from those melancholy pages of our history, which exhibit the destructive consequences of the civil contentions which divided the rival houses of York and Lancaster, and deluged the kingdom with blood; and secondly, that from the situation which imposes such hardships, adequate advan-

tages arise ; the comforts of affluence without exertion of body or mind ; rank, dignity, and consideration, without any previous effort to obtain them, and exclusive privileges, without the necessity of personal qualifications ; and thirdly, they should recollect that no human law whatever can afford an excuse for the violation of a divine precept."

It would be a waste of time to enter into an analysis of the foregoing sentiments, the absurdity of them is so glaringly apparent ; but we did not require a commentary on the speech of the Duke of Clarence to instruct us, that the Princes of the blood royal, whether married or not, do enjoy " the comforts of affluence, without exertion of body or mind ;" the former they are too indolent to use, and the latter, if they were inclined to use it, the stock on hand would be found so small, as scarcely to be worthy of being employed at all, but still being in possession of such a sufficiency, as sometimes to commit a great deal of mischief, like the insignificant moles, who disfigure the earth, wherever their existence is tolerated. We also know that the Princes of the blood royal " do enjoy rank and dignity, and consideration (?) without any previous effort to obtain them ;" in fact, they are thrust upon them by some wayward freak of fortune, nor would we quarrel with fortune in committing as many such unlucky freaks as she pleases, provided the people of this country were not called upon to pay for them. By way of a climax, however, the commentator informs us, that the Princes " enjoy exclusive privileges without the necessity of *personal qualifications*." It is impossible to dispute the truism of that remark, but a grosser libel upon the character of the illustrious Princes was never promulgated ; the people of a country, however, cannot be far removed from idiotcy, who will allow certain persons, whether Princes or plebeians, to enjoy exclusive privileges, without possessing any personal qualifications to sanction their possession. Privileges in the hands of incompetent persons are like a sword in the hand of a child, and the history of this country teems with examples of the injury which has accrued to it, from persons being in the possession of privileges, who have no personal qualifications to entitle

them to it. The late Duke of York was in possession of certain privileges, and so was George IV., and the manner in which they exercised those privileges, is too fresh in the minds of the people of this country, to require from us any recapitulation.

In a further exposition of the sentiments of the Duke of Clarence as expressed in his speech, the commentator thus speaks in commendation of them, and should the commentary have ever fallen under the inspection of his Royal Highness, or any of his illustrious brothers, they could not have failed to express their high sense of their obligation to the author, for the wholesome admonition which he reads to them, and the salutary truths, which he so laudably imparts to them.

Amidst the scandalous profligacy of manners, which prevails in the present times, the writer who describes fornication as a sin, is regarded as a cynic, unworthy of attention. At the risk, however, of incurring a similar fate, we shall venture to remind *all those whom it may concern*, that whoever attends the church service, must describe fornication "*a deadly sin*," (the royal brothers, according to the *Court Journal*, were regular attendants on church,) that fornication and adultery are considered as sins of the first magnitude by the inspired writers; and that we have the authority of an apostle for asserting that, "*no whoremonger nor unclean person, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.*" It remains, therefore, to be considered, whether it be the duty of a Christian to regulate his life according to the fashionable morals of the age, or agreeably to the precepts of God. When this becomes a matter of doubt, *destruction is near at hand*.

It would appear from the above, that although the royal brothers might inherit an earthly kingdom, they stood very little chance of an inheritance in a future one; and highly obligated, indeed, must the Duke of Clarence have been to the commentator on his speech, who in his solicitude for their welfare, could have imparted to him and his royal brothers so valuable and exhilarating a piece of information.

The motive assigned by the Duke of Clarence for his opposition to the bill in general, was certainly the best that could

actuate his mind—a conviction that instead of diminishing, it would tend to increase the sin of adultery. The motive, however, for objecting to that part of the bill, which rendered adultery a misdemeanor, was of a very different description. Our limits, however, will not allow us to expose either its folly or its fallacy.

Amongst other consequences which resulted to the Duke of Clarence from his opposition to the Divorce Bill, was the displeasure of his royal father, who, from a principle of morality, strongly objected to the course which his royal son had adopted. It was a subject, said his Majesty, on which it would have become his sons to have preserved a decorous silence, and not have exhibited themselves in the eyes of the whole nation, as the supporters and abettors of a dereliction of moral duty, and the advocates of certain members of society, who had infringed one of the chief rules of the christian life, and on the observance of which, is founded the existence of general and individual happiness.

CHAPTER V.

DURING the time that the Duke of Clarence was in the service of his country, in the West Indies, he had enjoyed frequent opportunities of investigating the state of slavery in those islands, and he had formed his own opinion as to the advantages, which would accrue to the mother country as well as to the colonists themselves by the abolition of the slave trade. Mr. Wilberforce in conjunction with Mr. Clarkson, who might be termed the organ of the Society of Friends, was using every effort in the House of Commons to accomplish the abolition of slavery; but neither the legislature nor the country appeared at that time willing to entertain the subject. Mr. Wilberforce, however, brought a bill into the House, for the purpose of effecting an abolition of the slave trade, the preamble of which was, "*Whereas the slave trade is contrary to the principles of humanity and justice,*" which preamble, no one can dispute was very short and pithy; but we should have thought, that when the character, not only of the government in all its branches, not excepting the House of Commons itself; we should have thought that when all this character was at stake, that a little more ceremony might have been used. But as it has frequently been observed, the love of the Negro race is a passion which knows no bounds, and when we reflect that the extreme attachment to them, has cost this country the enormous sum of 25,000,000 of pounds, which will in a short time enable the said Negro race of the British colonies to follow the example of their sable brethren of St. Domingo, it cannot be supposed, that we should be very profuse of our encomiums on those tender-hearted sympathising individuals, who have laid such a heavy burden on the already overburdened people of this country, from which at present no other object has been obtained, than a rise in all the articles, which are produced by Negro labour. The emancipation of the Negroes, has, however, been

accomplished, and therefore all argumentative matter upon the subject would be irrelevant, nor would it have been introduced into these pages at all, but for the purpose of recording the opinion of the Duke of Clarence on the subject, who having been an eye-witness of all the dreadful atrocities committed upon the Blacks, the greater part of which were invented and hatched at the Quaker's meetings, was certainly well-fitted to instruct the parliament of his country on a subject, concerning which, the minds of the members of it were kept in a continual state of inflammation, by the extravagant falsehoods, which were industriously and incessantly circulated by the abolitionists, and to which the highest possible colour of atrocity and inhumanity was imparted.

Mr. Wilberforce succeeded in carrying his resolutions through the House of Commons, with the exception of the word *gradual* for *immediate*, and on these resolutions being brought before the House of Lords, Lord Grenville moved that their lordships should agree with the resolutions of the Commons.

It was on this occasion that the Duke of Clarence presented himself to the notice of the House, assuring them, that he had come down unprepared to enter upon the subject, as he was not aware that the question of the slave trade was to come under discussion on that day. He therefore threw himself upon the indulgence of their lordships, for independently of his want of preparation, he had to labour under those difficulties, which must naturally arise from his inexperience in public speaking, yet on a question of such high importance, he could not bring himself to be silent, as he considered that in the adoption of the resolutions of the Lower House, the very safety and integrity of our West Indian possessions were endangered. Having served for some time on the West Indian Station, he had had frequent opportunities of being an eye-witness of the treatment of the negro slaves, and he was able and ready to prove, whenever he was called upon, that the conduct observed towards the negroes was not contrary to any, one principle of humanity and justice. From his own observa-

tion, his Royal Highness declared, that in his conscience, he verily believed the greatest hardship of their slavery was in the word, and when occasion calls for it, he should be able to maintain that the slave trade is neither unjust nor inhuman; that it is contrary, neither to religion nor morality, and that its continuation is at present demanded upon principles of sound policy. He had seen negroes in a state of slavery; and he had seen free negroes; he had also seen his own countrymen in a state of slavery too, although called by another name, and had he the choice, he would prefer the condition of the former to that of the latter. If the resolutions of the House of Commons be carried, there can be but little doubt of their producing a total subversion of our West India Colonies. The short question which he put to the House, which he had then the honour of addressing, was, do you wish to produce such subversion? Those who say, that compared with a continuation of the slave trade, the subversion of the colonies, the ruin of the planters and merchants, the diminution of the number of our seamen, and the consequent enfeebling of our maritime force, are all put together, a mere trifle, those persons, will of course persevere in their endeavours to carry the present resolutions, but those, who think that the loss of the West India Islands, would go very far to cripple, ruin, and finally enslave these European Islands that we inhabit, will think twice before they vote once for the abolition of the slave trade. If the African trade be of the greatest magnitude to the welfare and prosperity of this kingdom, the abolition of the slave trade should ever meet with his most serious and unqualified opposition, and as a proof of the magnitude and importance of that trade, he could assure their Lordships, that to his knowledge, there were at that moment agents from other countries now in London, who were anxiously awaiting the decision of Parliament, and were ready to engage all the vessels that would be thrown out of employ, should the House agree to those resolutions, which would in effect tend to its abolition, but which the love, which he bore to his country made him sincerely wish he should never live to see.

His Royal Highness took this opportunity of observing that he totally disagreed with the policy of having negro regiments ; it was teaching them a lesson, of which before long, those, who taught it them would feel the effects. A negro is a slave from his birth, but to have regiments of negroes stationed over their brethren, in slavery, was the height of impolicy and imprudence.

It was in consequence of these remarks so forcibly urged by his Royal Highness that Lord Stormant moved that the house do resolve itself into a committee to examine into the trade between this country and Africa, and between Africa and our West India Islands, and to inquire into the cultivation of sugar in our Islands.

In order to arrive at a speedy decision of this important question Lord Grenville proposed as an amendment, that an open committee should be appointed above stairs. To this, however, the Duke of Clarence offered many valid objections and contended that the fullest inquiry ought to be instituted, that all those who were interested in the slave trade should be heard by counsel at their Lordship's Bar. The majority of the Lords being of the same opinion, the motion of Lord Stormont was carried.

The conduct which the Duke of Clarence pursued on the subject of the slave trade raised up against him a host of enemies. He was branded as a lover of despotism and tyranny, as the advocate of cruelty and inhumanity, as a stranger to philanthropy and mercy, and the abolitionists went so far as to accuse him of being the bribed advocate of the slave dealers. They even degraded themselves by publishing a caricature in which his Royal Highness was represented leading a train of negroes in chains, whilst in the back ground were exhibited the various methods of inflicting punishment on the refractory slaves, especially on the women ; the anti-abolitionists retaliated and published a counterpart, representing Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Clarkson, and a few quakers drilling some negro recruits, and in the back ground were the insubordinates tied to the halberds, whilst the drummers were

lashing them most unmercifully, and underneath was written. "Look upon this picture and upon that." In fact a war raged between the abolitionists, similar to that of the allopaths and the homopaths of the present day, and as is generally the case, the cause of neither party was promoted by the contest. There was indeed much to be said on both sides. Man is a progressive animal, and his advance towards improvement is a pleasurable state. Hope cheers his path, as he toils up the hill that leads him to something better than he has yet experienced on its gay summit gilded with sun-shine. The labour of the ascent is a delight. But if he cannot help conceiving from a sense of grievance which he feels, something *excellent* to which he is prohibited by coercion from approaching, hope sickens, and ill humour succeeds to complacency. Hence arises a disagreement between the governed and the governors, and the governors being possessed of present power, use force and vigour to stifle the murmurs of complaint.—Coercion but increases the ill-humour, which often lies latent like the fires of a volcano, for a considerable time, but at last bursts forth with irresistible fury. It is wise, therefore, as well as just, in all governors, who have a regard for any thing but their present and private interest, to encourage discussion, to seek improvement of the system, and to reject no reform *proposed by great numbers*, without a cool, a temperate, and a long deliberation. The people of this country, however, who were favourable to reform in our colonization system, and particularly in the slave trade, thought they beheld in the Duke of Clarence, a decided enemy to all reform—a thorough-bred slave of antiquated prejudices and aristocratic habits, and a very unfit person indeed to be the Prince of a free and liberal-minded people. These circumstances, combined with some others of a personal character, rendered the Duke of Clarence one of the most unpopular of the royal Princes, at the same time had the people investigated the character of some of the other branches of the royal family, they would have discovered that the character of the Duke of Clarence was purity itself, in comparison with that, which par-

ticularly attached to his two elder brothers ; the delinquencies of the latter had, however as yet, been confined to their own immediate circle, whereas, according to the opinion of a certain class of persons, the Duke of Clarence had sinned grossly against every principle of humanity, justice, philanthropy, and christian charity. A certain junta, ridiculously styling themselves the people, and vaunting that they were the organ of the nation, took upon themselves the not very creditable office of bespattering his Royal Highness with the feculent matter of their abuse, and not content with considering him in his political character, they held themselves entitled to call him before their tribunal, on account of his private actions, which perhaps not being in reality fit to be tried by the rigid standard of morality, presented them with the means, unfortunately, of impugning his general character, and holding him up to the contempt and ridicule of the English people. Invective upon invective was poured upon him, and the amiable, peace-loving quakers declared interminable war against an individual, who had attempted to thwart them in one of their most favourite measures, and although the spirit did not move them to shew their hostility openly, yet by means of their willing, obsequious, and well-paid agents, the popularity of the Duke of Clarence was utterly destroyed, and the people taught to look upon him as the avowed enemy to all reform or improvement, which was founded on the principles of humanity and christian feeling.

On the 23d May, the country lost one of its brightest ornaments in the veteran Rodney, and on a motion made in the House of Lords, to bestow some memorial in honour of this gallant commander, the Duke of Clarence rose, and paid the following tribute of respect to the departed sailor, who had been seventy-two years in the service of his country, fifty of which was passed in actual service.

“I cannot give a silent vote on the present occasion. The services of the late Lord Rodney are so great, that, it did infinite honour to his Majesty’s ministers to pay every respect to his memory, such services merited the highest rewards from

his country; and I am happy to hear this public testimony to their value and importance. For myself, I have particular reasons to endeavour to do justice to the singular merits of my deceased friend, who, unhappily for this country, is no more; but I hope the House will indulge me a few moments, while I briefly recal to their recollection the noble services his Lordship has rendered, which I am certain they never can forget.

“I must first remind their lordships, that Lord Rodney, had taken Martinique, Grenada, &c. &c., from the French, in the war before the last. In the last war, in going out to Gibraltar, he had taken a Spanish admiral, with a valuable convoy. Without this most seasonable and fortunate capture, Gibraltar was so short of provisions, that the most serious consequences were to be apprehended. He had abundantly supplied the garrison, and happily relieved it. The House will recollect that Lord Rodney, had taken the Island of St. Eustatius, and a Dutch convoy; but the most glorious period of his life was the 12th of April, 1782, which will ever be held as a most sacred epoch in this country. The enemies of England, were vain enough to think they could crush her for ever; but the event of that day clearly proved, that a British fleet of nearly equal force, when opposed to a French fleet will be sure to beat them. The victory of the 12th of April was more honourable to Lord Rodney, as it was obtained over De Grasse, one of the best and bravest admirals that France ever produced. Had it been in the power of valour to have saved a brave man from disgrace and misfortune, it never would have been the lot of De Grasse to have been disgraced and banished from the French court—a conduct however,” his Royal Highness emphatically observed, “that had too often prevailed in courts;”

It was that victory which decided the fate of the war, and taught our particular enemy France, that however for a time we might be depressed, we arose, after a seeming defeat, with renovated strength and courage.

“I trust,” concluded the royal speaker, “this house will pardon my expatiating on the virtues and great professional merits of my departed friend, for which myself and every

officer of the British navy entertain the highest respect and veneration."

Some idea may be formed of the weakness of the influence which the Duke of Clarence enjoyed at that period with the ruling powers of the Admiralty from the circumstance, that although he used his utmost endeavours to procure the promotion of a son of the great Rodney, he never was able to succeed, indeed, it became a question whether the interference of his Royal Highness did not tend more to retard the promotion of young Rodney, than to expedite it. The Duke of Clarence with the Admiralty, and Sir Francis Burdett with the Government were the exact counterparts of each other. However well grounded the recommendation of the former might be, it was certain to be thrown aside for no other reason than that it came from his Royal Highness; on the same principle that whatever cause Sir Francis Burdett espoused in the House of Commons, or whatever motion he might bring forward, although acknowledged to be constitutional, and highly deserving of the attention of the legislature, yet it was sure to be negatived merely because it was brought forward by a man, who at the time was the boldest enemy of the borough-mongers and the staunch and inflexible friend of the people.

At the time, however, when Nelson was appointed to the command of the Mediterranean, the Duke of Clarence strongly recommended young Rodney to the protection of Nelson, whose sentiments on the subject may be gathered from the following extract of a letter written by Nelson to his royal Highness.

"I agree with your royal Highness most entirely, that the son of Rodney ought to be the protege of every person in the kingdom, and particularly of the sea officers. Had I known that there had been this claimant, some of my own lieutenants must have given way to such a name, and he should have been placed in the Victory. The whole fleet is full, and I have twenty on my list, but whatever number I have, the name of Rodney must cut many of them out.

It was at this period that another branch of the Royal

Family began to excite the attention of the English people, not exactly by his profligate and irregular course of life, but by his conduct as a soldier in the command of a regiment. Like his royal brothers, he had been sent to Germany, and resided successively at Lunenburg and Hanover, where he nearly completed his twentieth year, from whence he removed to Geneva, where he passed two years more. During the whole of this period, his father, in the true spirit of penury and avarice, although so prodigally provided for by the nation, upon whose purse, whenever an opportunity presented itself, he made frequent and heavy drags above his enormous income, only allowed the youthful Prince the paltry sum of 1000*l.* annually, and this pittance was placed at the sole disposal of his bear-leader, with the exception of one guinea and a half per week, allowed to his Royal Highness for pocket-money!!

During the time of the residence of Prince Edward at Hanover, he carried on a private correspondence with the Duke of Clarence, touching a subject rather of a delicate nature, as it concerned the birth and existence of an illegitimate child, of which the Duke of Clarence was the reputed father, the proof of which had been laid before the civil authorities of Hanover, who now called upon his Royal Highness to make that provision for the maintenance of the child, which the laws of the country demanded of him, and which they expected would be provided, without giving that publicity to the transaction which from the character and rank of his Royal Highness he would no doubt study to avoid. To this application the Duke of Clarence did not condescend to pay any attention, on the contrary, he repudiated the child altogether, and authorized his brother Prince Edward totally to disavow the parentage of the child, and closed his instructions with a remark not very creditable to him, which was, that even supposing he was the parent, he was not amenable to the laws of Hanover, relative to the maintenance of an illegitimate offspring, and therefore he absolved himself from all respon-

sibility in regard to the maintenance of the child of which he was the reputed father. That a matter of this description should remain a secret amongst the coteries of Hanover, was not to be expected, for although the royal party adopted every possible means of hushing up the matter and imputing perjury and baseness to the unfortunate girl, who had been the victim of the licentious passions of the Royal Duke, yet there was, on the other hand, a strong and determined party, who espoused the cause of the injured girl, and who were resolved to adopt the most decisive measures, to bring his Royal Highness to a sense of justice, and to force him to make at least some pecuniary recompensation for the injury, which he had inflicted. Finding that all remonstrance or expostulation was thrown away upon his Royal Highness, a subscription was set on foot for the purpose of defraying the expences of the journey of the mother and her child to England, carrying with her attested copies of her depositions before the civil authorities of Hanover, and other vouchers, corroborative of the claim which she had upon the Duke of Clarence. It was rather a singular coincidence, that Baron Hardenberg, of whom former mention has been made, was then residing in London, and who from the remembrance of the conduct pursued towards him by the Duke of Clarence and his party, during his residence at Hanover, would gladly seize upon any opportunity of retaliating upon the Duke for the affront which had been passed upon him, and of which he considered his Royal Highness to be the principle instigator.

On the arrival of the lady and the spurious scion of royalty in London, she was instructed to apply immediately to Baron Hardenberg, from whom there was little doubt, but she would receive the most unqualified assistance, nor was this conjecture unfounded, for the Baron, under the sanction of the name of another person, for as an alien and a kind of refugee from his native country, he dared not interfere in his own name, contrived in the first place to get a paragraph inserted in the public papers, vaguely insinuating that a lady with her infant hau

arrived from Hanover on a special mission to the Duke of Clarence touching an affair of the greatest delicacy, the particulars of which would transpire in a few days.

The following is the paragraph as it appeared in the *Times* newspaper :

“ We are given to understand that a lady has just arrived from Hanover, bringing with her a child, of whom a certain royal Duke is the reputed father. Numerous attempts having been made to obtain from his royal Highness that support for his offspring, which his humanity should teach him to grant, and which the laws of his country will force him to bestow, and all those attempts having failed of success, the inhabitants of Hanover by a public subscription, have enabled the injured woman to travel to London, and seek that redress from her unprincipled seducer, to which she is so justly entitled.”

The paper containing the above paragraph, was transmitted to the Duke of Clarence by the post, and he now began to repent of having turned a deaf ear to the applications, which had been made to him by his brother from Hanover, when by the advance of a few pounds, he might have prevented all publicity being given to the transaction. The address of the author of the paragraph having been left at the office of the newspaper, the Duke lost no time in opening a negotiation with the parties, through the medium of Mr. Barton, who afterwards made such a conspicuous figure in the defence of his royal Highness, on account of his conduct towards Mrs. Jordan, and it was finally agreed that the annual sum of 100*l.* should be paid to the mother of the child, until the age of majority, when all further payment was to be suspended; the Duke undertaking to pay all expenses of her return to Hanover. Of the ultimate fate of this child, there are no accounts existing, but rumour states, that he was made to enter the army at a very early age, and fell as a common soldier, in one of the battles fought against Napoleon.

The Duke of Clarence never stood in a very high degree of favour with his royal father, for he ventured to dispute the policy of the “heaven-born minister,” and that alone was all suf-

ficient to incur the displeasure of the sovereign. When however, the Duke began in his place, in the House of Lords to vote against the bishops, and actually to accuse them of intolerance, his conduct became then in the eyes of his father, so reprehensible, that to use the language of the court, though not very courtly, his royal Highness was literally *rumped*. It was on the second reading of a bill of Earl Stanhope's for the repeal of the Penal Statutes for not attending divine worship, that the Duke of Clarence stood on the side of Lord Stanhope, and thereby called down upon him the anathemas of the misled body, and the severe censures of his royal father. The Archbishop of Canterbury being invested with the spiritual keeping of the consciences of the King and royal Family (God help him!) declared, that the Bill was full of "danger to the church," and severely reprobated granting the liberty to write, print, and publish all kinds of investigations upon religious topics. The Bishops of Bangor, St. Asaph, and St. David, in the fury of their zeal for the church, argued the same way, and Lord Stanhope met their arguments by reading the canons of the church respecting the casting out of devils, and another that ordered, "if a man were bald, so that he was in danger of catching cold, he must nevertheless go to church, as he would wear a nightcap," and that their arguments reminded him of a Bill brought in during the reign of Henry VII., repealing all laws against priests for crimes of every description, and amongst others for rapes committed by men of their holy order. The Prelates' arguments against the Bill, his lordship said had been a rape, for that implied compulsion, and compulsion ought always to be punishable, to which the priests answered, that they had only resorted to a very gentle kind of compulsion. The Duke of Clarence maintained that all compulsion in religious matters was fraught with the greatest danger, and as to the arguments of the Bishops, which inferred that the Church was in danger by not enforcing the statute for attending divine service, he gave it as his decided opinion, that the best method of bringing the Church into disrepute, was to compel the people to attend it. All compulsion

sat uneasily upon the necks of individuals, nor could he see that the interests of religion could be advanced by a penal compulsion to attend a service, to the tenets of which perhaps they could not conscientiously subscribe. It was, in fact, opening a door to schism and dissension, and to an actual alienation of a vast number of individuals, who would secede altogether from a church, to which such compulsory statutes belonged. He had, although a very young man, seen many countries, and had examined their laws and manners, but in no country but England, did he know of a penal statute, enforcing attendance on divine worship, which was in fact grossly and unjustifiably interfering in the solemn compact which a man might have entered into with his Maker, who claimed to himself the natural privilege of worshipping that Maker in the way most agreeable to himself. In his opinion, England, by the retention of such impolitic laws on her statute book, was degrading herself in the eyes of Europe, nor did he think that the Bishops were promoting the interests of their Church in supporting such a system of intolerance, as was contained in the odious statute, which this bill went to abolish.

That sentiments, such as these, could not be very palatable at Buckingham House, nor at Lambeth Palace may be easily conceived. At the former, some strong suspicion began to float in the royal heads, that the foreign education of their offspring had instilled certain notions into their minds, not exactly conformable to the interests of the Established Church of England, and the primate of all England, in the punctilious discharge of his duty lost no time in repairing to Buckingham House to expostulate with the royal parent on the back-sliding of his son, who had so openly and publicly beared all the right revered fathers in God in their very dens, and who had so unroyally and profanely sided with a known enemy to the church in the abolition of one of its most important statutes. "Very bad, very bad, indeed," said his Majesty, "I'll speak to Pitt about it." His grace the archbishop could not immediately discover what Pitt had to do with the profanity of the Duke of Clarence, but on his Majesty repeating his

determination "to speak to Pitt about it," the archbishop very wisely desisted from pressing the matter further, debating in his own mind, which of the two, the father or the son was the most reprehensible.

We have already given an account of the parliamentary conduct of the Duke of Clarence on the Divorce Bill, and it was not a little remarkable that the discussion on the Bill had scarcely terminated, when two friends of his Royal Highness appeared before the House, *pro* and *con*, in a case of that description. Those friends were Mr. Crewe, Plaintiff, and Sir Harry Inglefield, Defendant. The Duke of Clarence absented himself from the House during the first stages of the Bill, from the consideration of his intimacy with the two parties, and he stated that he had only then come down to the House because he understood considerable doubts remained upon their Lordships' minds as to whether the adultery was fully proved. He had, therefore, come down in consequence of information he had received, to endeavour to establish the fact. His Royal Highness trusted, that if any doubt remained upon the matter, the House would suffer further evidence to be received on some future day. The Lord Chancellor in the course of his speech, noticed in a pointed manner the fact of Mr. Crewe having received but 300*l.* damages before the sheriff, and cast some reflections on his conduct towards his wife, intimating at the same time, that it would be highly proper to make a standing order not to receive a bill of this kind, unless a trial had taken place, and judgement to a certain amount of damages had been given before a judge in a court below.

The Duke of Clarence hoped he should shortly be able to give the House some information on the subject. He felt bound to inform their Lordships that Sir Harry Inglefield had suffered judgement to go by default in terror of the large damages that were usually given in such cases in the Court of Kings Bench.

When a petition was introduced in April in the following year, from Mr. Hoare, an individual praying for leave to bring in a bill for divorcing him from his wife, the Lord Chancellor

objected, and insisted that the verdict of a jury was necessary to guard against collusion, and that the difficulty of arriving at the whole truth in the ecclesiastical courts was very great. The Duke of Clarence acquiesced, only that he hesitated how far it would be proper to make the verdict of a jury bind their proceedings.

The interest which the Duke of Clarence appeared to take in these divorce bills, scarcely ever absenting himself from the House, whenever one of them was likely to come under discussion, exposed him much to the ridicule and satire of the public journals. With some of them it proved the existence in his Royal Highness of a vitiated and degenerate taste in attending the examination and sitting to hear the evidence on subjects of that kind, which could only be grateful to a lustful appetite, and in which the promotion of no national interest was concerned. In the case of Crew and Inglefield, he particularly exposed himself to the lash of the satirist, for therein he actually undertook to procure such information to their Lordships *as to establish the fact*, and on being asked by the witty Lord Stanhope from what quarter he expected to gain his information, the Duke as wittily answered, "*why from the parties themselves.*" On another occasion, Lord King inquired of his Royal Highness, when he was arguing to substantiate the guilt of the parties, whether he was either the bolster or the pillow upon the occasion, No, answered his Royal Highness, *but I was between them both.* Does his Royal Highness mean to say, asked Lord King, *that he was between the lady and the defendant?*

In the month of October, Earl St. Vincent moved that the thanks of the House be given to Sir James Saumarez, and the officers and men under his command, for his gallant action with the enemy's fleet off Algeziras. It is worthy of remark that the illustrious Nelson seconded this motion. That great seaman said he could not give a silent vote on such an occasion. He had the honour to be the friend of Sir James Saumarez. The noble Earl at the head of the Admiralty had selected an officer of great talent to watch the French in an

important quarter, and the noble Lord had not been deceived in his choice. He (Lord Nelson.) would assert that a greater action was never fought. Sir James Saumarez had undertaken an enterprise before that action, that none but the most gallant officer and the bravest seaman would attempt. He had failed through mere accident by the falling of the wind, for if that had not failed him, he ventured to say, that Sir James would have captured the French fleet. The promptness with which Sir James refitted, and the spirit with which he attacked a superior force after his recent disaster, and the masterly conduct of the action, he did not think had ever been surpassed. Lord Nelson then went into the minute details of the action, and of whom and under whom Sir James Saumarez had received his education. The thanks being formally moved by Earl St. Vincent, the Duke of Clarence rose and said, he should have come forward to give a full and ample testimony to the merit of that gallant officer, Sir James Saumarez, and the captains who had the good fortune to be in that action, if the noble lord at the head of the Admiralty, and the hero of the Nile, had not been present to do them greater justice than his praise could afford. He found it impossible, notwithstanding, to give a silent assent to the motion. He heartily concurred in all that had fallen from the two noble lords. He would give his vote for the motion as a professional man, as well as one partaking in the benefit rendered to the whole country by Sir James Saumarez. Two of the captains who had shared in the good fortune of that day, had been his brother officers, Captains Keates and Hood, and he would venture the assertion that the navy did not contain more promising officers. He had been four years and a half at sea, in the late war, as midshipman, in the same watch with Captain Keates, and he bore testimony to his being a most able and gallant officer.

There is hardly a parallel in English history for the foregoing incident. The two greatest naval heroes of England in modern times move and second in the House of Peers, a vote of thanks to a third hero of the ocean, and they are immediately supported by a brother officer in the same glorious service, who is the

son of the reigning monarch, and who afterwards mounts the British throne. It is true, on Lord Horbart moving the thanks of the House to the navy and army of Egypt, the motion was seconded by the hero of the Nile, and the Duke of Clarence praised their conduct, but the Earl St. Vincent was not the mover, nor was the party to be thanked of the same line of service alone, or the peculiar friend of those who led the motion.

In the course of the same session, a Bill was brought in by ministers, for the purpose of preserving the timber in the New Forest, from which the finest oak was obtained for the British navy. The motion, however, was not strictly confined to the preservation and increase of the timber, but there was coupled with it an unconstitutional measure, which was nothing less than an alienation of the crown property, to which the Duke of Clarence gave his most unqualified opposition, in which he was supported by Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who opposed the Bill with many valid objections, amongst which he considered the alienation of landed property from the crown, as not one of the least. It was his opinion, that the crown, should always possess a landed interest in the country, and if the estates attached to it, could be so improved as to render it independent of the necessity of applying to parliament for support, it would be more honourable and beneficial to both; and that such was the constitutional principal of the country, he thought, it was sufficiently evident in the determination of making forfeited lands to fall to the crown, and, therefore, he could not but consider every suggestion to take away part of that property, as infringing upon, and depriving the crown of its just rights.

In a subsequent stage of the Bill, the Chancellor repeated his objections to it, and he further added, that before the Bill had been brought into the House, the royal assent ought to have been given to it in due form.

On the Duke of Montrose declaring, that the previous consent of the King could not be given in a committee; the Duke of Clarence declared himself an advocate for the interest of the

crown, as stated by the Lord Chancellor; and as to what had fallen from the Duke of Montrose, his royal Highness said, that he was lately on a committee, where his Majesty's assent was formally given, as being indispensably necessary. He further observed, that he should ever support the prerogative of the crown, and trusted, that his declaration would be credited.

In consequence of this opposition, Lord Grenville postponed the Bill until the following session.

The report of the speeches of his royal Highness in the House of Lords, having excited the attention of his friend Nelson, that celebrated man addressed a letter to the Duke, who returned the following answer:—

“ Clarence Lodge, Sept, 21, —

“ MY DEAR NELSON,

“ I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your friendly letter of the 12th instant, that came safely. I am so fully persuaded of your real regard for me, my good friend, that no fresh mark can be wanting to convince me. Still, however, at the present moment, when the public have two opinions, the one good, the other disadvantageous, of my parliamentary conduct, I feel highly obliged to you, as a person qualified to judge, for delivering your sentiments. I think it is the duty of every subject to prevent, if possible, that confusion, which might throw our kingdom into the wretched, deplorable state of France. Assure our common friends in the West Indies, that I will neither neglect nor desert them. My best wishes and compliments attend Mrs. Nelson, and ever believe me yours.

“ WILLIAM.

Nelson foreseeing that peace could not be much longer maintained, addressed the following letter to the Duke of Clarence, he having applied for a ship, but unsuccessfully.

“ SIR,

“ Your royal Highness will not, I trust, deem it improper,

although I have no doubt it will be thought unnecessary, at this time, to renew my expressions of invariable attachment, not only to your royal Highness, but to my KING; for, I think, that very soon, every individual will be called forth to shew himself, if I may judge from this country, where societies are formed and forming on principles inimical to our present Constitution, both in Church and State. Sorry am I to believe that many give a countenance to these societies, who ought to conduct themselves otherwise.

"In what way it might be in the power of such a humble individual as myself best to serve my KING, has been matter of serious consideration, and no mode appeared to me so proper as asking for a ship; accordingly, on Saturday last, Lord Chatham received my letter, desiring the command of one. Still, as I have hitherto been disappointed in all my applications to his lordship, I can hardly expect any answer to my letter, which has always been the way I have been treated. But neither at sea, nor on shore, can my attachment to my KING be shaken. It will but end with my life."

To which the Duke replied as follows:—

"DEAR NELSON,

"Though at present the armament is confined to small vessels, I much doubt whether any fleet will be equipped, and still less do I see any chance of any rupture between this country and France. At the same time, this pernicious and fallacious system of equality and universal liberty must be checked, or else we shall here have the most dreadful consequences. I perfectly agree with you, that it is the duty of every individual to use his utmost efforts to counteract those incendiaries; and I hope we shall in Parliament take vigorous and effectual means to restore tranquillity at home. Should matters between the two countries grow serious, you must be employed. Never be alarmed; I will always stand your friend. I wish you would write me word how you and Lord Hood are

at present. My best wishes and compliments attend Mrs. Nelson, and ever believe me yours sincerely,

“WILLIAM.”

It should appear that Nelson had taken a more correct observation of the political state of Europe than his Royal Highness, for on the opening of the Parliament of 1793; the King thus alluded to the prospect of war.

“I have carefully observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France; but it is impossible for me to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which have appeared there, of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries—to disregard the rights of neutral nations—and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies, the States-General, who have observed the same neutrality with myself, measures which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties. Under all these circumstances, I have felt it my indispensable duty to have recourse to those means of prevention, and internal defence, with which I am entrusted by law; and I have also thought it right to take steps for making some augmentation of my naval and military force; being persuaded that these exertions are necessary in the present state of affairs, and are best calculated, both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace.”

The address being moved and seconded, the Duke of Norfolk expressed a doubt whether the militia had been legally embodied. His grace was followed by the Marquess of Lansdown, in a speech full of invective against all the measures of Government. He deprecated going to war with France upon the question of opening the Scheldt, conceiving that we had

nothing to do with the business; that, if we were bound by treaty, the treaty was a bad one, and the sooner it was given up, the better.

Lord Grenville combated the arguments of the Marquess, and took a review of the internal and external state of the country, to shew the necessity of vigorous measures. A seditious spirit had appeared among a number of designing men, who were supported and encouraged by too many of their superiors. His lordship said, that he held in his hand no less than ten treasonable papers, which had been transmitted to the National Convention, from different clubs in this kingdom, during the preceding month. Some of these papers stated, that there were thousands in England ready to stand up for the rights of man, and to form a National Convention here, upon the ruins of the aristocracy.

These addresses were not only received by the French revolutionary government, but answered in a complimentary strain, and with the promise of co-operation. Hence it became evident, that the principle of the French republic was to spread anarchy all over Europe, for the purpose of establishing an empire more extensive, and of a worse character, than that which constituted the ambition of Louis XIV. Towards the attainment of this object, they had already gained the whole of Savoy, penetrated into the Austrian Netherlands, and had now demanded the opening of the Scheldt, which, if carried, would annex Holland to the French territories.

The Duke of Clarence perfectly coincided with the noble secretary of state in all the sentiments he had just expressed. His royal Highness said, that, with regard to himself, he had made an offer of his services in his professional line, in which he thought he could be most beneficial to his country. To him it also appeared, that it was of little signification whether the opening of the Scheldt was of any consequence to us—it was sufficient for our interference, if the Dutch held it to be of importance to them; for if the French should overturn that government, and afterwards have a design upon our own, we

might in that case, have to meet the Dutch fleet as enemies, instead of acting with them as friends.

Several peers, who had hitherto been leaders in the rank of opposition, now gave their support to ministers; particular the Earls Fitzwilliam, and Carlisle, Lords Stormont and Rawdon. Even Earl Stanhope declared himself in favour of the British constitution; because it possessed, as he said, the power of correcting itself.

War was determined on in January 1793, and the Duke of Clarence succeeded in obtaining for his friend Nelson the *Agamemnon*, of sixty-four guns, fitted out for the Mediterranean. Soon afterwards he escorted the Queen and his sisters to Greenwich to witness the embarkation of the Duke of York and the Guards for the continent.

In the month of January, the Duke of Clarence was promoted to be Rear-Admiral of the Red. In vain did his Royal Highness offer his services for activity. He was fond of his profession, and the time of the Duke of York being sent to command the British army on the continent, seemed a reason that his wishes should be satisfactorily met. That the Duke of Clarence would have distinguished himself in the service cannot be doubted, nor does there seem any reason why his Royal Highness was not put to the test. It was his own ardent desire, and the opposition, from whatever quarter it came, there can be no doubt deprived him of a share of honour and triumphs in the favourite service of the country, which he would have nobly earned for himself. That his Royal Highness was anxious to distinguish himself in any way in which he could be useful, was evident from his sailor-like speech to the volunteer corps at Teddington, in the course of the war, when the volunteer system was at its height, and all able men patriotically came forward to enrol themselves for the national defence. The Duke said to them in his blunt way, "My friends and neighbours! wherever our duty calls us, I will go with you, fight in your ranks, and never return home without you."

That he was not employed, does not seem to have been his own fault. The Admiralty, it was said, had objections to send him out; but he had opposed Pitt, and with his father that minister was all-powerful, while he never forgave any one who stood in the way of his ambition. The knowledge of the wish, on the side of his Royal Highness, was quite enough to make the minister hinder its gratification. He was, therefore, condemned to remain ingloriously idle; but he did not plunge into dissipation, nor yield to the soft allurements of luxury and ease. He attended in his place in the House of Peers, and gave his support to the war just commenced. He kept up a correspondence with many distinguished officers in his own line of service, and with Nelson more particularly, he carried on a very active and busy intercourse by letter. Nelson was present at the evacuation of Toulon by the allied forces of England and Spain, in 1793. He pourtrayed it as a scene of horror, but thought the place not worth keeping, as the ships and arsenal were destroyed, and the expense, both of blood and treasure, expended for the purpose, would have been very great.

CHAPTER XII.

ENGLAND may now be said to have been completely involved in a war, brought about by the infatuation and ambitious views of Pitt, who in his dreams saw the crown of France prostrate at his feet, and himself the arbiter of its future government. The disastrous results of the campaigns of the Duke of York, as they were styled, are too well known to the people of this country, to require any commentary on our part, we shall therefore merely touch upon them, as having an immediate or a remote relation to the illustrious object of these memoirs.

Parliament assembled on the 21st of January 1794, and never did it meet at a more interesting period, nor at a time when more subjects of greater importance pressed upon its attention. The King in his opening speech, the most flimsy and ridiculous of all state documents, observed "that he and his subjects were engaged in a momentous contest, on the issue of which depended the maintenance of the constitution, laws, and religion of the country and the security of all civil society." The King therefore in the opening of his speech, imparted that information to his people of which they stood not in need, for there was not an individual in the country who was ignorant of its being engaged in a momentous contest, and that on the issue of it certainly depended those results which he had so explicitly enumerated. He however forgot to tell the people, that he had from a direct spirit of favouritism entrusted the command of his army to an impotent and imbecile commander, who was his own son, and who from his incapacity was likely to bring disgrace upon the country, endanger its constitution, laws and religion, and destroy the security of all civil society.

His Majesty then mentioned the advantages obtained by the arms of the confederate powers, and most sagaciously added, that the circumstances by which their further progress

had been impeded, not only proved the necessity of vigour and perseverance, but confirmed the expectation of ultimate success.

The analysis of a king's speech generally baffles all human sagacity, for put it into whatever alembic you will, or submit it to whatever menstruum the utmost ingenuity can devise, the result is generally a *caput mortuum*. Certain means, said the king, had been employed to arrest the victorious progress of the enemy's army, one of which means was the skill and transcendent generalship of the Duke of York, which information as being imparted to the people by the king himself, the said people were bound, in a proper spirit of loyalty, to confide in the truth of it. "The enemies of the country," his majesty farther observed, "had derived the means of temporary exertion from a system which had enabled them to dispose arbitrarily of the lives and property of a numerous people, but these efforts, productive as they had been of internal discontent and confusion, tended rapidly to exhaust the national and real strength of the country." These words sounded pompously and vauntingly from the mouth of royalty, but those who put them into it, had no other view than to hoodwink and deceive the people, to whom they were addressed. His majesty evidently alluded to the conscription in France, by which the lives of the people were arbitrarily disposed of, at the same time, that he remembered to forget to mention the impressment of the seamen in his own country, by which the lives of a numerous body of people were disposed of against their will, and which partook strongly of the nature of a tyrannical and despotic government. His majesty is made further to say, "that he regrets the necessity of continuing the war;" whereas, a more palpable falsehood was never uttered; the discontinuance of it might have given him some regret, but no man, conversant with the character of George the Third, and of William Pitt, that demon of war, who guided the imbecility of his monarch to the worst and most criminal purposes, could place the slightest faith in the assertion, that he regretted the necessity of carrying on the war, but on the con-

trary, that it would be a source of inexpressible regret to him, if the people were boldly to interfere and insist that he should not carry it on.

An amendment to the address was moved by the Earl of Guildford, who wished for a speedy negotiation, as we had rushed into war without necessity, but the Duke of Portland justified the war as strictly defensive, and as necessary for the preservation of the Christian religion, political and civil liberty, law and order. The Duke of Norfolk asserted that he had as strong a zeal for the support of our constitution as any peer of the realm, but he was not impelled by that zeal to an encouragement of the war, as he did not conceive that our happy establishments were endangered by the proceedings of the French. Lord Grenville endeavoured to show from the convulsed state of that country, the fallacy of all hopes of a successful negotiation. The Duke of Clarence in one of the most rambling, inconclusive, and unargumentative speeches which he ever delivered, attempted to defend the war on the broad principle of national safety, and to enforce the conviction on the minds of their lordships, that as France had set the example of cutting off the heads of their King and Queen, it was not at all improbable that the same system might be adopted in other countries, and Europe might exhibit the extraordinary spectacle of thrones without Kings, and Kings without heads. As to any alarm for the safety of their country, he deprecated the idea of it, so long as his gallant brother was at the head of the army, who no doubt before the end of the ensuing campaign would drive the French back into their own territory, and force them to sue for peace at the feet of their royal conqueror. In his imagination, he saw the demons of anarchy and rebellion stalking over his native land, sent over by the revolutionary spirits of France to commit the same havoc in this country, as they had done in their own.

He was thoroughly convinced that the war was highly popular with the people of this country, who were more than desirous to protect their blessed constitution, their laws, their

rights and privileges from the attacks and encroachments of French regicides, who by the prowess of his royal brother, would soon be made to answer for the enormity of their crime. The English people he knew to be brave, generous and loyal, and although he would not recommend the general principle of intervention in the affairs of other nations, yet when they carried their revolutionary spirit to that excess as to cut off the heads of their King and Queen, then, indeed, would England be highly culpable and deserving of the contempt of all the nations of Europe, if she did not interfere and show to the regicides, that they were not to cut off the heads of Kings and Queens like so many poppies in a garden, without meeting with the severest punishment, by cutting off their heads in return. His Royal Highness then alluded to the capture of Toulon which had been mainly effected by the extraordinary skill and bravery of the English navy, and that although, of thirty-one ships of the line, Britain had obtained only three, yet it was highly satisfactory to the country to know, that Lord Hood had taught the French a lesson, which they would never forget, whenever the two fleets of the hostile nations should meet on the open seas. His Royal Highness then warmly panegerised one Napoleon Buonaparte who had conducted the siege of Toulon, although a subaltern in the artillery, and his Royal Highness concluded a wild and extravagant speech, with calling upon the people to resist the revolutionary spirit of France, and to rally round that throne, which had been the source to them of so much blessing and national prosperity. (Q. E. D.).

In regard to the occupation of Toulon by the English and Spanish forces, it was one of those wild quixotic schemes for which the conductors of the war were so notorious. The retention of the place amounted almost to an impossibility, and in the following letter which Nelson wrote to the Duke of Clarence, he does not hesitate to call the evacuation of it a national benefit. This letter of Nelson's to the Duke, was written at Leghorn, on the 27th of December 1793, of which the following is an extract.

“On the 19th, in the morning, such a scene was displayed

as would make the hardest heart feel: the mob had risen, was plundering, and committing every excess. Many—numbers cannot be estimated—were drowned, trying to get off; boats upset; and many put a period to their existence. One family of a wife and five children are just arrived—the husband shot himself. In this scene of horror, Lord Hood was obliged to order the French fleet of twenty sail of the line, and as many other ships of war, together with the arsenal and powder-magazines, to be set on fire. Report says, one half of that miserable place is in ashes. The quitting Toulon by us, I am satisfied, is a national benefit—both in money, (for our contracts will be found to have been very extravagant, people seeming to act as if fortunes were to be made instantly,) and in saving some of our gallant English blood, which, when the muster comes to be taken, will appear to have flowed plentifully. The destruction of the fleet and arsenal, and indeed of the harbour of Toulon, for a number of years, is a great benefit to England.”

In regard to the numerous topics, which were discussed in both Houses of Parliament, relative to the conduct of the war, the Duke of Clarence was generally unfortunate in the course which he adopted. In many instances, he evinced a decided ignorance of those principles on which the constitution of the country is founded, and appeared more anxious to uphold and extend the prerogative of the crown, than defend the rights and liberties of the people. On no occasion was he more unhappy in his remarks, than when the message from his Majesty was communicated to parliament, relative to the subsidizing of a number of Hessian troops, who were to be taken into the pay of England, and to be employed on a particular service, under that weak, and imbecile commander, Lord Moira.

Amongst the military plans in agitation at this time, was a projected expedition to the coast of France, with the view to co-operate with the royalists in Brittany, and the neighbouring districts: and a body of Hessian troops were destined for this service. As the preparations, however, were not in a sufficient state of forwardness, when the troops arrived from the conti-

ment, and sickness would be produced by detaining them on board the transports, till everything was ready for carrying the plan into effect, it was deemed proper to put them into temporary quarters at Portsmouth, in the Isle of Wight, and in other convenient places near the coast. This circumstance was communicated to parliament, in a message from his Majesty, on the 27th March. As many similar cases occurred at different periods, and as the cause and the necessity of the measure were so perfectly obvious, it was concluded that the usual communication of the fact to parliament would be satisfactory. The opposition, however, contended, that the minister ought to have moved for a Bill of Indemnity, and he was charged with having violated the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement. Mr. Grey on the 10th of February, moved as a resolution of the House, that to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust, or to bring foreign troops into this kingdom, without the consent of parliament first had and obtained was contrary to law, which motion was negatived; and the subject was afterwards renewed in the House of Lords, on which occasion, the zeal of the Duke of Clarence overcame his prudence, and he contended, that this measure was not only justifiable, but constitutional; that ministers did not require a Bill of Indemnity, as such a Bill presupposes the commission of some act contrary to law, whereas in the present case the ministers had both precedent and law to sanction them in their proceedings. The Duke of Norfolk required of his royal Highness to state the precedents, which bore out the ministers in their present proceedings. Here, however, his royal Highness was unfortunately at fault, for he declared, that he could not exactly recal to his memory the circumstances under which foreign troops had been admitted into this kingdom, and as to the law of the case, he was obliged to confess, that in order to obviate the danger of any foreign troops being brought into the country on account of Queen Mary having married a foreigner, it was distinctly provided for, that the introduction of foreign troops, shall be considered as a breach of the constitution of the country.

His royal Highness finding himself thus beaten, both in re-

gard to precedent and to law, shifted his ground, and argued upon the expediency of the measure. Here, however, he was not more fortunate, for expediency, he was told, could not overcome the law of the realm, and that if ministers presumed on the mere plea of expediency to infringe the law, they might at a future period adduce it as a precedent, and thereby render all legislation abortive. The influence of the minister was, however, at that time all paramount; to effect any particular purpose, he appeared to set the laws of the country at defiance, and with the blind and unlimited confidence, which his sovereign reposed in him, he rendered the two Houses of Parliament his tools, for the prosecution of his measures, though in their very nature illegal and unconstitutional.

The part which the Duke of Clarence took in parliament, relative to the late war, and the support which he gave to ministers in all their quixotic plans, restored his Royal Highness in some degree to the good graces of his father; but still it was a problem not easily solved, why, as the Duke of York had been invested with the command of an army, the Duke of Clarence was not invested with the command of a fleet, or even of a single ship. The neglect of the latter could not have arisen from any opinion which the Admiralty might entertain of his incapacity to command a fleet, for there was no part of his naval service, which could entitle them to draw the inference that he was deficient in either skill or bravery, and consequently as competent to command a fleet or a ship as any other officer, who had been appointed. It is certain that the Duke solicited to be employed, but his application was refused; he then solicited to be allowed to join his brother the Duke of York, as a volunteer, this application was also refused, and yet in defiance of these well-known facts, we are informed by Dr. Watkins in his *ephemeral* production, that the Duke did not want interest with the Admiralty, when excited on behalf of others, though in regard to himself there was a *Remora*, which impeded his progress, and kept him stationary, till his professional services on the ocean were no longer wanted.

Now in the first place, it is directly notorious, that the in-

terest which the Duke of Clarence possessed at the Admiralty either for himself or others, was of little or no avail, and this was particularly exemplified in the application which his Royal Highness made to the Admiralty on behalf of the son of Lord Rodney, to which not the slightest attention was paid, indeed, it was, perhaps, owing to the interest which the Duke of Clarence took in the promotion of the son of the great Rodney that proved, to use Dr. Watkins' own elegant phrase, the chief *remora* to young Rodney's promotion, and as we have seen, it was not until Nelson had the command in the Mediterranean, that the Duke of Clarence could succeed in getting young Rodney into actual service. We will say nothing of the tacit libel which is cast upon the professional character of his Royal Highness, by the assertion that his interest at the Admiralty was great, when exerted on behalf of others, but that it was nothing at all, when it concerned himself, which is itself a direct implication, that although the Lords of the Admiralty might entertain a good opinion of the talents and bravery of those, recommended by his Royal Highness, yet that their opinion of himself was in a contrary ratio. With the knowledge, however, that Dr. Watkins, or the Rev. G. N. Wright appears to possess that there was a *remora* to the professional employment of his Royal Highness, it would only have been consistent with the true spirit of history to inform us in what that *remora* lay. There was no *remora* to the employment of the Duke of York—there was no *remora* to the employment of the Duke of Kent, and certainly as the Duke of Clarence had been very lately promoted from the blue to the red, if he were really deserving of promotion, he ought to be considered also as deserving of employment. "It is admitted," says Dr. Watkins, "that the omission of the Duke did not lie with the Ministers," with whom then did it lie? Did it lie with the King? And was the insult thus passed upon him to be considered as a kind of punishment for his want of servility in his parliamentary conduct, particularly in regard to the slave trade, for which his Royal Highness was stigmatised by the Quakers, as a man devoid of all humanity and philanthropy?

Now it is well known that George III. was always particularly partial to the sayings and doings of that immaculate body, and especially to the sayings and doings of one of their fair sisterhood, to whom the country is indebted for two *wooden* examples of royal illegitimacy. Be that, however, as it may. That the mind of George III. was deeply poisoned against the Duke of Clarence cannot be disputed, and yet the cause of it was never properly understood. It could not have arisen from any moral aberrations of which his Royal Highness might have been found guilty, for in that respect, he was immaculacy itself, when compared with his two elder brothers, but it is certain that in the progress of the Divorce Bill through the House of Parliament, the Duke of Clarence had been particularly severe against the Royal Family Marriage Act, that abortion of the royal head, and there is not anything which excites the resentment of an individual more keenly, than the public exposure of his folly.

It must undoubtedly have been a most mortifying circumstance to the Duke of Clarence to see two of his brothers employed in active service, whilst he was overlooked and neglected, and at the same time, that no cause was before the public, why such neglect should have been practised towards him. Notwithstanding the extreme unpopularity of the Duke of Kent as a soldier, there was no *remora* to his employment. At the breaking out of the war, the Duke of Kent was at Halifax in Nova Scotia, having been removed from Gibraltar on account of his great unpopularity. No one will accuse us of being the sycophants of royalty, but although we may award the meed of our praise to the Duke of Kent *as a man*, we must withhold it from him as a soldier. A military commander is not necessarily a tyrant, nor a despot, but it is an uncontroverted fact, that not one of the Royal Family was ever intrusted with the command of a regiment, or a ship, that the discipline was not carried to the utmost extreme of severity, and that this was the effect of their military education in Germany, was universally admitted. Nelson himself allowed that in no ship on which he had ever been on board, was the

discipline so rigidly observed as on that commanded by the Duke of Clarence; and never was there a regiment in the English service in which the character of the martinet was more conspicuously displayed than in the seventh Fusileers, at the time that it was under the command of the Duke of Kent.

It is perhaps impossible to inspire every soldier with an equal idea of the solid value in the field, of those dry and apparently uninteresting practices, which ought to occupy a very large portion of military life, the correct performance of which may be called the minutiae of the service, but which when taken in the aggregate, are nevertheless, if properly contemplated, of first-rate importance to the efficiency of those bodies of men, which may not inaptly be termed a military machine, where precision will be found of the utmost importance in the hour of action. But to discover the direct relation of the means to the end, or to put into the best possible form the best conceived order, or to lay down for observance by superior authority, rules which may challenge wisdom, is not unfortunately the lot of every aspirant to military fame.

We have seen many apologies for the severity of the discipline which the members of the royal family have universally preserved in their respective commands, but we confess that we were not a little staggered by the apology, which was sent forth by an advocate of Prince Edward on account of his minute attention to the frippery and foppery of his regiment, and his slavish fondness for Prussian ornaments. Fortunately a change of dress was not in the power of the Duke of Clarence to accomplish, and although he certainly exacted a punctilious observance of costume from his officers, not the utmost stretch of his authority could induce his sailors to add a button to their jackets, or to curtail an inch of their pig-tails.

It may be a matter of some amusement, if not of interest, to expose the sentiments of a biographer of the late Duke of Kent, on the *merit* which was due to him for his strict observ-

ance of and his great improvement in the uniform of his regiment, and the information therein contained, that the cut of a coat can not only render an army invulnerable to attack, but "carry it forward triumphantly in its aggressive pursuit."

"However fantastic," says the biographer, "it may appear to unobserving eyes, uniformity in trivial things cannot fail to engender that harmony of action, which to render stratagetic movements successful, must form their main feature, and be their most decided characteristic: thus *the cut of a coat, the form of a helmet, the fashion of a boot*, trifling as they may appear, have all, if fairly appreciated, a tendency to keep alive subordination, to produce the requisite harmony, and give birth to that simultaneity in the manners of an army which alone can render it invulnerable to attack, but carry it forward triumphantly in its aggressive pursuits."

We know not in what kind of senses, sane or otherwise, the writer of the foregoing paragraph must have been, when he undertook to palm such nonsense upon the public, and to insult their common sense with such a tirade of absurdity. According to this statement, the physical energies of an army, the military talents of the commander, the knowledge of all the strategy of war, the courage, the coolness and intrepidity of the soldiers, all have little or nothing to do with the victory, but if the coat be of a particular cut, the helmet of a particular form, the boot of the best and newest fashion, there is a simultaneity given to the manœuvres of an army, which can render it invulnerable to attack, and carry it on to triumph!

It may appear rather singular at the present day, that the Duke of York, the Duke of Clarence, and Prince Edward, were in their supposed improvements in the professions to which they belonged, styled *reformers*, and the latter Prince in particular, in the removal of many of the abuses which existed at Gibraltar when he was governor of that place, was, it is stated, removed from the command of that fortress on account of the extent of the reforms which he instituted, and the great difference between Prince Edward and the Duke of Cla-

rence was, that the former lost his command by the spirit of reform, and the latter, when seated on the throne, gained the affections of the people, and earned for himself the name of England's patriot king, by the reforms which he bestowed upon them, but of which a detestable and tyrannical aristocracy are doing their utmost to deprive them of the benefit.

The zeal which the Duke of Clarence manifested in his opposition to the abolition of the slave trade, alienated from him many individuals of high character and distinction, and with whom he had hitherto lived on terms of the greatest intimacy. There is little doubt that his Royal Highness in his determined opposition to the abolition of the slave trade acted from direct principle and from the best founded conviction that such a measure would be injurious, not only to the political but the commercial interests of the nation. In several instances however, his zeal carried him beyond the line of prudence and exposed him sometimes to the rebuke and severe animadversion of those Lords, who were opposed to him. A particular instance of this occurred on the 11th of April, when the Earl of Abingdon, celebrated for the eccentricity of his character, and his continual infraction of the standing rules of the upper House of Parliament, moved that the consideration of the petitions, respecting the slave trade should be postponed to that day five months. His Lordship however took a wholly different view for opposing the abolition than the Duke of Clarence did. His Royal Highness considered it under the broad principle of the injury which the commerce, and consequently the maritime power of the country would sustain by the abolition of the African trade, but the Earl of Abingdon now discovered, that the question of the abolition of the slave trade was a mere mask, and that the abolitionists were actuated by a secret motive to introduce into this country the new philosophy of France. The celebrated Dr. Priestly also came in for a share of his Lordships, animadversions, for he accused the learned doctor of preaching and publishing a sermon on the slave trade, but which was in reality, nothing more nor less than a clandestine attempt to

bring royalty into disrepute and overthrow the constitution of the country.

The rambling speech of the Earl of Abingdon, was replied to by the Earl of Stanhope, in his usual satirical and caustic style, throwing the shafts of his irony around him with merciless severity, many of which struck hard upon the Duke of Clarence, who seemed frequently disposed to flinch from them, but he found himself unable to escape. His royal Highness had called down upon himself the resentment and indignation of one class of sectarians, and he now exposed himself to the fury and rancour of another, by the following remarks which he made.

He began by expatiating on the injustice and the impolicy of putting an end to the trade, in the manner in which it was attempted. Public speakers and writers of the day admit the injustice of the trade, but dispute the policy of abolition, representing the licentious instinct of Negroes, as rather habits to be inconformable to the restraints of morality and discipline of freedom.

The complexion of the slaves is the obstacle to every redress; their complexion is suitable to the climate; that alone is a host against superior European discipline and knowledge. The inherent hatred of slavery against its masters is made inveterate by the distinction of colour. No temporizing subterfuges of change will do good. An instantaneous emancipation is as bad, or worse. It is a system that is incurable as mortality. The slightest innovation will spread like flames over the sun-burnt fields of a West Indian island. The trade and the slavery must stand together, or the latter will fall. There must be no experiments of gradual prohibition of trade. The whites must keep up adequate numbers of themselves, of the strictest military discipline and headlong courage, with a constant watchfulness against arming the negroes, *and above all, that every roving missionary be expelled from their conversation*, and that they be immersed in illiterate stupidity.

His royal Highness proceeded to state, that Mr. James Ramsey, who may be considered as one of the fathers of the slave trade, in the government of his own plantation

in the island of Nevis, acted in the most tyrannical manner. *None but fanatics or hypocrites, said the royal Duke, were for the abolition.* He then read a letter that had been sent to Condorcet from this country, which evidently proved that the ideas of French freedom were connected with the abolition of the slave trade by the present advocates of that measure. His royal Highness concluded with some very severe animadversions on Mr. Wilberforce, and others, who had lately received from the National Convention the flattering distinction of republican denizenship—an honour which would never be envied by any loyal or virtuous man in England.

These reflections, thrown out upon Mr. Wilberforce, and those philanthropists, who acted with him, were not to be passed over in silence.

Lord Grenville, therefore, as the mover of the Bill in the House of Lords, felt it his duty to censure, but in a serious and respectful manner, the language that had, in the ardour of debate, escaped his royal Highness, to the injury of one of the most upright and loyal characters in the kingdom.

Dr. Horsley, Bishop of St. David's, and a most determined opponent of the trade, repelled the charge of being a "fanatic," and the friend of Condorcet. "As to fanaticism," said the Bishop, "I know not at whom that shot was directed, nor do I care. It concerns not me; conscious, as I am, that, with the profoundest reverence for religion, the constant tenour of my life bears not the slightest stamp of fanaticism."

With respect to the charge of Jacobinism, thrown upon the abolitionists, the bishop said, "that it was a wretched calumny, and that the question had no more to do with French philosophy, than with the religion of the Pharisees. His lordship acknowledged, that he had formerly corresponded with Condorcet, on mathematical subjects, but said, that, since the Revolution, he had neither written, nor received a letter from him."

In the next session, a bill was passed through the lower House, abolishing that part of the trade which went to the supply of the territories of foreign nations; but when brought up to the Lords, it was opposed by the Duke of Clarence, and

thrown out by a great majority; besides which, a motion of Bishop Horsley, for receiving evidence, was also negatived.

Although his Royal Highness, could not obtain permission to share in the perils and glory of war, he still felt anxious for those of his friends who were in active employment; and he kept up an extensive correspondence with distinguished officers, of the military as well as the naval service. On parting with Nelson, the Royal Duke exacted a promise, to hear from him as often as his engagements would allow. This promise was punctually fulfilled, and the letters that passed between these illustrious friends will be found to throw light upon the history of that eventful period.

That the Duke of Clarence, although shut out from all active employment by the mulish obstinacy of his father, took a lively interest in the war, may be gathered not only from the letters which were addressed to him, and from Nelson; but also, from the sentiments which he expressed in Parliament, whenever that important subject came under discussion. Above all things, however, he appeared to be particularly sensitive of the military character of his royal brother, the Duke of York; who, notwithstanding all the blunders which he made, and the successive defeats which he sustained, was still in the opinion of the Duke of Clarence one of the greatest Generals who were then distinguishing themselves on the theatre of war; and, it was his belief, that the reverses which he suffered, were more to be attributed to the defalcation of the allies, and to a ruinous system of jealousy which had crept into the breasts of the different commanders of the allied forces, than to any incapacity or want of skill on the part of his royal brother. The affair of Dunkirk, however, which owing to the rapidity of the flight of his royal Highness, leaving behind him the finest park of artillery which ever left the shores of Britain, was stigmatised by the epithet of "the royal Dunkirk races," was a source of high indignation to the Duke of Clarence, who threw all the blame upon the Admiralty for not giving his royal brother the assistance which he expected, and which had it been seasonably supplied, would have crowned the brows of his brother with laurel, instead of with shame.

For the proper understanding of this important epoch in English History, we shall give a brief analysis of the career of the Duke of York, as bearing upon the fame and honor of the country, and the effects of which were felt by it through the succeeding reigns, and will continue to be felt for centuries yet to come.

The system of terror in France had given to the rulers of that land an absolute dominion over the persons of its inhabitants, and over every thing which it contained. Resolved to extend their sway over the neighbouring countries, to enlarge their own boundaries, and to obtain, by plunder, the means of supporting those gigantic efforts which they were thus enabled to make, they had armed, at the close of the year 1793, nearly 1,000,000 of men, 300,000 of whom were employed on the northern frontier of the republic. To these the allies had not more than 140,000 men to oppose. Besides the superiority of numbers, the French army had the advantage of being subject to the orders of one chief, as it were; while the allies, composed of different nations, were commanded by various leaders, who were very far from acting with that cordial spirit of co-operation which was so essentially necessary, not merely to ensure success, but to prevent defeat. The rivalry between Austria and Prussia, and the jealousy which each had conceived of the other, were so visible, that, as early as the 6th of January, 1794 the Duke of Brunswick addressed a remarkable letter to the King of Prussia, in which he announced the resignation of his command, stating, as his motive, the unhappy experience that want of connexion, distrust, egotism, and a spirit of cabal, had disconcerted the measures adopted during the two last campaigns. In a subsequent part of the letter he says, "When, instead of the prevalence of a unanimous sentiment and the same principle, each army acts separate and alone, of its own accord, without any fixed plan, without unanimity, and without principles, the consequences are such as we have seen at Dunkirk, at Maubeuge, and Landau. Heaven preserve your Majesty from great misfortunes!" The resignation of the duke was soon followed by a complaint from the Prussian mo-

narch of the great expense of the war, and a proposal that the states of the empire should provide for the subsistence of his troops; a request to which that body did not accede. When the emperor desired that the Diet would order the people in the frontier circles to rise in a mass, the court of Berlin strongly opposed the measure, as fruitless and dangerous; the general levy did not take place; and the contingents of the German princes were imperfectly and tardily furnished.

It has been conjectured that the King of Prussia, from the disappointment of various kinds which he had experienced, had already determined to withdraw himself from the confederacy. In the month of February certain commissioners from the French republic arrived at Frankfort, under the pretext of negotiating for an exchange of prisoners; but the marked distinction with which they were treated indicated somewhat of a different import, and of higher moment. Field-Marshal Mülendorff succeeded the Duke of Brunswick in the command of the Prussian army; and an intimation to the Prince of Cobourg, that he had received orders from his court to march towards Cologne, was followed, on the 13th of March, by a proclamation addressed to the German empire, announcing his Prussian Majesty's actual secession from the grand confederacy. This *ruse d'état* appears to have fully answered its intended purpose; as it was immediately followed by the treaty of subsidy already mentioned, conformably to which, the sum of nearly 2,000,000*l.* was to be paid to the court of Berlin, for the service of an army of 62,000 men, to be commanded by an officer of his Prussian Majesty's own appointment.

In March a general council of war was convened at Ath, when the projected arrangements of the campaign, on the part of the court of Vienna, were brought forward by General Haddick. A main article of this plan was, that General Clairfait, an officer of great ability and experience, should be appointed to the command of the auxiliary forces, and that the Duke of York should act under his orders, the Prince of Cobourg continuing at the head of the grand imperial army. This his royal Highness refused with disdain; and the dispute

was only settled by the determination that the Emperor should himself take the field in person, and that in him should be vested the supreme command. On the 9th of April, his Imperial Majesty arrived at Brussels, where he was solemnly inaugurated Duke of Brabant, and thence proceeded to Valenciennes, where his presence diffused great joy. The whole army was reviewed by him on the heights above Cateau on the 16th, and on the following day they marched in eight columns to invest Landreci. The French assembled in force at the camp of Cæsar, near Cambray, from which they were driven by the confederates on the 23d, and the investment of Landreci immediately took place. The next day, the French made a general assault upon the different posts of the allies in this quarter, and were in most instances repulsed; but the post of Moucron, where Clairfait commanded, was attacked with a superior force by Pichegru in person, and carried, after a brave resistance. Courtray and Menin thus fell into the hands of the republicans. In return, the fortress of Landreci, which had repelled the utmost efforts of Prince Eugene in 1712, fell, after a short siege, into the hands of the Prince of Cobourg.

In the month of June, the French, under General Jourdan, who commanded on the side of the Moselle, passed the Sambre, for the third time in the space of fourteen days, and, after being twice repulsed, laid siege to the town of Charleroi. The Prince determined to make a grand effort for its relief. On the 21st he reached Ath, and on the 24th effected a junction with the hereditary Prince of Orange and General Beau lieu, who commanded in that quarter. The main body of the French army under General Jourdan was strongly posted, at this time, in the vicinity of Fleurus, to cover the siege of Charleroi. On the morning of the 26th the Prince of Cobourg hazarded a general attack on this force. The battle continued with unabating fury till nearly the close of the day, by which time the allied army was defeated in every part, and forced with immense loss, to retreat to Halle, thirty miles from the

scene of action. This was a great and decisive victory. Charleroi to save which this bloody action was fought, had surrendered on the evening of the 25th; and Brussels fell, without further resistance, into the hands of the enemy. General Clairfait was equally unfortunate on the opposite side. Ypres, the key of Western Flanders, was besieged by 50,000 men, commanded by General Moreau. After a series of engagements, in which the French were almost uniformly victorious, the Austrians were compelled to fall upon Ghent, and Ypres surrendered on 17th of June. The Emperor, with his favourite, General Mack, in utter despair of success, left the army, after having in vain issued proclamation after proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of the Low Countries to rise in a mass in order to repel the invaders.

The Duke of York, who enjoyed the honour of a separate command at Tournay, was attacked, on the 10th of May, by a French force, consisting of 30,000 men, which he drove back with great loss. The Emperor immediately determined to march to his assistance, and a grand attack was concerted, in which the army of General Clairfait was ordered to co-operate; but the movements of the different columns not being attended with equal success, the Duke, after a succession of severe conflicts, was obliged to fly, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. In company with only an Austrian general and two other gentlemen, he entered a village, supposing it to be in the hands of the allies, but, on turning a corner in full gallop, they found a column of the enemy facing them, which, supposing the Duke to be at the head of a body of troops, at first fled, after firing a volley, which killed the Austrian general at his side. Recovering, however, from their error, they pursued the Duke and his two companions so closely, that they arrived with great difficulty at Tournay, a position which became at length wholly untenable, and was therefore evacuated, the Duke retreating in the direction of Antwerp. No sooner had the fate of the Netherlands been thus decided, than Lord Moira arrived from England with a reinforcement of

10,000 men at Ostend, the gallant remains of that army which had been destined to re-establish royalty in Britany. His lordship found his situation very critical, the French being in possession of the country on all sides of him, and it was deemed necessary immediately to evacuate the town, and endeavour to force his way, without tents or baggage, through the enemy, to join the army of the allies, which, by great and skilful exertion, he accomplished on the 8th of July: the shipping in the harbour, amounting to 150 sail, with the ammunition, stores, &c. on board, took their departure for Flushing. Thus Ostend, and, nearly at the same time, Tournay and Ghent, fell into the hands of the French. In the respective engagements which had taken place between Pichegru and the Prince of Cobourg, since the battle of Fleurus, the former had greatly the advantage: Mons, Oudenarde, Brussels, and Nieuport, places widely distant, and soon after Mechlin, surrendered to the republican arms, and Antwerp itself was no longer considered as a safe retreat. The Stadtholder consequently solicited the States General to make an extraordinary levy throughout the provinces, but without effect; a revolution in the government was apprehended; and the utmost alarm was every where felt.

General Kleber took possession of Louvain about the middle of July, after defeating General Clairfait, who had possession of the famous camp of the Montagne-de-Fer. The last hope of the allies, that of forming a line of defence from Antwerp to Namur, was now relinquished, Namur being, on the night of the 16th, abandoned by General Beau lieu; and, on the 24th, the French took quiet possession of Antwerp, the allies having previously set fire to the immense magazines there deposited. Sluys made a brave resistance, but surrendered after a siege of six weeks, the garrison marching out with the honours of war. The strong towns, still occupied by the allies, Landreci, Quesnoy, Conde, and Valenciennes, being now completely insulated, successively reverted, almost without resistance, to the French.

At the beginning of August the army under the Duke of

York was stationed at Breda, whence, for greater security, it retreated towards Bois-le-Duc. The French forces under Pichegru, advancing rapidly upon them, to the number of 80,000 men, about the middle of September, the duke crossed the Maese, and took a fresh position near Grave; and, at the beginning of October, he encamped under the walls of Nimeguen. The French crossing the Maese, made an attack on the British posts in front of the town, and, having obliged them to change their position, invested the place. Towards the end of the month, his royal Highness passed the Waal, leaving General Walmoden with a corps to cover the town of Nimeguen, which was evacuated in great confusion, and with much loss, on the 7th of November. Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and Grave, were also successively reduced. Whilst Pichegru was in Dutch Flanders, the Austrian general, La Tour, was totally defeated by General Jourdan near Liege, which city, and those of Aix-la-Chapelle and Juliers, were occupied by the French. The Prince of Cobourg was at this period suddenly dismissed from his high command; and his successor, General Clairfait, was compelled, early in October, to repass the Rhine at Colonge. The French pursued the imperial troops to the very margin of the river: and, as the rear of the Austrian army embarked, the question was loudly, and insultingly asked, if that was the road to Paris? About the end of September, the siege of Maestricht was formally commenced, and lasted forty days, during which interval the attack and defence were conducted with heroic bravery. The atmosphere seemed filled with balls, bombs, and shells, and scarcely was a place of safety left in the whole circuit of the city. Two thousand buildings, public and private, were said to be destroyed; and a general storm was intended on the 4th of November, when the governor, moved by the situation of the inhabitants, and the entreaties of the magistrates, consented to articles of capitulation with General Kleber, who entered the place on the same day.

The Prussians did not act with much vigour in this campaign, nor were they wholly inactive. Being obliged to make some show of co-operation with the Austrians, they surprised the French

in their intrenchments at Keyerslautern, and defeated them with considerable loss. In July they were attacked by General Dessaix, who carried the important posts occupied by Prince Hohenloe on the Platoberg, a high mountain in the territory of Deux-Ponts; and, soon afterwards, the whole chain of posts from Neustadt to the Rhine being assailed with success, both Austrians and Prussians were obliged to retreat with precipitation. The imperial army re-crossed the Rhine, and the Prussians retired towards Guntersbloom and Mentz. The recent acquisition of Keyerslautern was abandoned to the republicans, who again occupied the cities of Worms, Spire, and Treves. In Spain and Italy also the armies of the republic were successful. In November, 1793, they penetrated into the province of Catalonia; and, in the beginning of February following, a battle was fought near St. Jean de Luz, in which the French were conquerors. In May, another victory was gained near Crete; and soon afterwards a third, of more importance than the former two, over the principal Spanish army, posted in the vicinity of Collioure. On the western side, the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian fell into the hands of the French. In Italy, the Piedmontese had, at the command of the Sardinian monarch, risen in mass; but, being destitute of the enthusiasm of liberty, they constituted a body without a soul. The French forced the famous pass of Mount Cenis, took possession of the city and territory of Oneglia, and made themselves masters of a great part of the open country of that district.

In the Mediterranean the progress of the English arms, subsequently to the evacuation of Toulon, was very flattering. Early in February, 1794, Lord Hood proceeded for Corsica, which was in a state of revolt against the Convention, the insurgents having been excited to this resistance by the English influence, under the conduct of their ancient chief, Paschal Paoli, who had been restored to his country with honour by the Constitutional Assembly. Mortella, Törnelli, and St. Fiorenza, being successively surrendered or evacuated, the Corsicans who adhered to the French interest retreated to Bastia,

which resisted the united efforts of the Anglo-Corsicans and English till the 24th of May, when it capitulated on honourable terms; and the whole island, excepting Calvi, which held out till August, submitted to the English. Letters of convocation were immediately issued for the assembly of the General Consulta, to be held at the Corte, the ancient capital of Corsica, on Sunday, the 8th of June: General Paoli was elected president. The representatives of the Corsican nation immediately voted the union of Corsica with the British crown; a constitutional act was framed accordingly; and Sir Gilbert Elliot, representative of his Britannic Majesty, formally accepted this act on his part, and immediately assumed the title of viceroy.

We have thus traced the Duke of York in his inglorious career, but before resuming the thread of our historical narrative, we may be allowed, perhaps, to expose the danger which impends over this country by the extent of the influence, which the Crown possesses in the choice of our commanders, both naval and military, and which was never more culpably nor injuriously employed, than in the appointment of the Duke of York to the command of a British army. It has undoubtedly been the chief aim of the majority of the Ministers of the Crown to extend its influence, but we do not hesitate to assert that of all his predecessors, Pitt was the most criminal in the extension of the influence of the Crown, and the most base in the use which he made of it. He maintained his power over a corrupt and venal Parliament, by the power of his patronage, and the reckless manner in which he distributed it, tended in no little degree to consummate the ruin which he ultimately brought upon the country. He had the wisdom of his illustrious father before him, which ought to have been the object of his greatest reverence, and have warned him with earnestness to shun the evils of a still farther accumulation of the influence of the Crown. To the penetrating eye of Lord Chatham the danger was plainly visible long before the close of his life. His own victorious administration had increased it in a very considerable degree, and he lived to feel the per-

nicious effects of that increase. But with a magnanimous zeal for liberty, and an almost prophetic prescience of events, he distinctly pointed out to his countrymen the approaching danger, and prescribed in timely reform, the means of averting it. By this conduct, the most successful Minister of Great Britain was dignified by the more valuable and lasting praise of philosophic patriotism. Thus enlightened by the precepts of an illustrious father, the son succeeded to a seat in the Cabinet, soon after the expulsion of Lord North, when even the sordid Parliament of that Minister, had recently declared that the immense accumulation of patronage must be diminished. From the younger Pitt no further augmentation of the fund of corruption was dreaded by the nation, and shortly after that rise in his exaltation to ministerial supremacy, he was received by the friends of freedom with acclamations of joy. They then fondly presaged, that an effectual barrier to liberty against the inroads of despotism, would be the work of his administration; and in the early part of it, when the bloom of youth and virtue was fresh upon him, he gave his countrymen the promise of noble deeds, which seemed to justify their partial attachment. But blasted by the poisonous effects of power, the bloom quickly withered and decayed, and every generous purpose, impressed by parental authority, and avowed by the zeal of his own approving heart, gave way to the lust of selfish ambition. Instead of the protector of their rights, the people found him their determined enemy. Instead of renovating what was infirm in the constitution, he audaciously impaired what he found sound and vigorous. Under his direction, the fund of influence received a rapid extension; the debts and taxes of the public, its establishments civil and military, were increased in a prodigious degree, and those dreaded instruments of despotism were wielded by the Minister, with a skill and ability which doubled and trebled their force. Dexterous and bold, he seized every advantage, and made every event, in some mode available to his purpose. Nothing was so minute as to escape the vigilance of his eye; nothing was so vast, so difficult or perilous as to intimidate the daring

intrepidity of his mind. Artful and successful in the greater operations of coalitions with powerful men, in the smaller appointments of office, he was equally attentive and exact. In the distribution of honours, titles, ribands, and garters, though more profuse than the most unscrupulous of his predecessors, he succeeded in supporting the value of those baubles and the coinage of their inexhaustible mint, however copiously emitted, was still coveted, and still undepreciated. How dangerous were his talents! how fatal was his administration?

Pitt was the genius of despotism, and horrible strides did he make during the whole of that fatal administration, in throwing down the liberties of the people. His immoderate pursuit of conquest and territorial aggrandizement, was but the stepping-stone to the exercise of that influence which he had obtained, and the weight thus rashly thrown into the scale of monarchy, gave the Crown that degree of preponderance, which was hardly attained by the proudest Plantagenet, in the early period of the Constitution. Pitt studied to a nicety the character of the Monarch, whom he had to govern, and no man but a Pitt could have moulded the obstinate nature of George III., with such never failing success, to his own immediate purpose, nor have obtained such an unlimited power over him, even to the conquest of his most inveterate prejudices. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the appointment of the Duke of York to the command of the British Army, was in a degree forced upon him, or rather he acquiesced in it, to gain for himself some end, which he was particularly solicitous to obtain. Pitt had determined to translate a distant relative of the family from the see of Lincoln, to that of Worcester in order to bestow the see of Lincoln upon his own tutor, Dr. G. P. Tomline. This arrangement, however, was sturdily opposed by George III., who had determined to bestow the first vacant see on Dr. Jackson, the brother of the tutor of the Prince of Wales. At this period, the Duke of York applied to his royal father to give him the command of the British Army, which with the assistance of the Duke of Brunswick, were to march triumphantly to the gates of Paris, and having thrown

down the goddess of liberty into the dust, and broken all the insignia of republicanism, were to replace the hated race of the Bourbons on the throne of France. "I'll speak to Pitt about it," said his Majesty, who already saw a halo of glory, such as Alexander or Cæsar wore, encircling the brow of his warlike son. And he did speak to Pitt about it, and Pitt with his accustomed hauteur, turned a deaf ear to the application. He, however, now saw that he had the monarch in his toils; he knew that the appointment of the Duke of York to the command of the British army, was a favourite object, not only with the king, but the queen; the king however had refused the translation of his relative, and thus, the minister and the king stood fairly balanced against each other. The duke was pressing; and the king was also pressing; Pitt also pressed the proposed arrangement in the episcopal changes; at last, after much coquetting and negotiation, a compromise was entered into, the appointment of the duke was made out, and his majesty was pleased to issue his *conge d'elire*, that most ridiculous specimen of state quackery, to the dean and chapter of Lincoln, recommending the Rev. Dr. G. P. Tomline to be by them chosen to the see thereof.

We now come to the counterpart of the Duke of Clarence. He also solicited employment, and his royal father also promised "to speak to Pitt about it." The Duke of Clarence was, however, more modest in his request than his gallant brother, who would not be content with the command of a regiment, but nothing less would satisfy his ambition than the command of an entire army, where veteran officers were to be subordinate to him, who had grown grey in camps, and who bore the scars about them of a hundred battles. On the other hand, the Duke of Clarence simply solicited the command of a ship, to which his rank and character entitled him as much as any other officer on the books of the Admiralty. Not one of the lords of the Admiralty, however, was favourable to him; nor can it be supposed that the following letter, which he

wrote to them, tended in any degree to remove the prejudice, which they had imbibed against him.

MY LORDS,

At a time when this country is engaged in a war with a powerful and active enemy, whose great aim appears to be the subversion of all the ancient monarchies of Europe, it becomes every man who values the constitution under which he enjoys so many blessings, to rally round the throne, and protect it from the dangers by which it is so imminently threatened. Conscious that during my naval career, I never committed an act which could tarnish the honor of the flag, under which it was my pride and glory to fight, I solicit in this hour of peril to my country that employment in the service, which every subject is bound to seek, and particularly myself, considering the exalted rank which I hold in the country, and the cause which it is my duty to maintain and defend. I regard a refusal of that employment, as a tacit acknowledgment of my incapacity, and which cannot fail to degrade me in the opinion of the public, who from the conduct that has been pursued towards me, are justified in drawing a conclusion unfavourable to my professional character, on account of the very marked neglect which has been shown towards every application on my part, which has been transmitted to your lordships to be employed in the service of my country. If the rank, which I hold in the navy operates as an impediment to my obtaining the command of a ship without that of a squadron being attached to it, I will willingly relinquish that rank, under which I had formerly the command of a ship, and serve as a volunteer on board any ship to which it may please your lordships to appoint me. All I require is active service, and that when my gallant countrymen are fighting the cause of their country and their sovereign, I may not have the imputation thrown upon me, of living a life of inglorious ease, when I ought to be in the front of danger.

Clarence Lodge, March 15th, 1794.

WILLIAM.

To the Right Hon. the Lords of the Admiralty.

To this manly appeal, the lords of the admiralty did not think proper to pay any attention ; and so stung was the Duke of Clarence, with this additional proof of the inimical feelings of the admiralty towards him, that in the moment of his exasperation, he wrote the following letter to his father :—

“ March 24th, 1794.

“ SIR,

“ On the 15th of this month I addressed a letter to the lords of the admiralty, of which I transmit you a copy, soliciting from them that employment in the service of my country, to which my rank and character entitle me. To neglect they have added insult, inasmuch as they have withheld from me even that courtesy, which is due to every individual, who makes a respectful tender of his services at a momentous period like the present, when everything that is valuable to an Englishman is at stake, and the throne on which you sit is endangered by the machinations of regicides and revolutionists. As in this treatment of the lords of the admiralty, my character as a naval officer becomes seriously implicated, I am emboldened to make this appeal to my royal father, soliciting from him, that he will be pleased to issue his commands to the lords of the admiralty, to grant me that employment which I desire, or publicly to state the grounds on which their refusal is founded.

“ WILLIAM.”

It forms no part of the etiquette of royalty to answer a letter, and in regard to the common subject, there be may some good ground for a strict adherence to such a punctilious form, at the same time, were kings in general to pay a little more attention to the complaints and petitions of their subjects, however humble may be the class, the people would become more endeared to royalty, and contribute to the expenses of it with greater freewill, than is exhibited by their present disposition. The letter of the Duke of Clarence, was that of a son to a father, not of a subject to his sovereign, and viewed from that point, a departure from the rigid rules of etiquette, would have been, not only excusable, but commendable. It is, however,

sometimes, very convenient for an individual, who wishes to evade the granting of any application that may be made to him, to have a tool or instrument, who will in a few words convey to the applicant, the refusal of his solicitation, and couched too in such terms, which have a great deal of meaning, but no sense. That tool or instrument of royalty, is what is termed, the Secretary of State for the Home Department; and as it is another part of the etiquette of royalty, never to give a negative, the Duke of Clarence received one of the circulars used on such occasions, the import of which is, "That his Majesty has not been pleased to issue his commands on the subject."

Thus foiled in the great object of his ambition, neglected by the lords of the admiralty, and slighted by his sovereign and father, he sank, comparatively speaking, into the insignificance of a private life; but, he nevertheless continued to give his strenuous support to the war, although the recent disasters had rendered it everything but popular with the people.

We agree not with the Duke of Clarence in his support of the war. He leagued himself on the side of the crown, and was found the foremost amongst the retainers of the oligarchy, who declaimed with fury against the democratic government of France, and who joined in their cry for war, into which an ambitious minister was too disposed to plunge the country. There was, however, at the time, a band of patriots, the friends of liberty and peace, who urged whatever argument, humanity or policy could suggest, to calm the passions of an enraged senate and avert the uplifted scourge. They deprecated that alternative of despotism or anarchy, to which the prosecution of even a prosperous war would unavoidably expose us; they gave their decided opposition to a war of punctilio, pride, and passion, and wisely recommended an assiduous cultivation of the arts of peace, and a steady attention to the improvement of our finances, till some great interest of our country could only be preserved by hostilities. But they argued, they deprecated, they advised in vain. Punctilio, pride, and passion prevailed against the plainest reason, and the wishes and interest of a

few individuals outweighed in the senate the wish and interest of the community. To avenge the execution of the ill-fated Louis; to defend social order, morality, and religion; to resent the obnoxious, but rescinded decree of November 19th, 1792; to rescue Holland, though not attacked; and even to close the navigation of the Scheldt, though not complained of, were amongst the most prominent features for war. But their texture was too flimsy to hide the real motives, viz., namely the desire to depress the spirit of liberty in England, to secure the usurped power of the oligarchy, and to aggrandize the power of the crown. The means for attaining their ends, were to be found in war alone, and in a frenzy of rage it was commenced.

As a counterpoise to the defeats of the army, the navy of England was destined to be uniformly triumphant. The channel fleet, which, during the last summer, had achieved nothing worthy the reputation of its veteran commander, put to sea in the spring in search of an enemy which had hitherto eluded pursuit. Lord Howe was particularly solicitous to vindicate the honour of his country, as well as to rescue his own character from unmerited reproach; and the powerful armament now under his command left no doubt relative to the result of a contest. On reaching the Lizard, a signal was made for the East Indiamen to proceed on their voyage, under convoy of six sail of the line and a frigate, which were not to separate from them until their arrival off Cape Finisterre. Having received information on the 19th of May that the Brest fleet was at sea, Lord Howe deemed it proper to effect a junction with the squadron lately detached under Rear-Admiral Montague as soon as possible; but on hearing, two days after, that the enemy had been seen a few leagues to the westward, he immediately altered his course, and steered towards them.

Great care had hitherto been taken to avoid any naval contest with the English; but, on the present occasion, orders were transmitted to Vice-Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse to protect the supplies from America at the risk of a battle. Jean Bon St. Andre, who had been employed at Brest to infuse a spirit of democracy into the seamen, acted on this occasion as a nati-

onal commissioner, having embarked on board the flag-ship, carrying 120 guns, and designated *La Montagne*, after the ruling party in the Convention. On the 28th of May, at eight o'clock in the morning, in north latitude $47^{\circ} 33'$, W. Long. $14^{\circ} 10'$, the rival fleets descried each other exactly at the same time; the wind blew strong from the south-west, accompanied by a rough sea, and the French possessed the weather-gage. After the advanced frigates had given intimation of this event, Earl Howe continued his course, while the French admiral endeavoured as much as possible to assume a regular order of battle upon the starboard tack, a circumstance which greatly facilitated the approach of the English. As the conduct of the enemy, who had now hauled their wind, indicated an intention to avoid a close fight, the British commander displayed the signal for a general chase, and to prevent their escape, he soon after detached Rear-Admiral Palsey, with a flying squadron, to make an impression on their rear: that officer accordingly, near the close of the day, attacked the *Revolutionnaire*, a three-decked ship of 110 guns, which happened to be the sternmost in the line, but without any decisive success on either side. The rival fleets, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line on the part of the French, and twenty-five on that of the British, remained within sight of each other during the whole night, on the starboard tack, and in a parallel direction, with the French still to windward; but next morning, the 29th, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, flushed with the hopes of a victory, wore from van to rear, and instead of flinching from the action, edged down in a line a-head to engage the van of the British fleet.

Taking advantage of so favourable an opportunity, Lord Howe renewed the signal for passing the enemy's line, and succeeded with some difficulty in obtaining the weather-gage, while the enemy were repulsed by the *Barfleur*, and two other three-deckers, in an attempt to cut off the *Queen* and *Royal George*. At length, Villaret tacked again by signal; and, after a distant cannonade, stood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the whole of the British fleet. The second day's

action proved equally indecisive as the former, and a thick fog, that intervened during this night and the greater part of the succeeding day, prevented the renewal of the engagement. In the mean time, Rear-Admiral Neilly joined the French commander-in-chief with a reinforcement of three sail of the line and two frigates: this accession of strength enabled him to detach his crippled ships; and the dawn of the succeeding day exhibited the two fleets drawn up in order of battle, and prepared to renew the contest. The British admiral, perceiving that there was time sufficient for the various ships' companies to take refreshment, made a signal for breakfast, which, by procrastinating the action, induced the enemy to believe that their antagonists wished to decline the engagement; but they were greatly disappointed; for in about half an hour, Lord Howe gave orders for steering the Royal Charlotte alongside the French admiral, which was effected at nine o'clock in the morning; and, while some of the English commanders penetrated the line of battle and engaged to leeward, others occupied such stations as allowed them to combat with their antagonists to windward. So close and severe was the contest, that the fate of this day depended but little, either on the exertion of nautical knowledge, or the exhibition of that scientific skill, which subjects the management of artillery to the rules of tactics: all was hard fighting. Such was the tremendous fire, and so decisive the advantage on the part of the British, that, in about fifty minutes after the action had commenced in the centre, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse determined to relinquish the contest; for he now perceived several of his ships dismasted, and one of seventy-four guns about to sink; he, at the same time found that six were captured: a great slaughter had also taken place on board his own vessel, in which his captain and a multitude of the crew were killed, while the national commissioner, with most of his officers, were wounded: he accordingly crowded off with all the canvass he could spread, and was immediately followed by most of the ships in his van that were not completely crippled: two or three of these, although dismantled, also got away soon after, under a temporary sail

hoisted on the occasion ; for the enemy had, as usual, chiefly aimed at the rigging, and the victors were by this time disabled from pursuing the vanquished : the Queen Charlotte, in particular, was at this period nearly unmanageable, having lost her foretopmast in action ; this was soon after followed by the maintopmast, which fell over the side ; while the Brunswick, which had lost her mizenmast, and the Queen, also disabled, drifted to leeward, and were exposed to considerable danger from the retreating fleet. Two eighty and five seventy-four gun ships, however, still remained in possession of the victors ; but one of the latter, *Le Vengeur*, went down soon after she was taken possession of, and, though many of the French were saved on this occasion by the humanity of their adversaries, above three hundred went to the bottom. The slaughter on board the French fleet was very great, that in the captured ships alone amounted to 1270. The British total loss was 904.

Admiral Montague, who had repaired to England, whence he was immediately despatched to join Earl Howe, sailed for Brest, partly with a view to fall in with the commander-in-chief, and partly on purpose to pick up any crippled ships, which, in case of an action, might take shelter in that port ; he accordingly encountered some of the retreating squadron, and chased them into the outer road. On the succeeding day, he descried the main body under Villaret-Joyeuse ; but, notwithstanding the late fatal conflict, that commander formed an admirable line of battle, and gave chase ; while the fleet from America, consisting of 160 sail of merchantmen, supposed to be worth several millions sterling, but invaluable on account of the distressed state of France, arrived in safety on the 12th of June.

The British commander-in-chief now deemed it proper to conduct the six ships captured from the enemy into port, being unable to keep the sea, on account of the disabled state of his own squadron : he accordingly steered for England, arrived safe off Dunnose, in the Isle of Wight, on the 13th of June,

and in the course of the same day returned thanks for the highly distinguished examples of resolution, spirit, and perseverance, which had been testified by every description of officers, seamen, and military corps, in the ships of the fleet, during the several actions with the enemy on the 28th and 29th of May and the 1st of June. The British fleet, after it had been refitted, again put to sea; but the enemy was so completely humbled, that the Brest fleet never ventured out, till Lord Howe had returned to port.

The victory of the 1st of June conferred great glory on the admiral, and was received at home with uncommon rejoicing. Large sums of money were subscribed for the benefit of the widows and children of those killed in the action. Rear-Admirals Bowyer and Pasley were created baronets, and received a pension of 1000*l.* each *per annum*. Admirals Graves and Sir Alexander Hood had the honours of the peerage conferred upon them. Earl Howe was presented with a diamond-hilted sword of great value, by the King in person, on board the Queen Charlotte, at Spithead; and also with a golden chain, to which was suspended a medal, with Victory crowning Britannia on the obverse, and on the reverse a wreath of oak and laurel, encircling his lordship's name, and the date of the action. In December, 1796, his Majesty was also pleased to transmit gold chains and medals to the following flag-officers and captains, who were reported by Lord Howe to have signalized themselves during the battle with the French fleet:—Vice-Admirals Sir A. Hood, T. Graves; Rear-Admirals A. Gardner, G. Bowyer, T. Pasley, Sir R. Curtis; Captains W. Hope, Elphinstone, Hon. T. Pakenham, J. T. Duckworth, Sir A. Douglas, H. Harvey, W. Domett, H. Nichols, J. W. Payne, and T. Pringle.

The success of the British navy in the course of this year was nearly uniform. On the 23d of April Sir John Borlase Warren captured two French frigates off Guernsey, after two hours' fighting. In August, he pursued five other French ships of war off Scilly; and, driving two of them under the

batteries of the Gamelle rocks, would have proceeded to burn them; but, with a generosity, worthy of his courage, abstained from the last rigours of war against an unfortunate enemy, whose wounded must have perished, had he set their vessels on fire. Several combats of single ships displayed the superiority of our seamen in a most brilliant light; nor did the loss of the *Alexander*, of seventy-four guns, in the month of November, tarnish the reputation of the British arms, though the unusual spectacle of such a prize was resounded through France as an immortal achievement. This vessel, which had parted from the division of Admiral Bligh, was attacked off Brest by three French seventy-fours, which she resisted for two hours, and it was not till her lower masts were on the point of going by the board that she reluctantly struck to this disparity of force.

England now became the dupe of the treachery of the continental powers, for although Pitt lavished the treasures of the country with the most profuse and lavish hand in subsidising the foreign states, they frequently received the money and then actually expended it against the very government which had paid it to them. This was particularly the case with Prussia, who received a large subsidy from this country, but instead of applying it against France, she treacherously expended it in her designs against Poland, and then made peace with the republic of France.

Thus England became the laughing stock of Europe; she lavished her treasures in the hire of an army of mercenaries, to whose Prince or monarch, the money was no sooner paid, than their bayonets were employed in the cause of despotism, and the overthrow of the rights of man.

It is pleasing to dwell on all which concerns so great a man as Nelson; and it is highly to the credit of the Duke of Clarence that he exerted himself and got the appointment for his friend to the *Agamemnon*, which was the foundation of all his subsequent great services to his country. Nelson seems to have had no other friend so zealous at the period, when his talents were unknown, and interest only told at the Admiralty.

The letters which Nelson wrote to the Duke of Clarence are full of interest, as in the first place they prove the gratitude which that great man entertained towards his royal patron, and in the second place, they testify the warm interest which his royal Highness took in the naval affairs of the country. At the time when Nelson was in the harbour of St. Fiorenzo in Corsica, he thus writes to the Duke of Clarence.

“Our last cruise, from December 21st, 1794, to January the 10th, when we arrived in this port, was such a series of storms and heavy seas, as I never before experienced; the fleet was twelve days under storm staysails. Our ships, although short of complement, are remarkably healthy, as are the troops in this island. There is already a difference to be perceived in the cultivation of the land, since last year. Many hundred acres of pasture are now covered with wheat; and as the Corsicans will find a ready sale for their corn, wine, and oil, (the two last articles the French suppressed as much as possible,) every year will doubtlessly increase the growth. The fleet goes to sea on the 22d or 23d, thirteen sail of the line. The French have fifteen in the outer road of Toulon, and fifty sail of large transports ready at Marseilles; therefore, it is certain they have some expedition just ready to take place, and I have no doubt, but Porto Especia is their object. We soon expect to be joined by some Neapolitan ships and frigates. I have no idea we shall get much good from them; they are not seamen, and cannot keep the sea beyond a passage. I beg your Royal Highness to believe that I am your most faithful servant.”

The suspicions of Nelson in regard to the intentions of the enemy were soon verified, for on Admiral Hotham with the blockading squadron being blown off the coast, the French fleet put to sea, and steered direct for Corsica, with the intent of recapturing that island. Amongst the many senseless, silly acts, which the English government performed at that time, there was, perhaps, no one which excited more strongly the ridicule of the people, than one which was committed, when the island of

Corsica was captured by the troops of this country. In all the acts which were issued by Geo. III. for the government of the island, it was pompously styled "and our kingdom of Corsica." This circumstance gave rise to one of the most severe caricatures which was ever published, entitled: "*Mud island off the kingdom of Corsica*," which was in reality a blank profile of his Majesty; but so exactly was the contour of his Majesty's countenance preserved, that it was impossible to mistake the meaning of it. This is perhaps the most scarce caricature which was ever drawn of Geo. III, as the whole impression was bought up, and the plate destroyed.

The intelligence of the sailing of the French fleet from Toulon was no sooner ascertained than Admiral Hotham sailed in pursuit of it, and after a running action, captured two ships, the *Ca Ira*, of 80 guns, and the *Censeur*, of 74.

Nelson in a letter to the Duke of Clarence, thus describes the engagement, with which he was highly dissatisfied, as it was his opinion, that had Admiral Hotham followed up his success, a greater number of the enemy's ships might have been taken.

"I hope and believe, if we only get three sail from England, that we shall prevent this fleet of the enemy from doing further service in the Mediterranean, notwithstanding the red shot and combustibles—of which they have had a fair trial, and found them useless. They believed that we should give them no quarter; and it was with some difficulty we found the combustibles, which are fixed in a skeleton, like a carcass; they turn into liquid, and water will not extinguish it. They say the Convention sent them from Paris, but that they did not use any of them, only hot shot."

Nelson was now in command of a flying squadron, which was destined to co-operate with an Austrian force near Genoa. Of this service, Nelson imparted the following curious particulars to the Duke of Clarence:—

"Almost every day produces such changes in the prospect

of our affairs, that in relating events, I hardly know where to begin. The two armies are both so strongly posted, that neither is willing to give the attack; each waits to see which can longest endure the cold. The French general has laid an embargo on all the vessels on the coast, near a hundred sail; and it would not surprise me, if he were meditating a retreat, in case his plans did not succeed—which I hope they will not—as the prevention of them, in a great measure, depends on our naval force under my orders. This has called me here, where a circumstance has arisen, that has given us the alarm sooner than was intended. An Austrian commissary was travelling from Genoa towards Vado, with ten thousand pounds sterling; and it was known he was to sleep at a place called Vilttri, about nine miles from Genoa. This temptation was too great for the French captain of the *Brune*, in concert with the French minister, to keep his word of honour; and the boats of that frigate, with some privateers, went out of the port, landed, and brought back the money. The next day, the 11th of November, recruiting was publicly carried on in the town of Genoa, and numbers enlisted; and on the 13th, at night, as many men as could be collected were to sail, under convoy of the *Brune*, and to land, and take a strong post of the Genoese, between Genoa and Savona. A hundred men were to have been sent from the French army at Borghetto, and an insurrection of the Genoese peasantry was to have been encouraged; which, I believe, would have succeeded for several miles up the country. General de Vins must have sent four or five thousand men, probably from his army, which would have given the enemy a fair prospect of success in their attack. The scheme was bold, but I do not think it would have succeeded in all points. However, my arrival here on the 12th, in the evening, caused a total change: the frigate, knowing her deserts, and what had been done here before with the transports and privateers, hauled from the outer to the inner mole, and is got inside the merchant-ships, with her powder out; for no ships can go into the inner mole with powder on board; and, as I have long expected an embarkation from the

French army from the westward, to harass General de Vins there, I was fully on my guard. Whilst I remain here, no harm can happen, unless what private information says is likely to take place, that four sail of the line, and some frigates are to come here, and take the *Agamemnon* and her squadron. What steps the Austrian generals and ministers will adopt, to get redress for this, I fear, allowed breach of neutrality on the part of the Genoese government, I cannot yet tell. It is a very extraordinary circumstance, but a fact, that, since my arrival, respect to the neutral port has not been demanded of me; if it had, my answer was ready—‘That it was useless and impossible for me to give it.’ As the breach of the neutrality has not been noticed, I fancy they are aware of my answer, and therefore declined asking the question.”

During the mutiny at the Nore, and the steps which followed it must be admitted, that the opinions of Earl Howe and of Nelson differed from those of the Duke of Clarence. There is no doubt but the Duke was wrong. Nelson thought the men had grievances to complain of, and Earl Howe declared that every promise of the Government ought to be fulfilled towards them. None who know what the navy was before those improvements in the seamen’s condition took place, and since, can hesitate about the questions. The Duke’s letter to Nelson on the subject is as follows:—

“July 4, 1797.

“Dear Nelson,

“I am very happy to find that you had executed with so much success and promptitude Lord Viscount St. Vincent’s order for the evacuation of Port Ferrago. I feel for poor Oakes on every account, and sincerely wish he was safe at home; and, believe me, I am also much concerned at the state of your own health. After such long and distinguished service, you will, of course, get leave to return. In answer to your last letter, I can only say, that I hope and believe our confidence is mutual; therefore, in future, no apology on either

side is wanted. Under this idea I must begin by defending an officer against whom you have become prejudiced; want of discipline in some of our home squadrons, and the energy of infamous incendiaries, had for many months thrown the whole fleet into a state of democracy and absolute rebellion. I rejoice that the *Theseus* has fallen into such good hands, and that I shall shortly hear she is in the best order of the Mediterranean fleet. One word more about what has passed at Spithead, Plymouth, and the Nore, and I will never mention the disgraceful business again; but I cannot pass over your remark about short weights and measures. Every officer must know that, by the old allowance, the men on board the King's ships had more provisions than they could consume, and that they always sold a part; therefore, an increase of provisions was not wanted. I will not hurt your mind by relating the horrid particulars of the late events, but shall conclude the subject by observing that, in your next, you will unsay what you have too hastily expressed. I dread nothing, as the government here appear to pursue proper measures; and I am convinced St. Vincent will keep up his discipline. Lenity at first is severity at last. My best wishes and compliments attend your gallant commander; my only acquaintance with him is as an officer. His very great attention and abilities were shown to me during the Spanish armament, since which time I have, and always shall respect him. You will, I am sure, always distinguish yourself; and I am afraid, from the exorbitant demands of the Directory, that for some time your fleet will be constantly employed. I am happy to find you are at last come over to my way of thinking. As circumstances arise, pray write, and ever believe me, dear sir, yours sincerely,

“WILLIAM.”

On losing his arm Nelson was necessitated to return home, for a short time, and was most cordially and kindly received by his royal friend. The interview, after so long an absence, was exceedingly cordial and kind-hearted on the part of the Duke of Clarence. The injury Nelson had received was soon

removed, a perfect recovery took place, and he was taken to Court by his Royal Highness, and introduced to the King to present his remarkable memorial of naval services.

Soon after this, the Duke of Clarence and a number of naval officers, among whom was Sir Horatio Nelson, went in a grand procession to St. Paul's, to deposit there the colours taken from the enemy in several recent naval engagements. Of the leading characters who took a part in the procession of that day, nearly all have passed away from the scene of mortal existence. Of the male branches of the Royal Family, the Duke of Cumberland is now the only survivor who was present. Of the admirals present, not one, it is probable, is at this time remaining.

On the 18th of May, the Princess Royal was married to the King of Wurtemberg, who was elevated to that rank by Napoleon, and died in 1816. She was greatly affected at her marriage, and was supported during the ceremony with one to whom it is not to be supposed her heart was given, by the Duke of Clarence, and she left England immediately, never to behold her parents again. She died of water in the chest in October, 1828, in her sixty-second year.

On the alarm of the preparation of Napoleon for some great expedition, and while the rebellion was fomenting in Ireland, the Duke of Clarence employed himself in organizing a body of yeomanry in the neighbourhood of Bushy Park, of which his Royal Highness was Ranger. Bushy is situated in the hundred of Spelthorpe, and that name was bestowed upon the corps of which his Royal Highness became proud. He got them into as good a state of discipline as any corps of yeomanry in the kingdom had attained, and declared to them he should not fear to lead them into action any where, and at any time; for, said the Duke, "Wherever you are, I will be; and that the result will be glory, cannot be doubted."

Soon after Nelson wrote a minute account of the battle of the Nile to the Duke of Clarence, but it was captured in the *Leander*. He wrote a second, stating to his Royal Highness

he was aware it had never been received, and apologising for not writing so minutely again from want of time.

Prince Edward, who had returned from North America, was this year made Duke of Kent, and Prince Ernest was created Duke of Cumberland. The Duke of Clarence was advanced to the full rank of Admiral, by the customary routine of service. He again renewed his applications for active service to the ministry, to the Admiralty, and to his father; but in vain were personal or written applications. The King either refused, without condescending to give a reason, or would not notice the application at all.

The aversion of the sovereign from his eldest son was a family failing. The denial of the application of the Prince of Wales, for a similar object to the application of the Duke of Clarence, was not so singular, yet the refusal seemed more the effect of personal pique, than of solid reason, as the Prince made no request to serve out of the limits of Great Britain. The moment was one of great danger, and there was not the common excuse of the impolicy of endangering the life of the heir apparent to be pleaded against employing his Royal Highness in England. Ireland was in arms against the Crown, and every where, a very discontented spirit prevailed. The Prince of Wales wrote his father a very strong letter upon the occasion of the Royal denial; in which there was an allusion to the conduct of George II., for whom the King had a great dislike. Whether a desire to mortify his sons in their laudable wishes, or whatever might be the reason, the King was, according to his nature, obstinate, and the Prince of Wales, and Duke of Clarence, were required to yield implicit obedience to their father, who would not condescend to give a reason for his acting towards them in a mode so directly opposed to their wishes. The Duke of York was employed in Holland at the same moment, to be discomfited, as usual, before the enemy; but the naval part of the expedition was successful, and the Duke of Clarence felt severely that he lost so favourable an opportunity of distinguishing himself in the service. His Royal Highness

had been educated for the sea with great pains ; and to what end, if he were to remain all his life unemployed ? This neglect is, no doubt, to be attributed to the influence of Pitt, who could not forgive the partiality of the Prince of Wales for Fox, nor the Duke of Clarence for ranging himself on the side of his brother, and consequently in opposition to the Minister also. It was not to be supposed that the denial given to the two Princes was without effect. There was generated by it a wider breach than ever between the King and his two sons, which increased their opposition to the Minister, and strengthened the resistance made to his measures by the party out of office. Both the Sovereign and his Minister would fain be absolute in their measures, and a spirit once showing itself inimical to either was certain never to be forgiven.

The Prince of Wales and the Duke of Clarence may now be considered as in hostile array against their royal father, and their feelings were particularly called into action on the occasion of the projected marriage of the heir apparent, when the Duke of Clarence particularly signalized himself by the warm and zealous manner, in which he attempted to defend the conduct of his royal brother, and obtain for him that addition to his income, which would enable him to support his exalted rank with becoming splendour and magnificence.

It requires but a slight knowledge of the human heart, and of the principles and motives which operate in the formation of character, to enable any one to perceive, that the previous habits of the Prince of Wales were such as naturally to have engendered an aversion from the marriage state. Such aversion he did not hesitate to reveal, and his friends did not endeavour to remove it. For the female sex he, indeed, professed admiration the most sincere, and friendship the most ardent ; but a permanent attachment, founded on the basis of mutual affection was wholly incompatible with his character.

The marriage of the Duke of York, which was anything but a happy one, as neither his habits nor his dispositions assimilated with those of the Duchess, did not tend to remove the objections of the Prince of Wales ; and he often disclosed to

an intimate friend, afterwards discarded, that he would rather forfeit his right to the crown, than be plagued with a wife. Nor should such feeling in itself excite either surprise or animadversion. Habits, when of long duration, become principles of action, and how could it be expected that he, who had ruled the hearts and persons of some of the most beautiful and even accomplished of his countrywomen, could easily bring his mind to enjoy, or even endure, the retired and private joys of domestic and matrimonial life. To Mrs. Fitzherbert the Prince was really attached, although it was well known, that during his intimacy with that lady he had frequently bent his knee at the shrine of other goddesses; but the latter was a fleeting passion, whilst Mrs. Fitzherbert continued to exercise her dominion over his passions and judgment, by presenting to him in fearful array, the horrors of a matrimonial connexion. Yet, after marriage, the conduct of that lady was, on the whole, dignified and proper; and even the Princess of Wales herself habitually spoke of her in friendly terms. That Mrs. Fitzherbert should be unfriendly to the marriage of the Prince is not at all astonishing. Her dignity, her fortune, her rank, her happiness, would all, of course, naturally suffer by the arrangement; and, therefore, before she should be censured, it ought to be recollected, that very few would not have so felt and acted. Nor should it be omitted to be recorded, in an impartial narrative of these events, that that lady after the marriage had taken place, though disappointed and chagrined by the circumstance, did not endeavour longer to exercise her influence over her previous acquaintance; and that, although the connexion between her and the Prince was subsequently renewed, it was by his desire, and not at her request.

The King now became still more desirous than formerly for the marriage of the Prince of Wales. The Duke of York had no issue by his marriage, and it was considered by the royal family, and the physicians of the Duchess, that issue was not to be expected. The King was advancing in years—the Prince

was then thirty-two, and state policy suggested to his Majesty the propriety of providing for the succession.

Unhappily for the Prince, for the royal family, and for the nation, the pecuniary embarrassments of the Prince of Wales at this time compelled him to apply to his father, and to Mr. Pitt, for further assistance. The former recommended marriage, and the latter did not offer to it any objections. His Majesty had made it a matter of public conversation and correspondence; and in two letters to his sister, the Duchess of Brunswick, he had pointedly adverted to the subject. It appears to be indisputable, that the Duchess had in consequence conceived some hopes that her daughter might be selected as the consort of the future King of England; and she actually expressed them to that effect to a lady of her court. Still she entertained some apprehension that her brother might object to an alliance between individuals so nearly related, and who had not possessed any opportunities of obtaining a personal acquaintance.

It was during the unfortunate campaign of 1794, that the Duke of York became acquainted with his uncle, the Duke of Brunswick, and to his court and family he was introduced. Such introduction was unhappily the means of that subsequent alliance, which good and wise men can never cease to deplore. The accomplishments and personal charms of the Princess Caroline made impressions of the most favourable nature on the mind of the Duke of York, and those feelings he communicated to the Prince of Wales and to his father, the King.

The preliminary objection which the Prince of Wales had invariably made, when marriage was recommended to him, now appeared to the King to be removed, and he requested the former to be united to the Princess. The requisition was made at a time when the resources of the Prince were especially exhausted—when his creditors became importunate—when it became necessary to discharge some debts of honour, and when, therefore the prospect of relief, even at any sacrifice, was desirable. The portrait of the Princess of Bruns-

wick, which had been shewn to the Prince of Wales, represented a lady of, by no means, a disagreeable appearance, and the promise of the King in writing, that on the marriage of the Prince his debts should be discharged—his income increased, and the favour of his father augmented and secured, additionally operated on his mind in favour of the connexion. He consulted with Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan; the former advised acquiescence, and the latter was less averse from the alteration. The Prince ultimately consented, and the negotiations for the marriage commenced.

Those who knew little of the Prince's character, and who discredited as calumnies the current rumours respecting his life, were eager for this earnest of a second example of domestic regularity and concord in the royal family of England, and asked each other who was to be the fortunate object of his affections? Those, however, who knew better, asked, *who was to be the victim of his necessities?* and her name was in due time announced.

This match, however, was not one of choice on either side; for her serene Highness had fixed her affections on a German Prince, whom she could not marry. Thus interest, indifference, and second love held out but an unpropitious prospect for the royal pair. The Princess did not withhold her consent, although she had heard of the follies of the Prince, she had also heard of his virtues; and his generosity and sensibility had been greatly extolled. Yet, for reasons just stated, the Princess neither did, nor could, love her future husband.

The first intimation of the intended marriage was conveyed to the public in the speech which his Majesty delivered on the 30th of December 1794, to both Houses of Parliament, in which he expressed himself in the following manner:—

‘I have the greatest satisfaction in announcing to you the happy event of the conclusion of a treaty of marriage with the Princess Caroline, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick. The constant proofs of your affection for my person and family persuade me that you will participate in the sentiments I feel on an occasion so interesting to my domestic happiness; and

that you will enable me to make provision for such an establishment as you may think suitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent to the crown of these kingdoms.'

The address of the Commons to his Majesty was, as usual, a mere echo of the speech, expressing also their high satisfaction at the proposed marriage, and their extreme readiness and cheerfulness to vote away a large sum from the public purse, for the support and maintenance of the rank and dignity of the heir apparent.

On the 30th of December, 1794, the Princess Caroline left the court of Brunswick, attended by her mother and a retinue splendid and numerous. The acclamations of the populace followed her for several miles on her route; and those to whom she had manifested any kindness prayed to the God of Charity for his blessings on the union. During the period that elapsed from the time of her leaving Brunswick to that of quitting Cuxhaven, she studied the English language, made many inquiries as to English manners and customs, and appeared particularly anxious to be perfectly acquainted with the genius and character of the nation over whom she might one day be called to reign,

The eyes of the whole English nation were now directed to the arrival of the Princess of Brunswick: congratulatory addresses were prepared, and the powers of poetry were invoked to hail her arrival on British land. At length on the 26th of March, 1795, she embarked in the *Jupiter*, Commodore Payne. She was accompanied by Mrs. Harcourt and Lord Malmesbury, and also by Mrs. Aston and Mrs. St. Leger, who had been sent for that purpose expressly by the Prince of Wales. Lady Jersey had also received instructions to embark from Rochester; but she returned to London with the excuse of being indisposed, and stated her inability to proceed.

It was on the 4th of April, 1795, that the *Jupiter*, having on board the Princess Caroline, anchored off Gravesend; and on the following morning, she went on board one of the royal yachts, and about 12 o'clock, landed at Greenwich Hospital. The Princess was received by Sir Hugh Palliser, the governor,

who conducted her to his house ; but Lady Jersey did not arrive there till an hour after the Princess had landed. They both soon after retired into an adjoining room, and the dress of the Princess was changed for one which was brought from town by Lady Jersey.

Her stay at Greenwich was very short, as she departed, immediately after dressing, for town, in the same coach with Mrs. Harcourt and Lady Jersey, and arrived at St. James' a little before three o'clock. She was immediately introduced into the apartments prepared for her reception. On her entering the palace, the Prince of Wales appeared agitated, but on being introduced to her, he immediately saluted her. The King was particularly affable and kind to his intended daughter-in-law, but the Queen met her with the most repulsive coldness, made but few inquiries, and manifested feelings much opposed in character to those of the King. The Prince of Wales was not only polite and affable to the Princess, but he paid her many compliments, expressed his happiness and confidence in the prospect of a union with her ; and his surprise at the fluency with which she conversed in English. At eleven o'clock the Prince of Wales retired, and the Princess was then left under the care of Mrs. Aston.

At length the day arrived when the nuptials were to be solemnized, and on the evening of April the 8th, 1795, the marriage took place. It was celebrated at the Royal Chapel, St. James's, and the ceremony was splendid and imposing. To enter into a full detail of the whole ceremonial is unnecessary, as it has been fully described in the 'Memoirs of Queen Caroline;' but it may not be deemed irrelevant to show how much the King was interested in the match, which was sufficiently manifested by several minute circumstances connected with the ceremonial of the day. The whole of the royal family having dined together at the Queen's Palace, it was necessary afterwards for them to proceed to St. James's to their respective apartments to dress ; and on leaving Buckingham House, the good old King kissed the Princess in the hall, and, in the fulness of his heart, shook the Prince of Wales by the hand till

mutual tears started from the eyes of father and son. When the service was performing, and the Archbishop of Canterbury asked, 'Who gives the bride in marriage?' the King instantly and eagerly advanced to the Princess, and taking her with both his hands, presented her with expressive marks of satisfaction.

The indifference of the Prince was, indeed, a chilling contrast with this paternal warmth. The bride was unseemingly dejected, and the Prince, at the commencement, bore his compulsory fate with very little grace; he, however, bethought him of 'the sweet little courtesies,' and before the ceremony concluded, assumed the gallantry of a gentleman, and paid the most polite attention to the bride and bridesmaids. This was but the sunshine of the ceremony. Only on one occasion did the King reprove him, and that when the Prince impatiently rose too soon from his kneeling position. The Archbishop of Canterbury paused, when the King rose from his seat, and whispered to the Prince, who kneeled again, and the service concluded.

After the ceremonial, their Majesties held a drawing-room, which was numerously and brilliantly attended; and on its close, the whole of the royal family returned to the Queen's palace to sup quite in a domestic style, and the newly-married pair retired to Carlton House at midnight.

The celebration of this splendid ceremony was hailed by all ranks and orders of people with the utmost enthusiasm. The thundering expressions of delight by the cannon in the Park and at the Tower were answered by the acclamations of the populace, the ringing of bells, by the display of flags, the flashing of a million tapers, fantastically shining in all shapes and dimensions, and illuminating the whole of the metropolis. The sympathetic feeling extended itself, with the rapidity of lightning, to the remotest parts of the empire, and produced the most enthusiastic effusions of loyalty and joy.

As one of the conditions of the Prince's marriage was, that he should be exonerated from the pecuniary embarrassments under which he laboured, a message from the King was

delivered to both Houses of Parliament on account of the debts of the Prince of Wales, on the 27th of April. The message stated the reliance of his Majesty upon their generosity for enabling him to settle an establishment upon the Prince and his august bride, suited to their rank and dignity,—that the benefit of any settlement now to be made could not be effectually secured to the Prince, till he was relieved from his present incumbrance to a large amount,—but, that his Majesty did not propose to his Parliament any other means of providing for this object, than the application of a part of the income which might be settled on the Prince, and the appropriation, for a certain time, of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, declaring his readiness to concur in any plan for establishing a regular arrangement in the future expenditure of the Prince, and of guarding against the possibility of his being again involved.

As this communication was made at a season of great national embarrassment, and when the discontents of the people ran high, we cannot be surprised that it should have excited a considerable sensation among some of the independent members of the House of Commons. After the reading of his Majesty's message, Mr. Pitt moved for a committee to consider it that day se'nnight, upon which Colonel Stanley (member for Lancashire) moved for reading the address to the House on the 24th of May, 1787. This related to the former discharge of the Prince's incumbrances, and being read, Mr. Stanley observed, that the House had already liberally paid the debts of the Prince; and he wished for a call of the House, that the attendance upon an affair of so much importance might be as full as possible. This was opposed by Mr. Pitt, who stated that it was not his Majesty's intention to require a specific sum for the discharge of the principal debts, but to set apart a certain portion of that income which might be granted by the liberality of Parliament, to their gradual discharge. An establishment for the Prince of Wales, he said, had long been a matter of general

expectation. In a provision to be made for supporting the dignity and splendour of the heir-apparent, it was certainly necessary to free his affairs of all clogs and embarrassments. Comparing the grants made to the grandfather of his Royal Highness, at a time when the scale of expense was infinitely less, the sum to be now proposed was comparatively small. Mr. Pitt then enlarged upon the necessity of supporting the dignity and splendour of every branch of the royal family; and argued, that, on a subject of such general obviousness, there was no necessity for a call of the House.

While the public attention was called to this interesting question by the discussions in Parliament, a variety of publications issued from the press, teeming with the most virulent abuse of the Prince of Wales; and not only against his Royal Highness, but against almost every branch of the royal family, particularly the Dukes of York and Clarence: the former, indeed, had rendered himself highly obnoxious to the people, by the disgrace which he had brought upon the British arms by his incapacity as a general, and the latter was by no means a favourite on account of the immoral life, which in the supposition of the people, he was leading at Bushey Park, as well as his apparent inactivity, when the country was threatened by a powerful enemy, ignorant as they were at the time, that not the slightest blame could be imputed to him on that head, but that the whole weight of it ought to have been borne by an obstinate and prejudiced parent, who never consulted the interests of the country, when his own crooked policy was to be encouraged.

Had the administration of the day been half so bitterly reviled, or had there been any *Scarletts* existing at the time, the files of the Court of King's Bench would have been loaded with official informations of the attorney-general to prosecute the offenders; but the libels against the Prince of Wales were passed over without notice. The season, too, was favourable to their propagation. The criminal excesses of the French revolution were recent in the recollection of every one, and it

was circulated with industry, and believed with avidity, that the mischiefs which had fallen on royalty in that country had been produced by the prodigality of the French princes. There was, indeed, some foundation for this accusation; and as it was one that every one could understand and apply, it was widely spread, and found almost universal acceptance. It is likewise to be taken into consideration, that at this period there were many disaffected persons in the kingdom, who wished an alteration in the government. These persons were not disaffected to the Prince personally, but they were disinclined to royalty generally: as the want of prudence imputed to the Prince furnished them with an opportunity of attacking the throne by a side wind, they eagerly seized it; and, if we reckon the number of publications that appeared on the subject, it cannot be questioned that they made the utmost possible use of the occasion. These writers certainly had a considerable influence on the public mind, and as the ostensible object of their publications was to show, that the way best calculated for the preservation of the hereditary monarchy, was to prevent it from being oppressive to the people, though their real motive was very different, it was difficult to answer them in a way to meet the popular judgment.

The further consideration of the Prince of Wales' debts was resumed in the House of Commons on the 14th of May, when Mr. Hussey proposed that the reports of the commissioners on the state of the crown-lands should be referred to the present committee. He stated that, by the first of Anne, cap. 7, this subject, and that of provision for the royal family, were closely connected. These lands, he said, had never yet produced 6000*l.* a year, though they might be improved to the annual value of 400,000*l.* The motion was, however, objected to, as not proper in the present stage of the proceeding, and irrelevant to the subject; it was accordingly negatived;—and the House proceeded to take into consideration the message from his Majesty relative to the establishment of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the liquidation of the debts of the former.

After an animated exordium, which few men were more capable of making on some occasions than Mr. Pitt, in which the immediate interest of the country, in supporting the dignity and splendour of the royal family, was strongly insisted upon by him, the minister proceeded to state the necessity of an additional establishment on account of the marriage of the Prince, and a jointure for her Royal Highness. These were the only objects, Mr. Pitt said, to which he wished, at that time, to direct the attention of the committee. The present income of the Prince of Wales was 60,000*l.*, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall, which was about 15,000*l.* per annum. Fifty years ago, his grandfather, then Prince of Wales, possessed a net income of 100,000*l.* per annum, in addition to the duchy of Cornwall. Eighty years ago, his great grandfather, then Prince of Wales, had 100,000*l.*, without that duchy. From a review of those establishments, Mr. Pitt said, the House would see that his present Royal Highness ought to have a considerable addition, even if he were not incumbered with debt. The difference of expense, between the former period and the present time, amounted, he thought, to at least one-fourth of the whole income. He therefore proposed, that the income of his Royal Highness should be 125,000*l.* per annum, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall. This was no more, he thought, than the committee would be disposed to allow to the Prince on the event of a marriage which they approved and rejoiced in. Here, he said, he rested the present question : with regard to regulations to be made hereafter, he should state the preparations for the marriage at 27,000*l.* or 28,000*l.* for jewels and plate, and 26,000*l.* for furnishing Carlton House. The jointure of the Princess to be 50,000*l.* per annum. The debts of his Royal Highness, which were for future consideration, he stated at nearly 630,000*l.*, up to the last quarter ; besides which, there were some debts in which he was security for the Dukes of York and Clarence ; but from their meritorious exertions, such debts were in such a train of liquidation, and a course of punctual discharge, that there was no fear of their becoming bur-

densome to the public. Mr. Pitt said, he wished to take the sense of the house on the best mode of freeing his Royal Highness from his incumbrances; and was convinced that, before the house should take any step for their liquidation, they ought to be clearly stated for accurate investigation. For this purpose he wished to know whether the house would prefer a secret committee, which was the most expeditious mode, or whether they would leave the whole to be settled under legislative provisions. Whatever mode was adopted, it was necessary that regard should be had to a provision against contracting debts in future; and it was, he thought, necessary that parliament should mark the sense they entertained of the manner in which His Royal Highness had incurred his present embarrassments; and in that view, the liquidation of the debt might properly be a tax on the affluence of the Prince. He should, therefore, in a future stage of this proceeding, propose certain provisions for liquidating the debts out of the duchy of Cornwall, and the other income of his Royal Highness, certain parts of which should be vested in commissioners, to discharge the debt and interest at four per cent., except such as bore legal interest at five. For this purpose, he proposed 25,000*l.* a year should be set apart, which would discharge the debt in about twenty-seven years. In the case of the demise of the Prince of Wales within that time, 25,000*l.* would be charged annually on that succession; but in the event of the demise of the crown, and of his Royal Highness, within that time, the burden must fall on the consolidated fund. There were, he said, two heads to be attended to in the business under consideration—the punctual payment of the debt already contracted—and that no further debts should be incurred. For this purpose, no arrears should, on any pretence, go beyond the quarter; that debts thus claimed should be punctually paid, and no other. Mr. Pitt further proposed to invest Carlton House in the crown for ever, that the furniture should be considered as a heir-loom, and that all suits for the recovery of debts from his Royal Highness should lie against his officers, Mr. Pitt concluded with moving that the revenue of his Royal

Highness the Prince of Wales should be increased to 125,000*l.* per annum.

Mr. (now Earl) Grey, and other members, opposed the motion on the popular grounds, that, as the community at large were suffering great privations, on account of a burdensome and expensive war, the Prince of Wales, having incurred debts to an enormous amount, ought not at such a period to have recourse to the public purse for assistance, but make such a reduction in his expenses as would enable him to discharge the claims of his creditors. However exalted his rank, he ought, thy said, to endeavour to come to a composition with his creditors, which it was probable they would gladly accept, and that, until he had satisfied their demands, until the calls of strict justice were completely answered, he should limit his expences, and abstain from the splendour of a court. Mr. Grey moved an amendment to Mr. Pitt's proposition, that the Prince of Wales should only have an augmentation to his income of 40,000*l.* per annum, instead of the sum of 65,000*l.* which the minister's proposition recommended.

Mr. Fox, in an admirable speech, took a luminous view of the question. He admitted, he said, the necessity of supporting the splendour of the crown, as an essential part of the constitution; but he did not understand calling it, as it had been called, the centre of the constitution. He did not regard the establishment of former Princes of Wales as the most creditable part of the history of the house of Brunswick. The establishment of George II., when Prince of Wales, had been a mere matter of a party, still more so was that of his son, Frederick Prince of Wales. The establishment of the latter had been 60,000*l.* when he happened to differ from his Majesty's ministers, and 100,000*l.* when he agreed with them. Mr. Fox delicately adverted to the suspicious circumstances in which such a transaction placed [that Prince*, and wished

* A particular account of the intrigues here alluded to, and certainly not very favourable to the character of Frederick Prince of Wales, or to the purity of his political advisers, is to be found in the *Memoirs of Bubb Doddington*, Lord Melcombe, who, it is well known, entered as largely as any man into the cabals of his day.

the house to avoid such a conduct as might expose the Prince of Wales to similar suspicions. He blamed the scantiness of the former income granted to his Royal Highness, and exculpated himself for having concurred in it, on the ground of its having been an experiment; and that great deference was due to his Majesty, who gave 50,000*l.* out of the civil list. A few years afterwards, other ministers advised his Majesty to apply to parliament to exonerate the civil list from this allowance. In 1787, provision was made by parliament for paying the debts of his Royal Highness, and 10,000*l.* a year was added to his income. This he thought insufficient, but could not oppose it after both his Majesty and the Prince had declared that it was sufficient. The declaration of his Royal Highness, that he would not again apply to parliament, had greatly surprised him: it was, however, a promise which, in honour, he thought him obliged to keep. It was, however, the opinion of ministers, that 60,000*l.* a year in addition to the duchy of Cornwall, was sufficient for reinstating the Prince in all his splendour. Upon what principle then did they now say that 125,000*l.* a year was necessary? This, he thought, could not arise from his marriage—a circumstance which, whatever, changes it made in the lower classes, very little altered the expenses of those in superior life. How then could those who said, in 1787, that 73,000*l.* a year was sufficient, say that 138,000*l.* must be necessary now? It seemed that, like his grandfather, ministers measured the extent of his allowance by the degree of approbation he bestowed upon their measures. He was not actuated by the same motives, and therefore he should vote for the larger sum, provided that no similar application should be made to parliament in future. Mr. Fox then proceeded to vindicate the character of the Prince of Wales from some of the imputations that had been thrown out against it by preceding speakers. Was the Prince of Wales, he asked, the first example the house would select for reform, or, in some sort, for punishment? It would ill become him to be very pointed in his disapprobation of imprudent expenses in others; but he would say to Westminster, to the public at large, ‘if you

complain of increased habits of expense, begin the reformation by reforming yourselves. Considering the influence allowed to the crown, was it seemly to act harshly and austere towards a prince, who had no such influence? Something on this occasion might, he thought, have been spared out of the civil list. Queen Anne, from a civil list of 600,000*l.*, gave 100,000*l.* towards the support of the war. George I., out of 700,000*l.* a year, gave 100,000*l.* for the establishment of his heirs; and George II., the same sum. In the American war, parliament paid a large debt for the civil list, and added to it 100,000*l.* a year. The sum for the privy purse had been gradually increased from 36,000*l.* to 60,000*l.* a year. Why should not the establishment of the Prince be proportionably increased? After the promise given in 1787, and that no engagement appeared on the part of his Royal Highness against future claims of the same nature, he was averse from noticing the debts. On account merely of the Princess of Wales, for whom the house, by its addresses, was pledged to make a suitable provision, would he assent to relieving the Prince from his embarrassments, but not without a sinking fund for liquidating the debts within a reasonable time. The small sum proposed by the minister for liquidating his debts, the payment of which would take twenty-seven years, Mr. Fox thought only exposed the Prince to injurious reflections on the part of the public: relinquishing his state for the present would leave a sum for the payment of his debts in a short time, at the end of which the public would gain a beloved and respected Prince of Wales, and his future years must be prosperous indeed, if he counted the years of his probation as the least happy of his life.

For this purpose, Mr. Fox wished the Prince of Wales to give up 65,000*l.* a year, with the income of the duchy of Cornwall, for the discharge of his debts. The sale of the duchy, he said would effect this much sooner, and without expense to the public. He had been informed that it would sell for 800,000*l.*, but he would state it at 600,000*l.*, and the Prince's life interest in it at 300,000*l.* There would then only remain

about 300,000*l.* of debt, which the fund he had mentioned would pay off in three or four years. Mr. Fox strongly recommended precautions for the prevention of future debts, provided they were applied to all future kings and princes; but thought there were inconveniences in making the officers of the Prince responsible for his debts, which could not be obviated.

After some further observations of Mr. Fox, on the propriety of his Majesty coming forward on such an occasion, and the right that the Prince had to the arrears of the duchy of Cornwall during his minority, and which had been applied by successive ministers in aid of the civil list, the house proceeded to divide upon Mr. Grey's amendment, when the numbers for it were 99, against it 260. On the division for repairing Carlton House, there were for it 248, against it 99. For the expense of the royal marriage 241, against it 100.

The debates in the House of Commons excited a corresponding sensation out of doors, which was artfully kept alive by inflammatory publications, and newspaper paragraphs, tending to degrade the Prince of Wales in the estimation of the public. In this state of the affair, Mr. Anstruther, then attorney-general to the Prince, and afterwards chief justice of the supreme court at Calcutta, was authorized to make the following communication to the House of Commons, in the name of the Prince of Wales.

‘That his Royal Highness was desirous to acquiesce in whatever might be the sentiments of the house, both in respect to the future regulation of his expenditure, and the appropriation of any part of the income they might think fit to grant him, for the discharge of his debt; his wish, on the present occasion, was entirely to consult the wisdom of parliament. He was perfectly disposed to acquiesce in whatever abatement of splendour they might judge to be necessary, from a view of his situation; and desired to have nothing, but what the country might cordially be induced to think he ought to have. In fine, that his Royal Highness left all matters relative to the regula-

tion of his establishment, and the payment of his debts, to the wisdom and discretion of parliament, with the assurance that whatever measures they might adopt, would meet with his hearty concurrence.'

Mr. Pitt, upon this occasion, congratulated the house upon the constitutional sentiments which his Royal Highness had expressed; and said, he observed with pleasure that a parliament, which had never failed in any expression of loyalty to their sovereign, or attachment to his family—which had never been wanting in discovering a proper spirit of liberality, when the occasion called for it—had no less in the present instance shewn a degree of jealousy, care, and circumspection, when a demand was made upon the pockets of their constituents, attended with some circumstances which they could not altogether approve. He had no less satisfaction, he said, in observing that the illustrious personage himself was impressed with a just sense of that line of conduct, which, regard to his character and situation required him to pursue; and trusted that the house had that day received an earnest of the future disposition of his Royal Highness, and of that regard to the welfare of the people which would distinguish him in the exalted situation to which he might one day be called. Under that impression, he hoped there would be little difference of opinion as to the proposition which he should submit to the house. The instruction he meant to move went precisely to the two objects which his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Anstruther) had referred to, in the communication from his Royal Highness: the regulation of the expenditure of his household, and the appropriation of part of the income for the discharge of his debts. It was certainly satisfactory, Mr. Pitt said, for the house to know that his Royal Highness was perfectly disposed to concur in whatever arrangements the wisdom of parliament might adopt in respect to those two objects. He hoped that by this communication every difficulty would be considerable lessened, though they might not, perhaps, be entirely removed; as some members, however, who were disposed to support the dignity and credit of the Prince of Wales

by a proper establishment, had expressed their opinion that no notice ought to be taken of the debts at all. The question, he would remark, at present, was not what part of the income should be appropriated to the payment of the debt, nor did the instruction he meant to propose go so much as to narrow even the largest sum that had been suggested for that purpose. The only question was, whether the aid of parliament ought to be given to his Royal Highness, by adopting legislative regulations for the discharge of debts, which, it was admitted on all hands, ought never to have been contracted. Without any retrospect to the past, over which Mr. Pitt said he wished to draw a veil, he appealed to the fair and candid feelings of the House, whether they could refuse to adopt a measure so necessary for the character and credit of his Royal Highness, so infinitely connected with his personal comfort and the splendour of his rank? Could they refuse to concur with his Royal Highness in appropriating a large part out of the income allotted him, in order to relieve him from the embarrassment of debt? The business appeared to him to rest upon so plain a proposition, and to be itself so self-evident, that, reserving all particular details for future discussion, he trusted that what he had now to propose would meet the almost unanimous concurrence of the House. Mr. Pitt concluded with moving an instruction to the committee, that another committee should be appointed to bring in the bill relative to a general regulation of his Royal Highness' expenditure, and the appropriation of part of his income to, the discharge of his debts.

The substance of the arguments of those who opposed Mr. Pitt's motion, may be gathered from the speech of Mr. Duncombe (one of the members for York), who stated that he was one of those who, on a former day, had voted for the smaller augmentation of the Prince's income. 'At a time,' said this gentleman, 'when the comforts and conveniences of life are wanting to the middling classes of society, when the poor are scarcely supplied with even common necessities, and when the

prospect of a dearth* becomes every day more alarming, I cannot listen to the idle claims of splendour and magnificence; I trust that at such a season, the feelings of his Royal Highness will dispose him rather to sympathize with the distress of the lower orders, and to sacrifice something for their relief, than to form selfish and extravagant pretensions. There is another consideration which deserves to be attended to. In these distempered times, let us beware how, by an unnecessary or wanton profusion of the public money, we furnish the favourers of wild and dangerous innovations with a colour and plausibility for their arguments. As a friend to the hereditary monarchy, as an adherent to the family on the throne, I feel myself called upon to resist the motion. Let us recollect that there are other branches of the royal family. If, after the assurance we have received, we again consent to pay the debts of his Royal Highness, we shall establish a precedent, of which we cannot tell to what purpose it may be applied, or to what extent it may be carried. I do not mean to say that the debts ought not to be paid, but I look to other resources for that purpose. I look first to the justice of his Royal Highness to make provision for the payment of those debts that shall be proved to be just: many of them, I apprehend, do not come under that description. I look to future economy in the regulation of his household; and lastly, I look to the assistance he may derive from the well known munificence of his royal father. As the idea of temporary retirement has been suggested, I have only to remark, that from such a retirement his Royal Highness might reap great advantage in settling his affairs, and be again enabled to emerge with fresh splendour. Retirement, it has been remarked, is the nurse of reflection; by its influence, his Royal Highness might be enabled to confirm those resolutions which he has expressed in his communication to the House, and to return again into public life, fortified against future error, and qualified for the

* The harvest of 1795 was at this period very unpromising and afterwards turned out extremely unfavourable.

important duties of that high station which he may one day be called to fill.

The allusion to assistance that might be expected from the King, was repeated by Mr. Curwen and other members, and commented on by Mr. Dundas, who said, he was surprised at one resource which had been pointed out by some honourable gentlemen, in the affection and benevolence of his royal father. (*A cry of hear, hear, pervaded the House.*) That cry, Mr. Dundas said, he was confident, could only proceed from a few voices, and by no means discovered the general feeling of the House on the subject. They had repeatedly had occasion to examine the situation of his Majesty with respect to the civil list, particularly on occasion of granting establishments to the Duke of Clarence, and to the Duke of York on his marriage. They might recollect, that on the arrangement formerly made with respect to the debts of his Royal Highness, part of that provision arose out of the liberality of his Majesty. The civil list was indeed large, but was wholly appropriated to particular services, except the sum allotted for his Majesty's privy purse. The idea of such a resource arose out of the miserable feeling which he was surprised that any gentleman could entertain. He knew not (and his means of information were as good as those of any other member) of the existence of any such sum, as that which had been referred to. Besides, he would ask, with that numerous family with which his Majesty was blessed, were there no other objects who claimed his royal munificence and attention? The Prince of Wales was the last who might be supposed to have such a claim; he, from the situation in which he stood, was the peculiar care of the public. Allusion might be made to the revenues which his Majesty derived from the electorate of Hanover. But had his Majesty no state to support in that quarter? Was he to rob his Hanoverian subjects in order to pay debts contracted in this country by the heir apparent to the British crown? The appeal that had been made on this subject he could consider as neither fair nor candid, and, as such, he should dismiss it without further observation.

These remarks of Mr. Dundas drew a most animated speech from Mr. Fox. That great statesman enlarged, in the most eloquent terms, upon the glorious opportunity afforded in the present instance for the display of royal munificence, and lamented that his Majesty had not been advised to lead the way upon this occasion. He did not mean to say that the whole 600,000*l.* should be paid by his Majesty; but he would say, because he felt, that it was a little unseemly, at a time of such general calamity, that his Majesty should be the only person in the kingdom, who did not contribute a single farthing towards the discharge of the incumbrances of the Prince of Wales. This, he could not help repeating, was unseemly. He hoped his Majesty would be better advised upon this subject. A glorious opportunity offered itself for the display of royal munificence; and a handsome conduct upon such an occasion as this, would do even more for the constitution than the most vigorous exertion of the arm of power. It was with this view he had contended, and sorry he was he had contended unsuccessfully, against the additional 100,000*l.* a year to the income of his Majesty himself, during the continuance of the American war; because, when all the subjects of his Majesty felt so much during that war, he thought that his Majesty would do well to show them a lesson of frugality and economy. If this principle were correct, and the application of it just at that time, how much more was it now, when the question is—‘how many burdens are to be laid upon the public to relieve the Prince of Wales from debt?’ He would say again, it was unfortunate that some person had not advised his Majesty to lead the way upon this occasion, to shew the public an example of liberality, and to convince them that he felt, himself, the necessity there was for indulging a generous temper. Happy should he be, when this subject should come to be discussed, if the house, by a gracious communication, should be given to understand that the illustrious personage to whom he alluded, intended to take some share in the contingent burden which might be felt.

On the 5th of June, Mr. Pitt presented to the House of

Commons an account of the proceeds of the duchy of Cornwall, during the minority of the Prince of Wales, an abstract of the debts which his Royal Highness had incurred, and an account of the application of 25,000*l.* for finishing Carlton House— From these documents it appeared that the several sums paid from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall during the minority of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales amounted to 233,764*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*

	£.	s.	d.
Debts on various securities, and bearing interest	500,571	19	1
Amount of tradesmen's bills unpaid	86,745	0	0
Tradesmen's bills, and arrears of establishment, from October 10, 1794, to April 5, 1795	52,573	5	3
	<u>£639,890</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>

Mr. Pitt then stated, that it was his intention to move in the committee, that 65,000*l.*, with the income of the duchy of Cornwall, should be set apart for the liquidation of the debts, making an annual sum of 78,000*l.* The burden, he said, could not be thrown upon the civil list, which in the event of the demise of the Prince, would be charged with the jointure of the Princess. He should therefore move, that the committee have a discretionary power to provide, out of the hereditary revenue of the crown (in case of the demise of his present Majesty) during the life of his Royal Highness, for the payment of his debts; and, in case of the demise of the Prince, to provide out of the consolidated fund for the payment of such sums as should then remain unpaid. He explained, that for several reigns it had been thought proper to commute the hereditary revenue for a civil list. The mode he proposed was at once calculated to give security to the creditors, or, in the event of an accession to the throne, to render his Royal Highness responsible for the payment of his remaining debts.

One of the most eloquent speeches delivered at this interesting period, and which made the deepest impression on the

public mind (if we except a speech subsequently delivered by his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence) was that which was delivered by Mr. Sheridan. In the inflammatory publications of the day, Mr. Sheridan had, with peculiar virulence, been accused as one of the evil advisers of the Prince, from whose pernicious counsels the greater part of his embarrassments had flowed; but from this charge Mr. Sheridan vindicated himself so fully, that we cannot help feeling the utmost surprise, on looking over some recent publications, to find that Mr. Sheridan should have continued to be charged with being a prime agent in leading the Prince of Wales into his serious embarrassments. This distinguished orator opened his speech with urging the propriety of ministers having suggested to his Majesty the necessity of his setting an example on the present occasion. Were, he asked, the expenses of the Prince so very unpardonable? His Majesty possessed many great and good qualities; but on the subject of expense, and keeping his promise with the public, would the Prince lose by the comparison? In this he imputed all the blame to ministers. On his Majesty's accession, the civil list was settled at 800,000*l.* a-year, which was thought so ample, that parliament was assured from the throne that the civil list should not be suffered to run into arrears: since then, debts of the civil list had been paid to an amount, which, at compound interest, would exceed seven millions!! The Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in the early part of his administration, assured the House that no more debts should accrue on the civil list, yet he soon after called upon the House to pay a new debt.

Mr. Sheridan then adverted to the embarrassments felt by the Prince of Wales on account of the narrowness of the income which had been fixed for him, during which his Royal Highness had often done him the honour to consult him, chiefly because his Royal Highness knew his fixed determination to accept no favours; and Mr. Sheridan took that opportunity of declaring that he had never received any presents of great value from the Prince. He had, he said, advised his Royal Highness not to make the promise he made in 1787,

from the improbability of its being kept. He had at that time drawn up a plan of retrenchment, which was approved by the Prince, and by his Majesty; and the Prince told him the promise was not to be insisted upon, though to his great surprise he found it inserted in the King's message, which had been seen by his Royal Highness. The Prince wished him to retract it, but this he declined. Ministers had then a check upon the expenditure of his Royal Highness, which they had never enforced: they had never interposed to stop a shameful profusion of money upon Carlton House.

Another plan of retrenchment therefore followed, and the Prince was advised, Mr. Sheridan said, by Lord Thurlow and himself, not to apply again to parliament, and to take no part in politics, but to retire from public life, and apply the greatest part of his income to the liquidation of his debts. Another noble lord, however (Loughborough) having, about this time, obtained the Prince's notice, he, it seems, told his Royal Highness that such advice was too nearly allied to that given to Monsieur Egalite, and clearly pointed out the quarter from which it came. His lordship, though mistaken in his allusion, had that effect on his Royal Highness that his former resolution was superseded, and the present application made—an application which he extremely condemned, and thought of a nature that tended to shake the very foundation of monarchy in this kingdom, more perhaps than any plan that the most inveterate Jacobin could have pursued.

The monarch, as far as was possible, was rendered unamiable, and the House insulted. The Prince was held up at once to scorn and reprehension, and at last obliged to live in splendid penury, to stand, as it were, in a gilded pillory, and to do penance in an embroidered sheet, proclaimed to the world a wasteful prodigal, unfit to be intrusted with the management of his own affairs. Something, he said, ought to be given by the King. There were debts due to honest tradesmen, to whom no exception could be taken, which ought not to be postponed. There were, on the establishment,

gentlemen of honour, whose salaries were fourteen quarters in arrear.

Carlton House being made the property of the public, the public, he thought, ought to pay the expense of rebuilding it. This would reduce the debts to 500,000*l*. The interest of this at five per cent, would be 25,000*l*. In 1777, the privy purse of the King was made 60,000*l*. a-year, and the Queen received 50,000*l*. for her establishment. He should therefore expect 10,000*l*. a-year from the privy purse, and 5000*l*. from the Queen's establishment; for the remaining 10,000*l*. a-year, he would look to places and sinecures, taking them as they fell, which in time would form a fund for paying off even the principal. Mr. Sheridan then proposed an amendment, that nothing should be charged upon the sinking fund, till it should be found that the resources he had indicated were insufficient.—On a division, Mr. Sheridan's amendment was negatived by a majority of 148 to 93.

On the motion of Mr. Pitt, the annual sum of 65,000*l*. was appropriated to the revenue of the Prince, out of the consolidated fund, by a majority of 93 against 68. A conversation then took place, respecting the appropriation of an annual sum out of the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall, towards paying the debts of his Royal Highness, and whether the consent of the Duke of York was not necessary (which occasioned instruction to the committee for this purpose) during the time that his Majesty, or his Royal Highness, shall be interested in that revenue. The commitment of the bill was opposed by Mr. Whitbread, as containing provisions degrading and disgraceful to the Prince. Mr. Lambton (member for Durham, and who was in the confidence of the Prince) stated, however, that his Royal Highness was perfectly satisfied with its principles, and in general approved its restrictions. Mr. Powys and Mr. Fox thought many points still remained to be discussed, before the subject was sufficiently matured for the decision of the House. What Mr. Fox particularly objected to was, that the income of the Prince would, he feared, be laid

under the management and approbation of the minister*. He further objected to considering the furniture of Carlton House as a heir-loom, as unfair to the Prince, and to his creditors. The sale of the duchy of Cornwall was again strongly recommended by several members, particularly by Mr. Sheridan, who opposed the commitment. The House, however, went into a committee, when it was moved, to allow the Prince of Wales 65,000*l.* per annum. Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Whitbread moved an amendment, limiting the sum to 40,000*l.*, which was negatived by a large majority. Another amendment was proposed by Sir W. Young, that the annuity should be paid out of the civil list; but upon the question for taking it out of the consolidated fund, the ayes were 149, noes 16: 27,000*l.* were also granted, on account of the marriage of his Royal Highness, and 27,000*l.* for finishing the repairs of Carlton House.

The arrears of the duchy of Cornwall, during the minority of the Prince of Wales, which had been so frequently adverted to in the preceding debates, were again made the subject of discussion by General Smith, on reading the report. He moved a clause for inquiry into the amount of the revenue during that time, with a view to its being applicable to the liquidation of his Royal Highness' debts. The attorney-general admitted that he had been inaccurate on a former night, respecting the tenure of that duchy, which was of a nature so difficult and peculiar, that it was not easy for him to describe it. It was a fund set apart by the legislature for the support of the Prince of Wales, who had very properly been represented as *major de die nativitatis*. The right of the Prince was extremely difficult to ascertain: if it were a fund for his support from his birth, the King, as his guardian, had the disposal of the fund during his minority; and the long

* The Commissioners appointed under this bill for discharging the debts of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, were, the Speaker of the House of Commons for the time being, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, the Master of his Majesty's Household, the Accountant-General of the High Court of Chancery, and the Surveyor-General of the Crown Lands:

period which had since occurred, would render any claim on the part of the Prince extremely doubtful. To this was added, by Mr. Pitt, that if any claim existed, it was on the part of the public. The revenue had been applied in aid of the civil list, and as such had been recognized by parliament. If this were a fund for the support of the state and dignity of the Prince, it was certainly intended that the appropriation of this fund should prevent any expense from falling on the civil list, or the public. Who would then have a right to set off against the income any expense incurred on account of the Prince? The expense of his education had been 80,000*l.*, with an extraordinary expense of 3000*l.* This included the Duke of York: but as the same preceptors would have been necessary for the Prince, this made a trifling addition. In 1783, 60,000*l.* was granted to defray the expenses of his outset; in 1797, his debts were paid to the amount of 219,000*l.* These united made 300,000*l.*, and would have to be deducted from the proceeds of his minority, should they be adjured to him.

Mr. Fox controverted these arguments, and said, that with respect to the duchy being conceived the only fund necessary for the support of the Prince of Wales, that was far from being the case, since the principality of Wales, and the earldom of Chester, had been granted for the same purpose. Natural feeling, he said, required that the King, like other fathers, should be charged with the education of his son. The public had never given the King the duchy of Cornwall; but the public indeed paid the King's debts, and they allowed the arrears arising out of the duchy of Cornwall to go in part to discharge them; if they had not, the amount of his Majesty's debts would have been considerably greater: but was it to be asserted that, be they what they might, they would have discharged them; or that, as a matter of course, they would have given 800,000*l.* with the same facility as 600,000*l.*? Mr. Fox thought it of the utmost importance to ascertain what was really due to the Prince. The expense of his education, and that of the Duke of York, as appeared by a paper on the table, for a term of years, had been 40,000*l.*, of which 25,000*l.*

at most could be charged to the account of the Prince, though at the same time the revenue of the duchy was 75,000*l*. The 60,000*l* voted in 1783 was not for the Prince, but in aid of the civil list; and of this the Prince did not receive more than 20,000*l*. On a fair calculation, it would be found that his Royal Highness had not received more than 100,000*l*. above his regular income; and the revenue of the duchy, during his minority, with interest, amounted to 500,000*l*. On a division, there appeared for the motion 40—against it 97.

A bill was then brought in by Sir W. Pulteney, for preventing any future Princes of Wales from incurring debts, and passed; and the jointure of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales was fixed at 50,000*l*.

The discussions in the lower house on this interesting subject were followed by a series of debates in the House of Peers, equally animated, and, from the peculiar situation of some of the speakers, perhaps still more interesting to the public. On the first day's debate, the question of the Prince's right to the proceeds of the duchy of Cornwall was warmly agitated; and it was strenuously contended by them, that he was entitled to them from the day of his birth.

But the debate of most interest was that which occurred on the 24th of June, on the second reading of the bill, when a message was delivered by Lord Cholmondeley from the Prince, similar to the former message delivered by Mr. Anstruther in the House of Commons, stating his Royal Highness' readiness to acquiesce in whatever measures the wisdom of parliament might think proper to recommend. The Duke of Clarence particularly distinguished himself on this day's debate; and, in a speech, delivered under the evident impression of strong personal feeling, took a perspicuous view of the whole question.

His Royal Highness commenced his speech with declaring, that having on a former occasion stated that he should act in this business without any regard to party, he now rose to deliver his sentiments to the house, before an opportunity had been afforded to mingle personal feelings in the discussion.—Whatever were his sentiments with respect to the bill; whether

he was satisfied with the whole, or only with parts of it; he should certainly vote that it might pass. His Royal Highness next made some observations on the title of the bill, and said he should principally confine his remarks on it to that which related to the provision to be made for the payment of his Royal Highness' creditors. There were some parts of the bill which, he confessed, met with his entire approbation. It naturally and properly, his Royal Highness said, became an object to grant a suitable establishment to the Prince, on account of his marriage. In granting this establishment, it might have been supposed that the Prince had now come to an age, at which he was fully capable of acting for himself, and would, of his own accord, have been disposed to take measures to free himself from any incumbrances which he might have contracted. But, instead of this; instead of allowing him the merit and taking measures of his own accord, to pay his creditors, the authors of the bill had taken the popularity of such a step out of his hands. The other provision, which made the different officers of his Royal Highness' household responsible for the expenses incurred under their several departments, he highly approved. He conceived it to be a measure extremely necessary for the dignity and comfort of every Prince of Wales. A Prince of Wales, his Royal Highness observed, by a particular law, became of age at eighteen, while every other subject was not of age till twenty-one. A young man at that age, when the passions were at their height, and in his situation, might be led into expenses beyond his income, and which, perhaps, might border on extravagance; but such a circumstance he could not consider as a serious reflection on a young man of eighteen.

His Royal Highness next remarked, that those who had been most concerned in bringing forward the business, instead of acting as they ought, had so managed as to take away all popularity from the Prince, in order to centre it in themselves. The bill to prevent future Princes of Wales from contracting debt, instead of going hand in hand with the present bill, the Duke of Clarence said, had been so brought in as to be attended

with a marked personality to his Royal Highness. Though he should not betray anything that passed in private conversation, yet he could not help making some remarks on the manner in which the business had been introduced into parliament. It was a matter, his Royal Highness said, of public notoriety, that when the Prince of Wales' marriage was agreed upon, there was a stipulation that he should, in the event of that union, be exonerated from his debts. What could his Royal Highness understand by this stipulation, but that measures should be taken for the immediate exoneration of those debts—not, as by the provisions of the present bill, that they should be left hanging over for the space of nine years and a half and, perhaps, even a longer period. The authors of the bill had stated, that the credit and stability of the throne depended upon the support of the independence and dignity of every branch of the royal family, particularly of the Prince of Wales. Was this the method they had taken as best calculated to support that dignity, and that independence? His Royal Highness had, indeed, expressed his acquiescence in whatever measures the wisdom of parliament might think proper to recommend; but what was the situation in which he was placed? The bill was, in one point of view, a public bill, as was every bill which related to any branch of the royal family; but it was more strictly a private bill, as nothing could be done without the consent of the Prince. Advantage then had been taken of the difficulties in which he was involved, in order to procure from him this consent. He was forced to express his acquiescence, in order that something might be done. He was in the situation of a man, who, if he cannot get a haunch of venison, will rather take any other haunch than go without.

The Duke of Clarence next alluded to the vast number of pamphlets which had been published, in order to influence the minds of the good and generous people of England against his royal brother. He knew persons in another place, he said, who possessed great powers of eloquence, and an abundant choice of animated expressions. These persons had exerted their powers in order to support the measure of grant-

ing a subsidy of 200,000*l.* a-year to the King of Sardinia, a sum of 1,200,000*l.* to the King of Prussia, and lately the loan of 4,600,000*l.* to the Emperor of Austria. But though on these occasions they displayed all their stores of animated language, yet when they brought forward the situation of the Prince of Wales, they prefaced what they had to propose with the expressions—‘an unpleasant task—an arduous undertaking—the distresses of the people in consequence of the war—the regret of laying additional burdens on the public—’ yet he must remark, that, if they had adopted with respect to his royal brother, a language something more favourable, as to the impression it was calculated to give of his conduct to the country, they would not have had a vote less to the present bill.

His Royal Highness next touched on the situation of the Princess of Wales, *a lovely and amiable woman*, torn from her family, for though her mother was the King’s sister, she might still be said to be torn from her family by being removed from all her early connexions; what must be her feelings from such circumstances attendant on her reception in a country, where she had a right to expect every thing befitting her high rank, and the exalted station to which she was called? As a friend to the Prince he, however, would not oppose the passing of the present bill, for he was convinced that the sooner it passed, the sooner would its absurdity and malignity appear. If, as had been stated, the arrears of the duchy of Cornwall were due to the Prince during the period of his minority, he hoped that question would be quickly brought forward, and he trusted that the noble lord before whom it would come to be argued in his judicial capacity, and whose justice could not be impeached, would throw no impediment in the way of its speedy decision.

Lord Grenville replied to the observations of the Duke of Clarence, and moved the commitment of the bill. The Duke of Bedford said he would have opposed the bill, had not a message been brought down, stating his Royal Highness’ acquiescence to it. The bill itself he considered as highly ob-

jectionable, as it referred to two points, which were in themselves perfectly distinct. He certainly approved of the conduct of his Majesty, in having stated in the message to parliament that his Royal Highness was much encumbered with debts. But the conduct which he thought ministers ought to have adopted was, either to have voted the necessary sum for his establishment, and left it to himself to take the proper measures for satisfying his creditors, or have waited till such time as he had chosen to come forward, to request the assistance of parliament for the purpose of their liquidation. Considering the rise of all articles, he did not think an addition of 25,000*l.* above what had been granted to former Princes of Wales, too much on the present occasion. But he was surprised that ministers, who had formerly thought so much smaller a sum adequate for his establishment, should now think that the alteration in his circumstances required so large an addition as 75,000*l.* However disposed he might be to censure the extravagance of the Prince, he was not one of those who thought that it ought to be magnified into a crime. This style of asperity, he remarked, had been adopted by men, who wishing to go back to their constituents, after throwing away millions of the public money in the prosecution of a war, which they must, at least, admit to be unprofitable, were glad of an opportunity to claim some credit for their economy in the management of the national purse. They might say to their constituents, 'Though we have spent your money in the prosecution of a war for the support of the throne, do not accuse us of profusion: we have voted away several millions for that public object, but we have refused to grant even a few hundred thousands for the gratification of the heir apparent, for the stability of whose claims we are contending.

There were several circumstances, the Duke said, which tended to extenuate the conduct of the Prince. They ought to recollect his age, the station in which he was placed, and the insufficiency of his income to support the splendour necessary for his rank. He thought it would have been much better to

have advanced a sum at once sufficient to have liquidated the debts. His royal father might have been expected to have contributed for that purpose. It was rather singular, that when in the course of one year, they had granted a subsidy of 1,200,000*l.* to the King of Prussia, and a much larger sum in loan to the Emperor of Austria, they should now be disputing about advancing a few hundred thousand pounds to the Prince. His Royal Highness was certainly as good security as the Emperor, for a sum so comparatively small. When ministers railed at the extravagance of the Prince, they forgot the examples of extravagance which had been given him in former times. Was his the only instance which had occurred, of promises having been made to the public, and having afterwards been broken? The same ministers who adopted this ungracious mode of conduct towards the Prince, if, at a future time, they saw him on the throne, would be disposed to pay the most implicit submission to his will, to contend that all his measures were infallibly right, and to brand with the name of Jacobins all those, who might happen to be of a different opinion. This, he said, was not the way in which the monarchy of Great Britain ought to be supported:

The Earl of Lauderdale, another nobleman high in the confidence of the Prince of Wales, followed on the same side of the question. His lordship observed, that the sum which was to be granted to the Prince of Wales was by no means more than was necessary. It was not indeed so much, as had been granted to his Royal Highness Frederick, the late Prince of Wales. That Prince had been allowed an income of 100,000*l.* a-year; and when the noble Secretary of State came forward to propose the commitment of this bill, which was, among other purposes, to maintain the dignity of the heir apparent to the throne, he would do well to consider the proportion of the

* His Grace here alluded to the promises that were made from the throne, on the occasion of the first payment of the debts of the civil list, promises that were more than once broken afterwards, and subsequent applications made to parliament for relief.

sum now to be granted to his Royal Highness, and that which had been granted to Prince Frédéric, as well as to consider what had been allowed to various other branches of the royal family for the last century; and, when that was done, he believed the sum now proposed to be granted to the Prince would by no means appear to be exorbitant; it would be so far from it, that it would appear unequal to what parliament had allowed before on many occasions out of the pockets of the public. He did not mean to say, that more should be granted than was now proposed; but he wished to take a view of it, as compared to other allowances made out of the public purse to branches of the royal family. There was to be allowed to his Royal Highness a sum of 125,000*l.* a-year, Prince Frédéric had 100,000*l.* Now, he would desire their lordships to compare the situation of the two princes. To do this, it would be necessary to consider the state of the revenue of the country at the time when Prince Frederick had this allowance, and the state of it now. There was a time which was, perhaps, more familiar to a French than an English ear, but which was, however, easily understood: he meant that of 'direct and indirect taxes.' At the time when Prince Frederick had his 100,000*l.* a-year, the indirect taxes were almost nothing when compared with the direct ones. The indirect taxes were those, which, being laid on the articles of life, which every one consumes, must necessarily fall on the consumer, and these were the only taxes to which the royal family were subject; for, by a clause which was uniformly inserted in bills that related to their income, they were exempted from direct taxes. Since the time when Prince Frederick had this income, upwards of three millions of indirect taxes had been laid upon the public, consequently the present Prince of Wales must bear his share of them as well as every individual. None of those fell on Prince Frederick; it followed therefore, by calculation, that the 125,000*l.* now allowed to his Royal Highness was inferior in reality to that which had been allowed to his grandfather in a similar rank. The noble Secretary of State had, on a former occasion, expressed his regret that this

measure was at all necessary. He regretted it also; but he regretted it too, that all the measures which were proposed to ameliorate the condition of his Royal Highness, did not go hand in hand. In the first place he must say, that in his opinion, much blame rested upon ministers for this proceeding, and they had contrived, very unworthily, to load his Royal Highness with an unpopularity, which they could not have brought upon him, but by the means they had pursued in the progress of this proceeding.

The noble Duke who had preceded him in the debate had stated that they had given away the public money in loads and heaps, for carrying on the war: to this he readily assented, for they had done so, and for what? Why, upon their own declarations, for the purpose chiefly of securing royalty in the country. In this declaration, they might be able, perhaps, to make something up to their own consciences, for he knew not what was passing there; they would, however, find it difficult to satisfy the public upon that subject. But such was the avowed object. Now, he should be glad to know how any member of the House of Commons, who voted for the war upon this principle of supporting royalty in this country, could tell him that he had any great objection to this allowance to the Prince of Wales, especially when it was recollected that 99,000*l.* was granted to the emigrants upon the cause of royalty. He could not conceive how men who did this, should oppose this income to the Prince, or say they were discontented with it, unless they supposed there were some other quarter which it was more important for them to conciliate, perhaps more useful than that of pleasing their constituents. Ministers had acted very warily in this business; they had taken to themselves the credit of rescuing his Royal Highness from his embarrassments; and to pay his creditors, they were unwilling that he should have any of the management of it himself, because they knew that, in that case, he would have the popularity of the measure, because the public would then see that the idea originated from him; but although ministers had thus acted, he, for one, must say, that while they pre-

tended to provide for his dignity, they had done everything in their power to lower him in the opinion of the public. Had they allowed him this income, and given to him the management of it, they would have given a much more solid foundation for the support of his dignity.

His Lordship said, he did not now look whether the Prince had or had not been extravagant : the question now was, what he came to the public for ? and upon this he must say that the Prince had been hardly dealt with in this business, and he should not have been in the least surprised, had the demand been greater upon his Royal Highness than it really was. What had the Prince done to be censured as he had been ? Was there anything so very extraordinary in his present situation ? What prince did we know who had not, in his situation, come for a greater sum from the public ? Persons at his time of life, and in his station, rather regulated their conduct with a reference to what they expect they will have, than by what they actually possess ; and here it would not be improper to take a short view of what had been allowed to other branches of the royal family in this country. 500,000*l.* were paid for Queen Anne. George I. had 1,300,000*l.* extraordinary allowed him. George II. about 1,500,000*l.*, and this at a time when the public revenue was less by millions than it is at present, and when the indirect taxes, all of which his present Royal Highness must pay, like any other individual, chiefly constitutes the difference. His Royal Highness had yet only received an extraordinary grant from the public of 261,000*l.* For his own part, his Lordship said, he should not have been surprised if his Royal Highness had wanted a much larger sum than he did. It was not a case which he could affect to lament, particularly after his Royal Highness, having manifested a disposition to lessen his expenses, was dissuaded from attempting it, and told that such an attempt would appear too much an imitation of M. Egalite ! By this sort of catechism was his Royal Highness brought into his present situation ; and he was sure that, if the people of this country saw the matter in its real light, ministers would not be successful in their endeavours to

bring odium on his Royal Highness; it would fall upon ministers themselves, who now affected to feel such perfect acuteness upon touching the public purse.

His Lordship disapproved of the restrictions, as far as they were personal against his Royal Highness; but observed he should approve of them, if they were merely general to any Prince of Wales. He blamed ministers for not making those provisions, when the subject of the Prince's debts was before parliament on a former occasion; for he did not see why one message to parliament should be followed up with more restriction than another message. Ministers might ask, 'how could they do it?' There were a thousand ways by which they could. They might have done it by the very means they adopted now, if they had been willing. It would require more ingenuity for them to convince the public that they should not then have done it, than that they would not; for their want of capacity was pretty evident. However, if they could not, they were the only persons who were in that situation. They had cherished the hopes of his Royal Highness, and now they attempted to degrade him; but he was not at all surprised at that, because it was perfectly correspondent with all their conduct towards his Royal Highness, and towards the public. He could enlarge more upon the subject, but the message delivered that day from his Royal Highness prevented him from opposing the principle of the bill.

Lord Grenville warmly defended the conduct of his Majesty's servants. It was not, he said, the ordinary course of debating in that house, to charge the King's ministers with trying to degrade the son of the King, and the heir-apparent to his throne. This was not an ordinary censure, and therefore he felt himself called upon to repel the attempt. What was the censure? and what were the arguments to support it? First, that ministers were the cause of these debts being contracted. They the cause of the debts being contracted? How so? Was there any man in the country who could lay his hand upon his heart, and say so? At the time when the subject of the debts of his Royal Highness was before parliament on a

former occasion, he had not the honour of holding any official situation under his Majesty. He gave his opinion as a member of parliament only, and that opinion he was now ready to maintain. Whatever the noble earl might think, he was of opinion that the whole of the income now proposed might be proper, although the former income might have been sufficient for his Royal Highness, the whole difference being between the state of a married and an unmarried prince.

The question of the precise amount to be granted, his Lordship said, was one on which there must be a great diversity of opinions; and perhaps no two persons might exactly agree upon it. But how could it possibly be supposed that ministers had endeavoured to attach any unpopularity on the Prince, by bringing the matter forward? But, it was said by the noble Earl, that ministers endeavoured to degrade the Prince of Wales by the measure which they now brought forward. He would wish to ask, whether the noble Earl would not have said, and, indeed, with a better chance of succeeding with the public if he did, that ministers, if they refused to bring this subject forward, had attempted to disgrace his Royal Highness? So that the endeavour to assist the Prince of Wales was not now brought forward against ministers, as an attempt to degrade him. He, on the contrary, trusted that their Lordships and the public would feel that ministers had done everything practicable to support the dignity of his Royal Highness.

Lord Grenville said, another point had been insisted upon with as little reason as the rest. It was contended that ministers were to blame for not bringing this business forward sooner, and to prevent the contracting of debts in future. What! before any application on the part of his Royal Highness to discharge his incumbrances? What right had they? what power had they—what influence had they, to do so? When the application was regularly made, they brought forward the best mode they were able; and were they therefore to be censured for submitting the whole of it to parliament? Indeed, if the noble Earl blamed ministers for not coming forward on behalf of the Prince, without knowing that his

Royal Highness wanted any of their assistance, to settle a mode for the payment of his debts, without knowing that he wished to adopt any, he must say that the blame was of a very extraordinary nature. There would have been very great indelicacy in such an officious conduct, and for which he had no doubt that the noble Earl would have been ready enough to censure ministers for adopting it. His Lordship then observed that it did not become him to take upon himself the defence of members of the other house of parliament, to whom allusion had been made; from some of whom he differed, and some of them he knew to be pretty well able to defend themselves. They had granted large supplies for the prosecution of this just and necessary war. They had many of them expressed much unwillingness at the present measure. He knew no reason for saying that they were not actuated by a due sense of their public duty, and therefore, he for one, was not prepared to censure them for their conduct. The question before their Lordships was not a question of attachment to any particular person, but a public question, on which every member of parliament ought to act according to his own idea of public duty. There were, no doubt, some persons who wished to vilify his Royal Highness, and every branch of the royal family. Such persons were enemies to monarchy; but he was sure it was the object of ministers to keep the monarchy respectable and dignified, and he had no doubt but that such was the wish of the great mass of the people.

The Duke of Clarence observed, that the noble Secretary of State (Lord Grenville) had stated that he was not a minister when the debts of the Prince of Wales were before parliament on a former occasion; but he must call to his recollection that he was minister in 1792. He now wanted to know whether there was not a statement of facts on the incumbrances of the Prince of Wales at that time presented to a certain quarter. He knew there was, and therefore the noble Secretary could not be ignorant of the affairs of the Prince at that period.

Lord Grenville, in reply, said, there could be no debate

where there was no equality, and therefore he must decline any further contest on this part of the subject. He had stated what part he had taken as a member of parliament, and what officially occurred upon the subject now before the house. He did not apprehend it came within the scope of his official duty to state in that house anything concerning an application made to another quarter.

The Earl of Moira, who possessed a large share of the confidence of the Prince, and whose character well justified the confidence which his Royal Highness reposed in him, now rose to state his opinion on the subject; and, in a manly and energetic speech, vindicated the conduct of the heir-apparent. He contended that the provisions of the bill were equally inadequate and inapplicable to the purposes which it held out, and maintained that, throughout the whole of the transaction, the Prince of Wales had been unfairly dealt with, in the manner in which his situation had been brought before the public. If a different conduct had been pursued, he was sure the public would have been as ready to come forward with assistance, as the Prince was uneasy that circumstances made it necessary for him to apply for it. Nothing could more strongly point out this, than the communication which had been made to parliament, setting out, in language of heartfelt contrition, the embarrassments he laboured under; and this, he conceived, ought to have been received more as a candid and manly acknowledgement of his real situation, than held out as an inference that he had been guilty of any criminal extravagance, or idle waste of money, not his own. He had always been one of those who thought the Prince's income inadequate even to the current expenses of his situation, and therefore, he was less surprised at his getting into debt. He differed entirely from the noble earl, who stated that his Royal Highness had regulated his conduct and expenses by a catechism set down to him, by which he was led to believe, that whenever his debts amounted to a sum sufficiently large, he ought then and not before, to make his situation known to

parliament. By such advice, he certainly might have been deceived, and encouraged to run heedlessly into expense; but he was sure that from no such catechism, and by no such advice, had his Royal Highness' conduct been dictated, and no man could have been more seriously affected than he was, when he first knew the situation of his affairs; in short, his lordship thought language by far too harsh had been applied to his conduct, when his fault really amounted to no more than this. He seemed ignorant of the old proverb, 'that drop added to drop may become an ocean, and thus he had thoughtlessly involved himself in embarrassments much greater than he had any idea of.

His lordship deprecated the language and manner in which the business had been agitated in another place, and declared, that if he had been a member, he would have recollected that the subject was so nearly connected with one who was now Prince of Wales, (the heir apparent of the crown;) and who in the fulness of time was to be their sovereign: he would likewise have recollected, that not only as a prince, but as a gentleman, the Prince's situation claimed greater respect than this bill shewed to him; it was a bill of that kind that he must have resisted in every possible way, and to have done so would have well become a British House of Commons, whose duty should have led them to treat the Prince with a manly liberality, and to bury his imprudence in a noble silence. It was the duty of parliament to support the dignity of the monarchy, which this bill so deeply encroached upon, and none could be more bound in duty to have acted otherwise, than those who brought it forward. But how unfairly have they acted by the Prince. They grant him 125,000*l.* per annum, but do they or can they say, that it is granted for the purposes proposed and stated? He had that day heard the message so graciously communicated by his Royal Highness through one of his household, which signified his acquiescence in whatever the wisdom of parliament might recommend. Having heard this, and agreeing perfectly in all that had fallen from an illustrious

duke (the Duke of Clarence,) were the only reasons that could induce him to give any support or countenance to the bill. This acquiescence on the part of the Prince, arising from his respect for parliament and the public, was the sole ground upon which he could vote for it, because he was sure, and he knew the Prince thought, that no bill more inimical and contradictory to his interest could have been introduced, even by his worst enemies. The Prince having paid such respect to the public, he trusted the public would not be defective in properly considering the hardship of his treatment, and that they would convince those who proposed this measure of their absurdity, and oblige them to remedy it in some shape or other; and he trusted parliament would take an early opportunity of bringing the business forward. He then alluded to what had taken place in 1787. He well knew that the Prince could never do with the income then allotted to him. He acknowledged that the message had been read to him, but in a manner too lightly, and that the sort of promise then made was founded on an expectation that he was to have 100,000*l.* per annum, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall. On the subject of the arrears due to the Prince, he held the same opinion which he had stated on a former night; and he contended that the ministers had acted unfairly with the public as well as the Prince, and detracted from the credit which was due to the public. Had they been candid and manly in bringing facts, and facts only, before the public, they would have met the exigency most readily. They, however, had done otherwise, and there was nothing, he thought, so bad as that affectation of shame which ministers held out upon mentioning any thing connected with this subject. His lordship warmly reprobated the calumnies which had been circulated against his Royal Highness, and the injurious pamphlets, teeming with abuse, which daily issued from the press. As a full refutation of them all, he stated how willing the Prince was that every particular of those debts should be publicly known;—to the commissioners every particular must be known. On the appointment of those commissioners, he must say by the way, that

the Prince had been shamefully neglected; he had nothing to do with the appointment, nor was he at all consulted, which looked very like an insult on the part of ministers, whether they meant it so or not. It likewise gave them a sort of influence amongst the creditors, which some time or other might appear at a Westminster election, as the commissioners would have it in their power to pay off the debentures of one set of creditors in preference to another, as it best suited their views. He declared that he did not mean now, nor at any future stage of the bill, to move any alteration in it, because he trusted its absurdity was such, that parliament and the public would see the necessity of setting it aside. His lordship concluded with observing, that he did not think that this question could be entirely unconnected with party; but he differed widely from those who thought that the opposition and harshness used in both houses on this bill would give pleasure to the ear of a certain great personage. Certain he was that his Royal Highness glowed with every sentiment of affection duty, and gratitude for his royal parents.

The Earl of Lauderdale replied: he contended that nothing had fallen from any of the noble lords that could be called a vindication of ministers. He had always thought the Prince's income was inadequate; at the same time he never would agree to have it made so much greater a burden upon the people for the purpose of paying his debts. He had always believed, and now he had heard from authority, the nature of the message in 1787, which was that it did not come as an actual promise from the Prince, but as a measure which ministers thought politically convenient for themselves at the time; and they had persuaded his Royal Highness, against his own opinion, to agree to it. Promises of this sort had been made before. Here the noble Earl stated the first addition granted to the civil list in 1769, and that in 1777, when the speaker of the House of Commons had made a speech at their bar, which had justly merited and received the repeated thanks of both Houses of Parliament. His lordship next adverted to a new mode of reasoning which

had been used that night ; noble lords talked of supporting the bill, because its absurdity was so great, that the public must see the necessity of setting it aside. He was very sorry to hear such declarations in that house. He saw much censure attached to the ministers in the whole of this business ; and was sure, if other men had been in power, and other men more naturally connected with his Royal Highness had given advice, such embarrassments never would have occurred ; an ample revenue would have been first allowed the Prince, and then an additional income upon his marriage, and all that would have been done by other ministers with credit to the Prince, and justice to the people. He begged leave to set the noble earl (Moir) who spoke last to rights, as to the supposed insinuation, that the opposition to the bill was to give pleasure to the ear of a certain illustrious personage ; he would think himself a madman or a fool, had he said any such thing. What he said alluded to a very different quarter ; and it must have been obvious, he meant ministers, when he observed that he could not conceive any one would endeavour to degrade his Royal Highness, unless they knew it would please another quarter better than their constituents, and, perhaps, be more useful and profitable to them.

In a subsequent debate, Lord Moira repeated his former objections to the bill, and advanced some fresh arguments to shew its unreasonableness. He put it to their lordships, whether it was proper that the Princess, after being invited over by the unanimous wish of the nation, under the idea of being made the partner and sharer of the splendour due to the rank she was to hold, should be sent into a retirement of nine years ? If the measure of dignity and splendour necessary to the support of the character of the Prince of Wales could not be supported under the sum of 125,000*l.* per annum as declared by the bill, how could the Prince support it by so curtailed an income ? If it was constitutionally necessary that such rank and appearance should be kept up by the Prince, it was acting contrary to the interests of the monarchy, and therein contrary to the interests of the country, which was attached to the in-

terests of the monarchy, to make such arrangements as would not permit him to support that dignity. His Royal Highness must draw the same inference; and every man in his closet, reasoning upon the subject, would, and must necessarily, draw the same conclusion. At the expiration of the nine years of retirement, where would be the difference of the situation of the Prince, as relative to the monarchy? If he could not support the becoming dignity as proposed during the nine years, at the expiration of that term, he stood exactly in the same relative situation as he now did, and according to this principle, all he received above the present proposed income, would be a lavish waste of the public money. If, on the contrary, such arrangements were made, as would disencumber his Royal Highness, he could take upon him to say that, from the disposition of his Royal Highness, all matters might in future proceed to the satisfaction of the nation. His lordship concluded with condemning the bill, as bearing the appearance of driving his Royal Highness into retirement, without even leaving him the grace of the measure.

Lord Thurlow, whose sentiments were entitled to particular respect, as well on account of his own high character, as on the fact which was generally known, that he had been consulted both by the King and the Prince on the subject of his Royal Highness' embarrassments, declared, that he thought the Prince would acquire real and solid dignity by retirement; but at the same time, he did not think that principle should be pushed so far as to say that all splendour was unnecessary. On the contrary, the splendour which constitutions had thought proper to throw around their magistrates, had an effect upon the minds of the public, and was one of the lines of attachment which existed between them.

Lord Loughborough (the lord chancellor,) in a very able and eloquent speech, vindicated the character of the Prince. It has been supposed by some, his lordship said, that the debates on this subject had gone the length of attaching criminality to the magnitude of the debts; but he felt quite differently. He approved of the bill, because he thought the mea-

still evinced a great deal of care and circumspection to the dignity of the Prince. It was a necessary consequence, that the action of personages of exalted rank should be remarked and felt by mankind; and he conceived it arose from this principle, that they felt themselves interested in their conduct. From this connexion—this kind of union between them—arose that circumstance of the peculiar attention paid to their actions. A private man in his actions might pass unnoticed, because they extended in their consequences only to himself; but not so with public characters. Those who stood in the exalted ranks of life must prove in their conduct by other rules than those in the lower spheres. In them it would be low and paltry to count pounds, shillings, and pence, and to reckon with minute attention the expense of every article. If extravagance, or rather want of economy, was to be the consequence; it was excusable; if the contrary was the case, their very virtues might be turned against them: taste, liberality, generosity, benevolence, &c. were but so many incitements to error. Those mild virtues which adorned human nature, in such characters, would lead them into the devious path of wrong. The artist exerted all his skill in the fabrication of various articles, which he presented to them for reward. Every thing was unfolded to their view, and every incitement stirred. And the more they possessed the above virtues, the more were they likely to act with incaution. The regulations, therefore, which prevented such incautious excesses, were not directed against the Prince,—they were guards which surrounded him, and prevented him from being liable to the encroachments such as he had represented. In such regulations the honour of the character felt no wound.

His lordship next defended the appointment of the commissioners, who he said, were selected from high official situations, and persons perfectly conversant in business. In the manner in which these were appointed and the debts arranged, the house had shown how much they considered it as connected with themselves. It was a matter of great delicacy to put any confidential servant of the Prince in such a situation. It

might be necessary to ask many questions, in the adjustment of the debts, which a friend to the Prince would not like to do. Such a situation he thought best avoided, and the present appointment was such as must afford satisfaction.

This was the last debate of importance on the subject; and a few days afterwards (June 26, 1795) the bill received the royal assent by commission. A motion was made in the House of Commons for an inquiry into the Prince's claim to the proceeds of the duchy of Cornwall, during his minority, but not being supported, it was negatived without a division.

On entering thus at full into the disgraceful embarrassments of the heir apparent, it may appear on the first view, as if we were travelling out of the direct road of history, and digressing into that which leads us to a different point, than that which we have ostensibly in view. We are, however, in possession of certain facts relative to the debts of the Prince of Wales, in which the illustrious subject of these memoirs was deeply implicated, but which were studiously concealed from the public, on account of the stigma, which would consequently attach to the character of the royal parties, standing even as it did at that period far below par. The zealous and energetic manner in which the Duke of Clarence espoused the cause of his royal brother, and brother profligate was ascribed to a strong personal attachment on the part of the Duke of Clarence for the heir apparent, and as such, the public gave him credit for the zeal which he displayed in his cause. Not the slightest suspicion, however, arose in their breast, that the Duke of Clarence was personally and strongly interested in the payment of the Prince's debts, for he thereby removed a heavy responsibility from his own shoulders, in the shape of bonds and bills, which had been given conjointly by the royal brothers, their own individual security, seldom being thought sufficient with the Jews on the Stock Exchange, or the noble and gentlemen sharpers, by whom they were surrounded. The scale of their credit with the money-lending fraternity stood as nearly as follows: supposing the maximum to be twelve; the Duke of Clarence might be said to stand at four; the heir apparent at two; and

the Duke of York at zero, the three conjointly ranged from five to six. It has been computed at the time of the Prince of Wales's marriage, when the scandalous bargain was made with the public, that the chance of a legitimate successor to the crown was to be purchased by them, by the payment of the debts of the heir apparent, that the floating securities of the three royal spendthrifts amounted to above a million. In many of the negotiations, the Jew and the christian money-lenders and usurers were satisfied with the joint security of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Clarence; but in those cases, in which the Duke of York was concerned, so low was the opinion which was held of his character or honour, that in almost every instance, before the required sum would be advanced, the signature of the heir apparent and the Duke of Clarence was required, and as the parties well knew, that the royal Princes would do every thing in their power to keep the transactions a secret from the public, they imposed upon their needy applicants whatever terms they pleased, and so urgent was the demand frequently for the supply, that the most exorbitant terms were demanded, sometimes amounting to a deduction of fifty per cent., thereby obliging the royal borrowers to give their security for 1000*l.* for every 500*l.* that was paid them. The following is one of the many instances which can be adduced of the ruinous and disgraceful system, which was at that time pursued by the royal brothers, to satisfy their boundless extravagance, and to liquidate their gambling losses. The Duke of Clarence having obtained the *accommodation* of the Duke of York to a promissary note of 1000*l.*, it was put into the hands of the customary agents to obtain the cash for it. The security, however, was of such a questionable character, that it was rejected by all the Jews to whom it was offered, unless a deduction of nearly sixty per cent. were made on account of the extraordinary risk. In this emergency, a discounting ironmonger, residing in Piccadilly, was applied to, who after raising many objections to the validity of the security, consented to cash the bill, on the parties consenting to take half the value.

in goods, which he represented would be charged at such a reasonable rate, as to insure a very trifling loss. The demand for the money was most urgent, and the terms of the ironmonger were complied with. An auctioneer in Cheapside was applied to, to convert the ironmongery into immediate money, and a van was sent for its removal from the magazine in Piccadilly to the appointed place of sale. The property, however, was by no means of a miscellaneous nature, but consisted wholly of one article, not one of universal use, for the van was laden with tea urns, charged 500*l.*; but which were bought in by the ironmonger, at a fifth of that sum; and all the future bill transactions, which he carried on with the Royal Princes, the same tea urns constituted the property, which was given in part of the bills, to the inevitable ruin of those, whose names were attached to them. It may on the whole be confidently asserted, that although the debts of the Royal Princes might have amounted to nearly one million on paper, yet that in reality, after making the usual allowances for the exorbitant charges of the tradesmen employed by the three brothers, the real debts did not amount to more than three or four hundred thousand pounds. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the repeated applications of the heir apparent to parliament for the liquidation of his debts, and the scandalous disclosures, which consequently took place in regard to other branches of the royal family, to which may be added the niggardly parsimony and avaricious habits of George III., in refusing to contribute the smallest sum to wards relieving his sons from their embarrassments, all tended to lower royalty in the estimation of the public, and excite in their minds some disloyal ideas, as to the utility of kings and princes, when they shewed themselves such a heavy burden upon the public, who laboured for the support of a gaudy pageant, which proved not of the slightest utility to the country, and the affairs of which might be carried on equally well without it. Perhaps at no period of the disastrous reign of George III., could the affairs of the royal family be brought before the public, with less chance of their being received with a favourable

eye. The heir apparent stood in the disgraceful situation of an insolvent debtor; the Duke of York had brought disgrace upon the country by his deplorable ignorance as a general; and the Duke of Clarence was leading a life at Bushy House, not exactly conformable to the precepts of morality and virtue. The conduct of the Duke of Kent in America was severely animadverted upon; tending in a degree to alienate the army from their loyalty, and rendering the name of royalty odious in every relation, in which obedience or discipline was required. The irresistible progress of the French armies on every part of the continent, completely overturning the balance of power, that fulcrum of European politics, and placing France upon an eminence of splendour and glory, unequalled in the annals of her history; the scarcity of provisions at home, reducing the lower classes to a state of almost absolute want, at a time when the royal princes of the blood royal, called upon that same people to pay their debts of extravagance and vice; the repeated attacks on the life of the king, which by the friends of royalty were construed into a repetition of the regicidal scenes of France, and an entire subversion of the constitution of the country; but which were subsequently discovered to be the mere acts of two or three lunatics, who fancied that they were conferring a benefit on the country, by the removal of an incumbrance to which they saw no utility attached, and although the method that they adopted was one, which could not be sanctioned by any rules of humanity, law, or reason, yet there were thousands in the country at the time, and the number has been since gradually and powerfully increasing, who held the opinion, that the interests of the country would be in reality promoted, were royalty to be shorn of many of its privileges and prerogatives, and the power of government vested in its true and legitimate hands, namely those of the people.

On treating of this part of the history of the life of William the Fourth, a contemporary collector of shreds and patches from magazines and newspapers, has in the plenitude of his sagacity drawn the inference, that because no one came forward to claim the reward offered for the apprehension of the dreadful

traitors, who had so uncereemoniously and disloyally placed the life of royalty in jeopardy, it was, therefore, fully and unequivocally demonstrated that an organized combination of the people existed for the purpose of bringing about a revolution in the country, the first step to which was an abolition of the monarchy. That meetings were held by the people cannot be denied, but the right to hold such meetings is vested in the people, and he who would attempt to deprive them of that right, be he minister or king, would soon find to his cost, that the people of this country are not to be deprived of any of their rights with impunity. The people were aggrieved; they saw themselves governed by a war-loving king, and a still more war-loving minister; they beheld the most oppressive taxes imposed upon them for the prosecution of a war, which with the exception of some few successes at sea, had hitherto been accompanied with nothing but disgrace and discomfiture; the people met constitutionally to petition their king for the removal of his ministers, and an immediate end to the war, and immediately the same ministers with the loan jobbers, contractors, and a host of other state leeches in their retinue, raised a discordant yell of treason, sedition, rebellion, and revolution; their well-paid emissaries circulated the report throughout the country of plots, machinations, civil war and assassination; the English yeomanry, one of the most loyal people in the world, raised the standard of alarm; the clergy were instructed to sound from the pulpit the immediate danger in which the church was placed by the rapid diffusion of French principles, and if the people hesitated for a moment to come forward with their most determined support of the church establishment, the whole episcopal bench would be rooted up and the entire clerical hierarchy banished from the land. The false, but deeply rooted prejudice of the indivisibility of church and state was eagerly and promptly taken advantage of; therefore, if one fell the other must fall also, and, consequently in order to prop up the state and keep it from falling, the hackneyed cry of the church in danger was vociferated from the Land's End to John O'Groats, and the result was that the

ministers carried whatever measures they proposed with the most triumphant majorities.

In the general conduct of the royal princes at this period, there was little or nothing to increase the love of the people of this country for royalty, nor even to maintain that, which they had by habit acquired. Their conduct in private appeared to set all the rules of morality at defiance, and with the exception of a few instances, their political conduct was anything but agreeable to the people. It must, however, be acknowledged, that a great degree of the unpopularity of the Duke of Clarence arose from the zealous manner in which he defended the slave trade. The abolition of that trade was the darling project of a very influential party, known at the time by the epithet of the saints, and the Duke of Clarence soon found that a man with the saints against him, must expect to reap a copious harvest of obloquy and vilification. The Duke of Clarence was also in many instances a decided enemy of Pitt, and that alone was sufficient to expose him to a series of base and illiberal attacks, which the numerous minions of that heaven-born minister were always prepared to make against all those, who dared to dispute the policy or the excellence of the measures of their desperate employer. Pitt had the house of Commons under his despotic control, and by the creation of a number of peers, he brought the House of Lords under the same dominion, and yet we hear the sensible, the much boasted enlightened people of England, priding themselves on the antiquity of their House of Lords. When Pitt came into the administration, he soon discovered that his power depended solely on corruption, and he began immediately by making the House of Lords one of the most corrupt legislative bodies in Europe. He first made eight marquesses, and then he made eighteen earls; afterwards he made four viscounts, and then he made forty-seven barons, in short, this same William Pitt in twenty years made seventy-seven of our present House of Peers, and we most sensible English, are called upon to venerate the House of Lords for their antiquity. Faugh!

there are at least a thousand shop-keepers in the cities of England that can boast of better antiquity over their shop-doors. Such is our humbug, mushroom peerage. With respect to antiquity, it is the laughing stock of all Europe. But let us proceed a little further. William Pitt, after a short interval was succeeded by the Earl of Liverpool, and in that interval, twenty peers of our *ancient* House of Lords had been created, but Lord Liverpool, who possessed all the crimes, vices, and follies of William Pitt, without an atom of his talents, and without a particle of virtue or talent of any kind, created in fifteen years, seventy-one members of our House of Lords, and yet, again we say, the English people are called upon to venerate the House of Lords, because it is of ancient English antiquity, with respect to the peerage dates itself from the most talented political despot, William Pitt in 1784, and from the most untalented political imbecile, Lord Liverpool in 1812. In less than seventy years, we have more than two hundred and seventy peers created, all Tories, and we are told to respect the House of Lords on account of its being bequeathed to us by our ancestors. We can easily conceive a case in China, in which a people can be made to respect antiquity, and we can as easily conceive that the English can venerate antiquity, but the difference between the two nations is, that the Chinese is a real, and the English a mushroom antiquity. If we proceed a little further, the antiquity of the House of Lords becomes more apparent. The whigs have created sixty-nine peers, for the avowed purpose of swamping the Tories, but the worst of these creations is, that as soon as the whig gentlemen got into the House of Lords, and put on their coronets, they doffed the whig and became Tories, and Tories too of the very worst description. If we come to a more recent period, we find that Mr. Canning created six peers, the contemptible Lord Goderich created seven, the Duke of Wellington created only one, but that one, Lord Wynford, was bad enough to bring the whole house into disrepute. Lord Gray created thirty-seven peers, of whom two

are dukes, three are marquesses, and seven are earls. Sir Robert Peel in the few months in which he held the office in the beginning of 1835, found that his power depended upon bribery of all descriptions, and he commenced by making six peers. Since he was driven out of power, his successor, Lord Melbourne has made thirteen peers, and yet we are told that our peerage is absolutely sacred, because it is ancient. In seventy-seven years, we have had two hundred and sixty-four peerages created, and many of the coronets have been bestowed upon men, who would be ashamed to mention their fathers, and still more ashamed to allude to their mothers, whilst the country is indignant at alluding to themselves.

We have thus cursorily sketched the present state of the House of Peers, as it will be a clue to the unravelling of some proceedings which took place when the Duke of Clarence ascended the throne, and which tended by no means to exalt the House of Lords in the opinion of the people.

In the latter end of December, 1795, orders were issued to the Cabinet Ministers and other personages, whose attendance is prescribed on the birth of a Royal child, to hold themselves in readiness; and on the 7th of January, 1796, at ten in the morning, the Princess of Wales was safely delivered of a daughter, and the accouchement was conducted with the most solemn formalities. The Prince of Wales was present on this interesting and important occasion.

The young Princess was christened according to the forms of the Church of England, and received the name of Charlotte Augusta, the former being the name of the Queen, the latter of her mother. The christening was solemnized on Thursday evening, the 11th of February, 1796, in the great drawing-room, at St. James's by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. The sponsors were their Majesties in person, and her Royal Highness the Duchess of Brunswick, represented by her Royal Highness the Princess Mary.

The birth of the Princess Charlotte caused universal satisfaction. The addresses of congratulation were warm and numerous.

The Prince of Wales having reduced his establishment, declined receiving the congratulatory address of the City of London. That measure excited considerable feeling, and much animadversion.

Owing to his connection with Mrs. Jordan, the Duke of Clarence took at this period a strong interest in theatrical affairs, and particularly in those dramas in which a part was allotted to Mrs. Jordan, and in fact so unlimited was the controul which his Royal Highness exercised over that celebrated actress, that the manager of the theatre was obliged to consult his Royal Highness, and to obtain his acquiescence, before Mrs. Jordan could be announced in any character which was marked out for her. The Duke of Clarence was neither a well-read man, nor a deep-read man, and as to any critical ability which he possessed in appreciating the merits or discovering the defects of any theatrical production, it might have been exceeded by any penny-a-liner, who favours the public with his vapid, frothy lucubrations on the respective merits of the English performers. His regular attendance behind the scenes on the nights of Mrs. Jordan's performance, and the universal servility, with which he was treated by the whole *corps dramatique*, bending to his opinion, however preposterous and absurd, instilled into his mind the belief, that he was in reality a theatrical critic. On no instance, however, was the critical acumen of his Royal Highness put more severely to the test, than in the case of the discovery of the Shakspearian papers by Ireland, amongst which was found an entire drama, founded on the story of Vortigern. Previously to Mrs. Jordan appearing in the character assigned to her, the Duke of Clarence expressed a desire to inspect the manuscripts, and accordingly, young Ireland accompanied by his father, attended at St. James' Palace, with the whole of the manuscripts for the inspection of the duke. The following is the account, which Samuel Ireland gives of the interview: "The duke having *carefully* inspected all the documents produced, the usual questions were put to me, respecting the original discovery of the manuscripts, in which Mrs. Jordan also joined, when my for-

mer statements, were as usual, strictly adhered to. His Royal Highness, I perfectly well remember, made numerous objections, and particularly to the redundancy of letters apparent throughout the papers. To every question, however, the same answers were made as usual, and then the doubts which arose in his Royal Highness' mind were obviated by Mr. Ireland."

"As the agreement for the Vortigern was then on the point of being signed, much conversation took place upon that subject; in the course of which, his Royal Highness was so kind as to give Mr. Samuel Ireland many cautious hints. Respecting the language of the piece, as well as the plot and characters, numerous inquiries were made by Mrs. Jordan, as well as the Duke of Clarence; and I think it but justice, in this place, to offer my sincere thanks to that lady for her kind endeavours, on a subsequent occasion, when she had to sustain one of the principal characters in the drama."

It is perhaps no great disparagement to the critical sagacity of the Duke of Clarence, when it is affirmed that he was made the dupe of the extraordinary talent of the ingenious fabricator, for far wiser heads than his, avowed their conviction of the authenticity of the papers, and it is not to be wondered at, that all the sapient antiquarians who sat in judgment on the papers, continued to load poor Ireland with all the epithets of invective and abuse with which the English language could supply them, for having so decidedly proved to the public, that they were consummate fools.*

* It is rather singular, that the same year which produced the forgery of the Shakesperian papers, produced in Germany, another literary fraud, which obtained an equal share of celebrity. We allude to the travels of Damberger from the Cape of Good Hope to Morocco. This Damberger, whose real name was Hoffberg, lived in an obscure garret in the town of Weimar, and being driven sorely by want, he, with the assistance of Vaillant and some other works on Africa, concocted a journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Morocco, which took him eighteen years to perform, and which bore in all its features the impress of a genuine work. We acknowledge that we were of the party who introduced this work to the English public, having obtained the sheets from the printer in Germany, immediately that they were worked off, and we translated them for Geiswiler in Parliament Street, to whom it turned out

The political affairs of the country were at this time in a most critical state. The arms of Napoleon were everywhere successful on the continent, and the annihilation of the naval powers of Great Britain, was threatened by the combined navies of France, Spain and Holland, which on their junction would form a navy of seventy ships of the line, being a force which the English fleet could not contend with, scattered as it was in detached squadrons in various parts of the world.

The letters which Nelson wrote to the Duke of Clarence throw considerable light on the posture of affairs at this critical juncture, the following extracts from which will be found highly interesting. The first is dated from Leghorn, in which he says :—

“I was this morning honoured with your Royal Highness’ letter of May 30th, and it gives me real satisfaction to be assured of the continuance of your good opinion. Indeed, I can say with truth, that no one whom you may have been pleased to honour with your notice, has a more sincere attachment for you than myself. It has pleased God, this war, not only to give me frequent opportunities of shewing myself an officer worthy of trust, but also to prosper all my undertakings in the highest degree. I have had the extreme good fortune, not only to be noticed in my immediate line of duty, but also to obtain the repeated approbation of his Majesty’s ministers at Turin, Genoa, and Naples, as well as of the viceroy of Corsica, for my conduct in the various opinions I have been called upon to give ; and my judgment being formed from common sense, I have never yet been mistaken.”

About a month after, Nelson wrote again to the Duke of Clarence as follows :—

“In the present situation of affairs, I will not let slip an opportunity of writing to your Royal Highness The check

a most profitable speculation. The imposition was however discovered by the means of the African Society, and the publication of the history of the fraud turned out to Geisweiler nearly as profitable as the book itself.

which the Austrians have met with in Italy; must give another unfavourable turn to the affairs of our allies. The French have made the most of it; and they were, no doubt, masters of the field of battle. I wish to say more than I dare trust to the post, of the object of an expedition that was to have taken place the moment we became victorious, in which I was to have been a powerful actor.

“Our affairs in Corsica are gloomy; there is a very strong republican party in that island, and they are well supported from France: the first favourable moment they will certainly act against us. The French are endeavouring to get over from the continent twenty and thirty men at a time, and they will accomplish it in spite of all we can do. Gentili, a Corsican, who commanded in Bastia when we took it, is arrived at Leghorn, to command in Corsica. Twenty field-pieces are sent from here, and are landed near Ajaccio.

“As to our fleet—under such a commander-in chief as Sir John Jervis, nobody has any fears. We are now twenty-two sail of the line; the combined fleet will not be more than thirty-five sail of the line, supposing the Dons detach to the West Indies. I will venture my life, Sir John Jervis defeats them; I do not mean by a regular battle, but by the skill of our admiral, and the activity and spirit of our officers and seamen.

“This country is the most favourable possible, for skill with an inferior fleet; for the winds are so variable, that some one time in twenty-four hours, you must be able to attack a part of a large fleet, and the other will be becalmed or have a contrary wind; therefore, I hope Government will not be alarmed for our safety, I mean more than is proper. I take for granted, they will send us reinforcements as soon as possible; but there is nothing we are not able to accomplish, under Sir John Jervis. I am stationed, as you know, to blockade Leghorn, and now Corsica may prevent my going to the fleet; which I feel very much—but all cannot be as we wish. I assure your Royal Highness, that no small part of my pleasure, in the acknowledgment of my services, has arisen from the conviction that I am one of those, of whom, from your early youth, you

have been pleased to have a good opinion; and I have to beg that your Royal Highness will ever believe me to be your most faithful—

HORATIO NELSON."

The continued success of the French arms on the shores of the Mediterranean, and the subjection of the papal states, rendered the occupation of Corsica by the English not only unadvisable, but a matter attended with considerable difficulty. It was, therefore, determined to remove the forces to Elba, and the accomplishment of it was intrusted to Nelson, who gave the following account of it in a letter addressed to the Duke of Clarence.

"I was honoured with your Royal Highness' letter of September 2nd, a few days past, in the midst of a very active scene, the evacuation of Bastia; which, being our first post, was entrusted to my direction: and I am happy to say, that not only Bastia, but every other place in that island, is completely evacuated. The Corsicans sent to Leghorn for the French, as was natural for them, in order to make their peace; and the enemy was in one end of Bastia before we had quitted the other. The exertions of the navy, on this occasion, as on all others which I have seen, have been great, and beyond the expectations of those who never will believe what we are capable of performing. Our troops are ordered to Porto Ferrajo, which can be defended against any number of the enemy for a length of time: and the port, although small, will hold, with management, our whole fleet and transports. As soon as all our transports are arrived at Elba, we are to go out to look for Man, who is ordered to come up: we shall then be twenty-two sail, of such ships as England hardly ever produced; and commanded by an admiral, who will not fail to look the enemy in the face, be their force what it may. I suppose it will not be more than thirty-four sail of the line. If I live, your Royal Highness shall have no reason to regret your friendship for me; and I will support Sir John Jervis to the utmost of

my power. I hope soon to hear that your flag is flying ; which, I am sure, will be most honourable for yourself, and, I trust, most advantageous for our King and country."

The public anxiety was now raised to a high state of intensity, by the circumstance being made known of the Dutch and Spanish fleets being about to put to sea, to form a junction with the French fleet, and thus wrest from Britain the trident of the sea. Admiral Duncan was, therefore, despatched to cruize off the Texel, whilst Sir John Jervis was stationed off Cadiz, to act against the Spaniards.

On the 13th of February, Admiral Jervis received intelligence that the Spanish fleet, under Don Joseph Cordova was at sea ; and at the break of day, the enemy, consisting of twenty-seven ships of the line, came in sight off Cape St. Vincent.

Though the British fleet amounted to no more than fifteen sail of the line, its brave commander-in-chief scorned to retreat, and immediately threw out a signal to form into two lines, for action. By carrying a press of sail, the squadron was so fortunate as to prevent the two divisions of the enemy's fleet from connecting, and to cut off all that portion which had fallen to leeward. Such a moment was not to be lost, and the gallant admiral, judging that the honour of his Majesty's arms, and the circumstances of the war in these seas, required a considerable degree of enterprise, felt himself justifiable in departing from the regular system. Accordingly, passing through the enemy's fleet in a line, he formed with the utmost alacrity—attacked—and thereby separated one-third of the Spaniards from the main body. After a partial cannonade, which prevented their rejunction till the evening, four ships of the largest size were captured, and the battle ceased about five o'clock.

Commodore Nelson, who had joined the fleet from the Mediterranean only the day before, contributed essentially to the glory of this splendid victory ; the particulars of which, in a very interesting narrative, he transmitted home to his illustrious friend, the Duke of Clarence.

There were but few English ships actually engaged; but what rendered the action most remarkable, was the disparity of the loss of men, on both sides, the British admiral's ship having only one man killed; and Nelson, though he boarded and carried two of the largest ships of the enemy, lost only one officer, twenty seamen, and three marines. The Spaniards had above twelve hundred killed and wounded.

The government and nation did not fail to reward the brave defenders of their country. The commander-in-chief was created Earl St. Vincent; and Vice-Admiral Waldegrave was raised to the Irish peerage, by the title of Lord Radstock; each of the other admirals, Thompson and Parker, received the dignity of Baronet; and Nelson was distinguished by the order of the Bath; Captain Calder was knighted, and gold medals were given to all the commanders in the fleet.

Votes of thanks to the admirals, officers, and seamen of the fleet, were passed in both houses of Parliament, of course; when, among the speeches delivered on that occasion, the Duke of Clarence pronounced the following eulogium upon the noble victor, and his valiant compatriots:

"I have examined," said his Royal Highness, "into the naval history of this country, and find, that, at the battle of La Hogue, the French fleet was inferior to ours in number. The circumstances of the present action, the disparity of force—fifteen sail against twenty-seven—speak for themselves. Admiral Boscawen, in 1757, destroyed the French fleet—in 1780, Admiral Rodney, (with whom I myself served in a very inferior situation,) destroyed the Spanish fleet. But in this engagement, the superiority of force was so greatly in favour of the enemy, that it is distinguished as the most brilliant victory in the naval history of this country, and the most decided proof of the courage and vigour of our seamen. On every occasion previous to this event, the conduct of Sir John Jervis has been conspicuous. In 1790, at the time of the Spanish armament, Lord Howe testified his high sense of the talents and activity of Sir John Jervis, and of the state and discipline of the fleet, when he received it from his hands. I myself was on board

the fleet at that time, and the discipline kept up was most exemplary, and tended greatly to the advantage of the service. Indeed, from the whole of his conduct, I do not hesitate to pronounce, without meaning to give offence to any other, that Sir John Jervis is the first naval officer in his Majesty's service.

In the midst of these successes, which elevated the spirits of the people, and encouraged them to sanction the continuance of the war, a most distressing and alarming circumstance took place, which was the mutiny at the Nore. Of the particulars of this memorable event, the public are in complete possession; we shall, therefore, abstain from a repetition of them, with the exception of that part in which the Duke Clarence was concerned. That the seamen were labouring under heavy and distressing grievances, arising from the bad administration of the naval affairs of the nation, and the redress of which had been promised by the legislature cannot be doubted. Lord Howe and Nelson concurred in this opinion, whilst the Duke of Clarence held a contrary one, as will be seen from the following letter, addressed by his royal highness to the latter officer:

"DEAR NELSON,

July 4th, 1797.

"I WAS very happy to find you had executed with so much success and promptitude, Lord St. Vincent's order for the evacuation of Porto Ferrajo. I feel for poor Oakes on every account, and sincerely wish he was safe at home; and, believe me, I am also much concerned at the state of your own health. After such long and distinguished service, you will of course get leave to return. In answer to your last letter, I can only say that I hope and believe our confidence is mutual; therefore, in future, no more apology on either side is wanted. Under this idea, I must begin by defending an officer, against whom you have become prejudiced: want of discipline in some of our home squadrons, and the energy of infamous incendiaries, had for many months thrown the whole fleet into a state of democracy and absolute rebellion. I rejoice that the Theseus has fallen into such good hands, and that I shall shortly hear

she is in the best order of the Mediterranean fleet. One word more about what has passed at Spithead, Plymouth, and the Nore, and I will never mention the disgraceful business again; but I cannot pass over your remark about short weights and measures. Every officer must know, that, by the old allowance, the men on board the king's ships had more provisions than they could consume, and that they always sold a part; therefore, an increase of provisions was not wanted. I will not hurt your mind by relating the horrid particulars of the late events, but shall conclude the subject by observing, that in your next you will unsay what you have too hastily expressed. I dread nothing, as the Government here appear to pursue proper measures, and I am convinced St. Vincent will keep up his fleet in discipline. Lenity at first is severity at the last. My best wishes and compliments attend your gallant commander: my only acquaintance with him is as an officer. His very attention and abilities were shewn to me during the Spanish armament; since which time I have, and always shall respect him. You will, I am sure, always distinguish yourself; and I am afraid, from the exorbitant demands of the Directory, that for some time your fleet will be constantly employed. I am happy to find you are at last come over to my way of thinking. As circumstances arise, pray write, and ever believe me, dear sir, yours sincerely.

“WILLIAM.”

The victory of Sir John Jervis over the Spanish fleet, was shortly followed by a still more decisive one by Admiral Duncan over the Dutch fleet, which took place on the 11th of October, when seven ships of the line and two frigates were taken.

On the arrival of Admiral Duncan at the Nore, the fleet was visited by the king, who created him a viscount, and conferred the honour of baronetcy on Vice Admiral Onslow. It has been stated in a contemporary publication, that Captain Trollop on this occasion, received the ancient honour of knight banneret; this is however incorrect, as that honour was con-

ferred on Captain Trollope long before the battle of Camperdown, on account of his gallant conduct in the Glatton, beating off five French frigates.

The government was so deeply sensible of the importance of the victory, that Lord Spencer, in announcing the intended motion of thanks to the admiral, officers, and men of the North Sea fleet, moved that the lords should be summoned, an honour that had never before been conferred on any individual.

The career of naval success met at this time with rather a disheartening check, by an ill-judged expedition against the island of Teneriffe under the command of Admiral Nelson, on which occasion that gallant officer lost an arm, which was so shattered by a cannon ball as to render amputation indispensable. On this, Nelson returned to England, as he expressed himself, to be laid up for a time in ordinary, as the severity of the service, in which he had been lately engaged, required a relaxation of his duties, in order that the complete restoration of his health might be effected. On his landing, he repaired immediately to Bushey Park, when he was received by the Duke of Clarence in the most cordial manner, and he remained under the hospitable roof of his Royal Highness until his recovery was effected, when his Royal Highness introduced him at court, on which occasion he presented to the king a memorial of his services, which was most graciously received, and Nelson soon afterwards received a very flattering proof of the estimation in which those services were held by his majesty.

The Duke of Clarence was at this particular period, appointed ranger of Bushey Park, on the death of the dowager Countess of Guildford, and we cannot refrain expressing our indignation, that in the many plans of reform which have been brought forward for the abolition of all useless places and sinecures, the rangerships of the royal parks, have not been amongst the first to be swept away. The parks are acknowledged to be the property of the crown, and they are well adapted for the breeding of deer, wherewith to tickle the royal palates.

so far we might be disposed to withhold our reprobation, as we well know that luxurious and riotous living is one of the concomitants of royalty, but we would ask, why should the people of this country be called upon to pay to a certain member of the royal family a considerable sum, annually for the supposed performance of a menial office, called a ranger, the duties of which consist literally in doing nothing. So convinced indeed was the Duke of Sussex of the direct robbery, which these rangers commit upon the public purse, that on the demise of George the IV. when one of the most lucrative of the rangerships was offered to him, he, in a burst of high-flown patriotism refused the appointment, on the score that it was contrary to his acknowledged principles to accept of any office to which an adequate duty was not attached, and for which the people, nevertheless had to pay. We pretend not to know by what magician's wand, these qualms and scruples of his Royal Highness were overcome, but they by degrees gradually subsided, and he was duly installed into all the rights, immunities, emoluments, and profits of ranger of St. James' and Hyde Parks. If it be, however, necessary that these rangerships should be continued for the purpose of swelling out the income of the royal holders of them, we still cannot see why they should be conferred on individuals, who have not the slightest claim on the public purse for the performance of any useful services to the state; on the contrary, that the appointment has been conferred upon them for services of a very questionable and disreputable nature. If the House of Commons, in their scandalous and disgraceful rejection of Mr. D. W. Harvey's motion for a committee, to inquire into the services for which certain pensions and sinecures were granted, had proceeded to make an inquiry into the nature of the services by which Lady Bloomfield now holds the rangership of Hampton Court Park, we suspect, they would have to go back to certain scenes enacted within that pandemonium of vice, Carlton House, where the services of the Bloomfield Family stand most conspicuously prominent, and very scantily em-

blazoned by the hand of virtue. We know that we shall be met with the hackneyed cry, that the dignity of royalty must be supported, be it so then, but we cannot discover how that dignity can be supported by the appointment to so menial an office as that of a park-keeper, to which a certain annual income is attached, in the same manner as to the park-keepers of our nobility. It is, however, these rangerships, these colonelcies of regiments, these governorships of castles, that form the cheese parings and candle ends of royalty, and proud indeed must the individuals be, when they reflect, by what degrading means their pomp and splendour are maintained.

George III. was a strange compound of sense and stupidity, of pride and imbecility, of obstinacy and subserviency, and on no occasion was that paradoxical character more conspicuously displayed, than in the pageant that was got up in the month of December, 1797, purporting to be a thanksgiving to the Almighty, for the defeat of the Spanish and Dutch Fleets, at the same time that his Majesty had forgotten that the Almighty in his wisdom, had been pleased to allow the utmost disgrace and discomfiture, to befall the British army under the command of that most notable of all generals the Duke of York. If therefore the country had to thank Heaven on the part of the navy, the reverse was the case on the part of the army, and there were not a few of the serious and the deep thinking part of the nation, who reprobated a solemn procession to St. Pauls' for some partial successes, when on the other hand, the country was daily and hourly threatened by the most disastrous consequences, arising from the defeat of the British armies. The 19th. of December however was the day fixed for this great solemnity, and fortunately the weather proved uncommonly fine for that time of the year, which rendered the spectacle particularly brilliant and impressive.

Long before daylight, the houses in the streets through which the procession was to pass, were filled with spectators, many of whom came from a considerable distance, during the night. About seven o'clock the military moved to their res-

pective stations. The Foot Guards took the duty from St. James' to Temple Bar, inside of which the streets were lined by the city militia, the East India volunteers, and several other corps of the same description. At eight o'clock, the seamen and marines, chosen to escort the colours, formed before the Admiralty. The procession began with two flags taken from the French—three from the Spaniards—and four from the Dutch. The colours were carried on artillery wagons, each set attended by a party of lieutenants on foot, who had served in the several engagements in which they were won.

A large detachment of marines, with music followed; and the whole corps took their stations in the cathedral, from the west door to the choir. The following admirals brought up the rear of this part of the procession—Viscount Duncan, Sir Charles Thompson, Sir Richard Onslow, Sir Alan Gardner, Sir Thomas Pasely, Sir Roger Curtis, Sir Horatio Nelson, Lord Hugh Seymour, Caldwell, Waldegrave, Hamilton, Goodall, Young, Lindsay, Gambier, Bazeley, and Captain Sir Henry Trollope.

The Lords and Commons followed in order; the Chancellor in the rear of the one, and the Speaker in that of the other.

These parts of the procession reached the cathedral about nine; and soon after ten, the firing of the Park guns announced that their Majesties had entered their carriages—preceded by the Dukes of Gloucester, York, and Clarence, with their respective suites.

At Temple Bar, the usual formalities took place, on the entrance of the King into the city; and then the Lord Mayor, with the principal authorities, by deputation, rode in their robes, bareheaded, before their Majesties, to St. Paul's.

When the procession reached the church, the lieutenants, taking the flags from the wagons, attended by the seamen and marines, divided into two lines, for the captains to pass to their seats in the galleries.

The colours were carried in procession, with martial music, to the middle of the dome, where they were placed in a circle. The Princesses, with the Dukes of York and Clarence, Prince

Ernest, and the Duke of Gloucester, formed in crescent within, the church; and opposite to their Royal Highnesses, were the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Admirals, waiting to receive their Majesties. The Common Council of London, in their mazarine gowns, were ranged, with their ladies, in two galleries, which filled the semicircle of the dome.

The King, on his alighting at the church, was received by the Bishops of London and Lincoln, who walked one on each side, preceded by the heralds at arms, and prebendaries of the church. The Queen, followed with her suite, and the other members of the Royal Family, with their attendants, closed the procession. On their arrival within the circle, the colours were lowered; and the royal party made their obeisance to the company assembled which were returned with acclamations.

The service then began; and, at the end of the first lesson, the flag-officers entered in two divisions, right and left of the King's chair, the end of the flags supported by those officers who immediately followed the bearers in regular succession advancing to the altar to deposit the naval trophies. The King was observed to be much affected by this ceremony, and the whole assembly participated in his feelings.

The Bishop of Lincoln, dean of St. Paul's, then preached an appropriate sermon from the first three verses of the twenty-third of the second book of Samuel. The whole concluded with the anthem that had been sung when Queen Anne went to St. Paul's, to return thanks for the victories gained by the immortal Marlborough.

In returning, the order of the procession was reversed, their Majesties going first.

The naval exploits celebrated in this scenic display were those of Lord Howe, on the 1st of June, 1794—of Lord Hotham, on the 14th of March, 1795—of Lord Bridport, on the 23d of June, 1795—of Lord St. Vincent, on the 14th of February, 1797—of Rear Admiral Harvey, at Trinidad, the 17th of February, 1797—of Lord Keith, at the Cape of Good Hope, the 17th of August—and of Lord Duncan, the 11th of October, 1797.

About this time the Legislative Union with Ireland was on the carpet. The Lords carried the resolution in favour of that measure immediately, for Pitt was their creature through whom they ruled the nation; and every measure he carried into effect was in unison with the boroughmongering party there, whose influence over the House of Commons was paramount. By accident Pitt was left in a minority on the first debate, being outvoted by five; but the Minister was victorious in the future stages of the measure, and at length carried it triumphantly.

The King was fired at in Hyde Park, at a review of the Guards on the 15th of May, 1800; and in the evening of the same day, a man discharged a pistol at the royal box in Drury Lane, but fortunately without effect. In the first case, a young man near the King on the ground was struck by the shot, which, however, did no other harm; in the second instance, the offender proved to be an old soldier, who had been with the Duke of York on the Continent. His name was James Hatfield, but he was acquitted on the ground of insanity. The Duke of Clarence was active in the examination of the culprit, having been in the theatre. His Royal Highness also aided in conducting him to the Coldbath Fields prison.

That which had not been witnessed for a long time before took place the day after these attempts on the King's life. The Royal Dukes and the Prince of Wales went to Buckingham House, and took breakfast with the King, Queen, and other branches of their family: a touching proof how very little had been acquired on the part of the King to call his children around him. The danger from which the King had escaped induced the members of his Majesty's house to rally around him with feelings of filial gratefulness for his preservation. A levee was held the same day, which was crowded by those who came to congratulate the King on his escape. No one of the royal sons more feelingly expressed himself on seeing his Majesty on this occasion than the Duke of Clarence. The Duke complained about this time of the loss of his old

friends Macbride and Barrington, of the navy, both brave officers. Admiral Macbride was a very whimsical character, but a thorough seaman.

After the preliminary treaty of peace with France was signed, it came on to be debated in the House Lords. On the 3rd of November, Lord Grenville opposed the terms on which the peace had been brought about; while the Duke of Bedford, Earl St. Vincent, and the Duke of Clarence, defended it. His Royal Highness asserted that there was nothing in the way of security which we had not obtained from the French Government which it was in the nature of a republican government to afford. His Royal Highness contended, that the conduct of our navy and army was no way compromised by the peace. He pronounced a high eulogium upon both services, and declared that the bravery of our land forces was equal to the French, though some contended that our superiority was only in our seamen, which he maintained was miserable slander. If the campaign of 1798 were examined, the conduct of the British troops was equal in glory to that of their ancestors; and in 1794 they had displayed qualities fully as brilliant. In India they had won their way to honour and distinction, the details of which were too recent and memorable to require repeating. The Marquis Wellesley had overthrown the despot Tippoo Saib. These plans, so happily executed, were likely to have received some interruption by the projects of Buonaparte, who, it is well known, had forty thousand of the best French troops in the expedition to Egypt. This measure, grand in its conception, and immense in its execution, menaced our power and territories in the East, besides endangering the Turkish Government: it was the revival of the plan of Louis XIV.; and which, by the spirit and enterprise of the First Consul, enforced by such a numerous body of chosen troops, inured to every hardship of the field, appeared at first very formidable. The resistance which these invaders experienced from a handful of soldiers, under Sir Sidney Smith, long before the landing of that army which afterwards became in their turn the conquerors of Egypt, could not be too

highly extolled. It was, not, however, till the 21st of March, 1801, that Egypt had an opportunity of throwing off the French yoke, by the triumph of the British arms, which engaged with the Republicans, proved superior to them in courage and capacity. The glorious achievements of the 42nd regiment, who destroyed Buonaparte's Invincibles, could not but be remembered by England with pride and exultation.— We were inferior far in number to the enemy, and the victory was gained by courage, ability, and military address. Having surveyed the meritorious conduct of the army, his Royal Highness enumerated the exploits of the navy, which, on account of his own close connexion and professional partiality, he glanced at in a very cursory manner. The inestimable services of the British seamen were beyond all praise. Our transactions on the ocean, by which we had raised the character and name of our country to the greatest and most enviable eminence, were too numerous to particularise, but they would remain to the latest posterity glorious to our naval history. The Duke made some remarks on the relative situation of France and England, so far as regarded the objects of the war. Finding that each, from its peculiar predicament in which no blow could be given with effect, he had no hesitation in saying, that the best plan that could be adopted was an adjustment of differences, and a reconciliation of parties. France had completely overcome every contending power on the Continent, and therefore could have no new conquests in which to employ her numerous armies.

Great Britain, so far as regarded maritime affairs, was in a similar state. The two great powers of Europe, therefore, having no other objects of peculiar attack, except the invasion of each other's territories, were reduced to the necessity either of protracting an unavailing war, with the accumulation of debt and and its concomitant calamities, or negotiating a peace. Nor was it a common peace, but a reconciliation of differences between the two first nations of the world; and he maintained that it was both a fair and honourable peace. Ministers had deserved the warmest thanks for the

judicious selection of the particular settlements which they had retained. Ceylon was of the greatest importance to our East India possessions; it was an island whose productions were highly valuable to our commerce, consequently to our revenue; its spiceries and its harbours were extremely convenient to our merchandise, and the addition to our East India territories was inestimable. To specify minutely the advantages derivable from the possession of Trinidad would engross too much of their lordships' time; but its qualities as an island were known, and well appreciated, as they deserved to be. The Cape of Good Hope being no place of trade, had not the commercial advantages attributed to its situation, and, therefore, its surrender was no considerable loss. His Royal Highness concluded with observing that the interests of France was its continental conquests; of England, its commerce. The former was a military government; the strength of the latter was in its navy. In our views of aggrandizement, we place the cultivation of the arts of peace, and the nurseries of seaman; in theirs was the preservation of that warlike system which had overcome every opposition on the continent. France was by necessity impelled to act upon that principle; and wisdom would induce England to adopt a plan diametrically opposite. Peace, from every view of the subject, must be very acceptable to both, and doubly so to the philanthropist; because it afforded both nations an opportunity of repairing the ravages of war. He hoped and believed it would be permanent, and therefore sincerely supported the motion. Lord Nelson seconded his friend in a short speech, and declared that in his opinion the island of Malta was not of much consequence to us compared to a sound and good peace. His lordship would even resign the Cape, provided the colony were not given up to the French.

During the administration of that wretched minister, the imbecile Mr. Addington, the Duke of Clarence supported Lord St. Vincent in most of his measures, particularly in the reform of our naval arsenals, to which his Royal Highness

attached very great importance. The Duke gave his testimony, in 1802, before the House of Commons in favour of the vaccine inoculation, having been a strong advocate for it from its discovery, and prescribed it in his own family. The war was now about to be renewed in consequence, as England alleged, of the aggressions of France; while that country asserted it was done in order that Great Britain might keep Malta. On the debate upon the King's message coming on, his Royal Highness said he trusted the result would be glorious for England, and contribute to the prosperity and happiness of the world. Earl Fitzwilliam having in another debate moved certain resolutions with the object to criminate the ministry for their conduct in the negotiations for peace with France, the Duke of Clarence defended the ministry with much warmth. His Royal Highness examined the basis upon which the resolutions were founded. He condemned the French Government, saying that in his view, the peace was an experiment only, and he had fears that it would not be permanent. But he had no doubt the ministry had done all they could do, and he would give them his support, were it only to keep out their predecessors, whose bad management and incapacity would render their return to office a calamity. The Duke concluded by saying, "I desire to see England exerting her vast resources to convince the mighty hero Buonaparte that we are able to contend against France with all her accessions of territory. I wish to see Great Britain chastise France. It is not the first time she has done so; and if the war be conducted with vigour, resolution, and wisdom, I think it will not be the last.

When Lord Hobart brought forward a plan for the defence of the nation, the Duke of Clarence thought his scheme had less that was objectionable than the details of one reported to have been in agitation by ministers just before. He entered upon what he believed to be the real cause of the war, and insisted that Malta had very little to do with the matter, but that the renewal of the contest arose in reality from the repeated

aggressions of the French Government. The Duke concluded, as he was, fond of doing, by an historic view of the subject, and a relation of the different invasions of England, from the time of Elizabeth, and declared with much reason that there was very little chance of an invasion succeeding; and that the fear of it ought not to prevent an adequate force from being got ready for offensive operations. It is very clear from the final result of the contest that the Duke was right. It is probable, too, that Mr. Pitt did not half so much dread an attack from France as he pretended to do. The ministry of Mr. Pitt was one of expedients, and had nothing to do with principles. While the country was kept by apprehensions in a union for the resistance of a powerful enemy, there was no leisure for the people to examine into the causes of the renewal of the war, into the vast sums the ministers were lavishing upon German States, to bribe them to take part in the quarrel between this country and France, nor, indeed, into any of his own measures. In the present case his Royal Highness was for a more efficient force, as he thought the numbers of troops did not go far enough to keep the enemy in alarm on their own coasts, and so divert their attention.

In October, 1803, the Duke whose time was chiefly spent at Bushey Park, improving the grounds and gardens which was done under his own superintendence, evincing a good deal of taste, united with strict economy in point of expense, every thing being directed to a combination of utility, comfort, and elegance. The Duke now put on the garb of a volunteer. The Teddington Corps has already been mentioned, and of this association his Royal Highness was one. He attended the review of the Volunteer Corps of London and its vicinity with the King, and on all occasions exhibited a zeal and patriotism worthy of himself. All the Royal Family were present at the review but the Prince of Wales. The heir apparent had applied for a command, and had, as usual, been flatly refused. The King said, "if the enemy landed, the Prince would have an opportunity of showing his zeal at the head of his regiment." This sidelong evasion of a rational request from the Prince,

made his Royal Highness lose his temper, and he again wrote to his father in pretty strong terms, but got no answer. The injustice with which he was treated was clear; his father disliked him, and would do as little to gratify him as he could held. It is very clear that there was no state reason for such treatment. That the Duke of York would have obliged, his brother, there was no doubt, but it was evident the royal interdiction was upon him. The miserable minister Addington was now tottering, and Mr. Pitt came again into place, and had the inconceivable meanness to make the imbecile whom he had treated with the bitterest contempt when out of office, his own coadjutor.

About this time his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence wrote to Sir John Sinclair respecting the Addington administration, as follows:—"Had this country an able and an active administration, I should be afraid of nothing: but, in my opinion, our ministers, and even the country, want energy, which I will endeavour to give in every debate we shall have in Parliament; I am ready either for the cabinet or the fleet, but I have no reason to expect either situation, and must do all the good I can in parliament; and if the invasion does take place, I shall have the honour of attending his majesty, if permitted." A subsequent letter has these words:—"As for politics, you never heard me say I thought the present administration efficient, and without doubt Lord Hobart is the worst of all. But I see no likelihood of a change; where Pitt goes against Addington, there Fox will support ministers; and Fox will oppose government in those measures which Pitt will approve. In short, if these champions could unite, they would not carry above one hundred members out of six hundred and fifty-eight. The crown, the union with Ireland, and above all, the dread of the times, will, in my opinion, prevent a change of men. Certainly Lord Moira ought to be brought forward, and I wish the overtures of the Prince of Wales had been rejected." There is a vast deal of sterling sense in these observations. Never was there a ministry less worthy of public regard than that of which the Duke thus wrote.

On the 30th of May, 1804 Mr. Wilberforce made a motion for the abolition of the Slave Trade; the bill for which object having passed the Commons, was sent up to the Lords. The Duke of Clarence spoke against the abolition. It must be observed, that of all the Royal Brothers the Duke alone was distinguished as a public speaker. He was gifted with considerable powers of eloquence, and had his Royal Highness cultivated them, he might have encountered and mastered the very first debaters in the Upper House. As it was, he was a match for most of them. He very frequently, at this time, addressed the House, and was heard with great attention. On the present occasion the Prince affirmed, that from what he had himself seen in the West Indies, that the treatment of the slaves did not deserve the imputations which were cast upon it. He stated, that he could prove that the abolition would be attended with danger. The bill was soon after lost in the Lords, upon the second reading. Before the prorogation some inquiry took place in Parliament, respecting a sum of 30,000*l.* which had been advanced to the Duke of Clarence, and which was to have been repaid by instalments, but it had not been done. There was a deficiency in the civil list, which occasioned the observations to be made. The Duke had agreed to repay the loan by sums of 750*l.* a quarter.

On the meeting of parliament in 1805, the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex took their seats with the opposition lords. Lord Hawkesbury having declared that nothing had taken place derogatory to the British character in the seizure of the Spanish ships, and the destruction of one with all on board, before a declaration of war, an act of a most cruel and unjustifiable character, the Duke of Clarence could not, though he concurred in the address to his Majesty, help expressing his apprehensions, that, in the war with Spain, there was a great deal which would require explanations. Earl Spencer and Lord Grenville censured the act, in which the Duke of Clarence joined. Lord Sidmouth, as well as his feeble talents would permit, supported it, as consonant with the laws of nations.

His Royal Highness vindicated the conduct of Earl St. Vincent, with all his natural warmth of spirit and friendship. He demanded of ministers, whether the conduct of his lordship was to be made the subject of public inquiry or not? Lords Sidmouth and Hawkesbury evaded the question; but Lord Eldon left the woolsack to rebuke the Duke for putting questions which he Lord Eldon, deemed inconsistent with order. The Duke, in reply, maintained the regularity of his question, although it might not be agreeable to his lordship and the ministers. Several skirmishes, from time to time, took place between the Duke and the Chancellor. In one case, his Royal Highness reminded Lord Eldon of his irregularity, in so frequently quitting the woolsack to address the House upon one and the same question. The Chancellor made no reply on the night the Duke of Clarence made the foregoing observation, but chose his opportunity, with his accustomed finesse, on a subsequent occasion. The Prince of Wales was present, and took his brother's part, and disclaimed on his behalf all personal offence, saying, he understood his noble relative was merely illustrating the necessity of a liberal and indulgent construction of the orders of the House.

His Royal Highness soon afterwards divided the house of peers on the question of certain charges against Judge Fox, regarding it as most proper that they should originate in the House of Commons. The motion was lost. Lord King on 18th of March, having first taken a glance at the different plans of defence for the country, recently put forward, moved for a committee to revise the acts passed for that purpose. This was resisted by Lords Hawkesbury and Camden, and strenuously supported by the Duke of Clarence and the opposition, who were become very formidable to the ministry in numbers and ability.

In May, the same year, another attack was made by Lord Darnley, on the ministerial policy with respect to the navy. Lord Melville went into a long and laboured defence of his administration, as the head of the Admiralty, and he particularly justified the building and repair of vessels in private yards.

by which he insisted, the government had profited. He was answered by Earl St. Vincent, who said that the ships built in the royal dockyards were very superior to those built by contract. The navy board his lordship observed, had not a single individual connected with it, adequate to the duties of the post; Earl St. Vincent declared, if the committee were not appointed, he should think it an injustice done to himself.

The Duke of Clarence, who was well aware of the abuses which required removal, and of the jobbing that continued under the existing system, declared he had himself witnessed the grossest acts of misconduct and the most flagitious doings by many persons in the dockyard, from the highest to the lowest, in the management of the affairs of the public. He considered a reform of abuses necessary, and in relation to the sixth report of the commissioners of naval inquiry, he declared that unless the ministry would pledge itself to take some steps towards bringing the subject before the consideration of parliament, he would do so immediately after the commencement of the following session. It is pleasing to remark how steadily he, who was the reforming King afterwards, allied himself with the greatest naval heroes this country or any other ever saw, in endeavouring to remedy inveterate abuses. Although the debate was, as far as reason went, on the side of the Duke and his friends, the ministry continued to negative the motion, and shelter Melville and his jobbing system a little longer. The motion was lost by eighty-eight to eighty-three voices. The duke was named one of the committee to report; had the motion been carried, he would thus have come forward more prominently in parliament. The Duke of Gloucester died on the 25th of August, a quiet unostentatious personage, who passed through a blameless life, without being effected by the turmoil of ambition or the vices of his rank and age. He had offended the king by mingling his Hanoverian blood with that of a corrupt British nobility, in marrying the Countess of Waldgrave—a sin George the III. would not pardon in any of his family. To his wife, the duke was a kind husband, as he was an affectionate father. In consequence of the royal feel-

ing towards him, not one of his family, except his only son, attended his funeral at Windsor.

The Duke of Clarence about this time was the means of bringing under his direct patronage Master Betty, the young Roscius, who made a fortune, and retired from the stage before he had arrived at manhood; a singular example of rage in the public for novelty, and want of judgment in its own amusements.

The battle of Trafalgar and the death of his Royal Highness' old friend Nelson, may well be supposed to have called forth his warmest feelings both of patriotism and friendship. The Duke sent a sword to Lord Collingwood on the occasion, together with a letter, which the following is a copy:—

“DEAR SIR,

St. James', Nov. 9th, 1805.

“As a brother admiral, and as a sincere well-wisher to my King and my country, permit me to congratulate you on the most important victory, gained on the 21st of October, by your gallant self, and the brave officers, seamen, and royal marines, under your command, and formerly under my lamented and invaluable friend Lord Nelson. The country laments the hero, and you and I the loss of our departed friend. Five-and-twenty years had I lived on the most intimate terms with Nelson, and must ever, both publicly and privately, regret his loss. Earl St. Vincent and Lord Nelson, both in the hour of victory, accepted from me a sword, and I hope you will now confer on me the same pleasure. I have, accordingly, sent a sword, with which I trust you will accept my sincere wishes for your welfare. I must request you will let me have the details of the death of our departed friend; and I will ever remain, dear sir, yours unalterably

“WILLIAM.”

At Lord Nelson's funeral, on the 9th January, 1806, the Duke of Clarence, with his brothers of Wales and York, formed part of the procession to St. Paul's.

A motion for returning thanks to Lord Collingwood and the officers and men of the fleet which had conquered at Trafalgar having taking place, the Duke of Clarence gave a high testimony to the character of Lord Nelson. His Royal Highness dwelt with great force upon the qualifications of his brother seaman, and particularly upon the sense of a superintending providence which Lord Nelson always displayed; illustrating his remark by citing the prayer for a glorious victory, that the hero of the Nile had written at the time his fleet was bearing down to break the line of the combined forces of France and Spain. This prayer his Royal Highness read with great emphasis and effect to the Peers, as follows:—"May the great God whom I worship, grant to my country and for the benefit of Europe, a great and glorious victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it: and may humanity after the victory be the predominant character of the British fleet. For myself, individually, I commit my life to him who made me; and may his blessing light upon my endeavours for serving my country faithfully! To him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted me to defend.—*Amen.*" The reading of this prayer by the Duke was listened to by the Peers with profound attention, and it was regarded as a happy mode of giving effect to an object in which all were unanimous, but of which all might not be equally impressed with the full extent and importance.

Mr. Pitt died soon after this at Putney Heath; the ministry was broken up, and the new administration with Fox and Lord Grenville was formed, having Erskine for Lord Chancellor, and Grey first Lord of the Admiralty. The Duke of Clarence supported this ministry with all his power, and accompanied the Duke of Bedford and Lord Howick to the Court of Chancery with Lord Erskine, when that distinguished man took the oaths and his seat there, Negotiations for a peace soon afterwards recommenced.

The trial of Lord Melville, abundantly proving that in naval affairs at home, even at the head, there was something rotten and bad, took place subsequently; on the 12th of June it con-

cluded. The Duke of Clarence pronounced that peer guilty of the first, second, third, sixth, seventh, eighth, and tenth charges, as did his brothers of Kent and Sussex; York, Cumberland, and Cambridge declared him not guilty on all. In the month of May, soon afterwards, the Duke moved that the petitions against the Slave Trade Preventive Bill should be heard by themselves or their counsel, upon which a long discussion ensued, and his Royal Highness was opposed by Lords Grenville, Ellenborough, St. John, Derby, Auckland, and others. After a considerable debate, the motion of the Duke was carried in the affirmative, and counsel was heard upon the part of the petitions from Jamaica and the Bahama Islands. His Royal Highness was simply anxious that there should be fair play on both sides on a measure of so great an importance. He was also opposed to some part of the preamble, and divided the house upon the point subsequently, but was left in a minority. The bill was read a third time and passed. On that occasion several of the lords temporal and spiritual, pledged themselves to use every effort in their power to bring about the total abolition of the traffic.

During this parliamentary session, the income of the Duke of Clarence, as well as the incomes of all the junior male branches of the royal family were raised from 12,000*l.* to 18,000*l.* per annum.

The affair of Sir John and Lady Douglas against the late Queen Caroline, was brought before the public this year. During the inquiry which the King ordered into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, the Duke of Clarence accompanied his brother, the heir apparent, on a tour to the North of England. The brothers reached Liverpool on the 29th September, and were received by the corporation with respect, sumptuously entertained, and the Prince of Wales presented with the freedom of the town in a gold box, a honour which the Duke of Clarence had before received. The portrait of the Duke also had been hung in the Town-hall, having been painted by permission, for that purpose, some time previously. While in this town

the princes received the news of the death of Mr. Fox, at Chiswick, of dropsy. The death of this gentleman put an end to the negotiation for peace, which it is probable were only entertained by himself and two or three of his friends in the spirit of sincerity, through which alone they had any chance of being brought to a successful termination.

In January 1807, Lord Grenville brought in a bill for the abolition of the slave trade, on the introduction of which the Duke of Clarence made a few observations. When the bill came to be debated on the 5th of February, his Royal Highness rose and stated that he was glad the negroes thus employed in the colonies were not to be included in the arrangements of the bill, but would be permitted to remain under existing circumstances as before. He was pleased too, to find that those engaged in commercial pursuits connected with the trade had not been suddenly interrupted. Much misapprehension prevailed on the subject. He had been in the islands and had conversed with the most skilful persons connected with the culture followed there, the produce, trade, and population. He thought it singular that, after so much declamation against the planters had been indulged in by Lord Grenville, that only two or three instances of cruelty could be adduced to support it out of such extensive colonies. He was convinced that human nature was the same in every country, and that the planters had hearts not insensible to the calamities of their fellow beings. It was useless to give up the trade while other nations might continue to carry it on, under circumstances much less conducive to the benefit of the Africans, than those under which we conducted it. Under such circumstances, the attempt at the abolition was nugatory, for it would fall into worse hands, and still be persevered in with all the distresses, which those opposed to the trade were in the habit of detailing, greatly aggravated. The situation of St. Domingo ought to be a warning how the experiment was made. The population there had been reduced from 250,000 to 100,000 souls; and it was a matter for consideration, whether the horrors which had occurred in that island might not be experienced in others

near to it. One effect of the measure would be that his Majesty, from the multitude of the seizures, would become one of the greatest slave-holders in the world; nor did he think the navy of England could put a complete stop to the trade. He feared, too, it might effect the maritime strength of the nation; for on the African trade depended, perhaps, more than any other the supply of our navy with able seamen. A third result would be, that the revenue of the state would suffer, from which the supplies of the navy itself must be drawn. There were many illustrious characters in this country, who had approved of the commerce, and even aided its support. He could mention many men living in the circle of his acquaintance who were of the same sentiment. He could mention the gallant admiral, now no more, Lord Nelson. If the bill passed, he feared its supporters would regret their precipitation; and should the existing Ministry continue in office, he entertained no doubt, in three or four years they would retrace their steps, and apply again to Parliament for leave to resume the trade. Let the event be as it would in other respects, it was to him perfectly clear, that if this measure were carried, the West Indies would be lost to England; and without the West Indies, the prosperity and wealth of the nation were gone, if its very existence as an independent country did not cease." The bill was passed and on the 25th of March received the royal assent. The event proves how wrong are all deductions, even of the best inclined, which are not grounded upon the principle of doing rightly and justly, without regard to consequences. None of the Royal Duke's fears were justified by the future. Princes are apt to argue too much from feeling, and keep the unerring rule of right principle out of sight. His Royal Highness, too, had found the West Indies a hospitable place, and with his own excellent disposition could not but repay it with the gratitude that did his heart honour, though as a true statesman, it might not have shown in a very strong light his Royal Highness' ability.

The foregoing was the last measure of the existing administration. Lord Howick had introduced a bill into the House

of Commons, "for allowing all persons professing the Roman Catholic religion to serve his Majesty in the navy and army, and to the free exercise of their religion." This piece of common justice in any civilized state, was in the King's eye unpardonable. The King demanded a pledge from the ministers that in no shape would they introduce the Catholic question. To this demand of royal bigotry such a refusal as the King hoped and expected was given, and ministers resigned their places. One and all turned out, even Lord Sidmouth, who was in heart and capacity of a narrowness quite sufficient to gratify even the King's prejudices. The Duke of Portland was made First Lord of the Treasury; Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Eldon had the Great Seal. The new ministers set going the insensate cry of "no popery," in order to bind to their cause all the narrow-minded persons in the country at the election which ensued, and this, added to the customary influence, present and perspective of the Treasury, obtained the new ministers large and obsequious majorities. In the proceedings on this occasion the Duke of Clarence took no part.

The Duke was now forty-two years of age, and having lived retired at Bushey, would have so continued, but for the fete which he gave on his birth-day, which recalled him to public notice again. In the debates upon the wicked attack upon Copenhagen, in order most indefeasibly to deprive the Danes of their navy, his Royal Highness does not seem to have taken a part. Against the bill for abolishing places in reversion, a most salutary measure, the Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Cambridge, voted with a large majority, but none of the other brothers voted on the measure. A second bill, crippled of every clause adapted to meet the real objects of an evil so detrimental to the country, was soon after passed.

During these events, and from the bosom of his retirement at Bushey, the Duke of Clarence continued to correspond with his old naval friends. A letter of his Royal Highness to Lord Collingwood, dated Bushey, May 21, 1808, is as follows:—

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ A few days ago, I received your lordship's letter of the 30th of March, which has given me great satisfaction. I am most seriously interested in all your operations, and must be allowed to be a sincere friend and well-wisher to the navy; for though I have lost one son on board the *Blenheim*, I have just started another with my old friend and shipmate, Keates; and I have another breeding up for the quarter-deck. From the secrecy of those Frenchmen, and their power on the Continent,—which are equally known to your lordship and myself,—the affairs of war are more intricate than ever; but in your hands the interests of the country are safe. The great object of the enemy must be Sicily; for your lordship observes, with as much truth as wisdom, that we cannot maintain ourselves in the Mediterranean without that island. I sincerely trust that the the next time the French venture out, your lordship will fall in with them; the event will speak for itself—another *Trafalgar*. All I ask is, that the life of the gallant admiral may be spared to his grateful country. Your lordship mentions my approbation and friendship. Had not circumstances, which it is unnecessary to dwell upon, prevented my following our profession, I should have been proud to have seen the word ‘approbation’ in your lordship's letter; but situated as I am, I must to your lordship confess, that I merit not that epithet; but every individual that does his duty well is sure of my friendship. I need not say more to Lord Collingwood, the bosom friend of my ever-to-be-lamented Nelson. I took my second son to Deal, which gave me an opportunity of visiting the different ships there. I was very much pleased with what I saw, and found the navy infinitely improved. This country cannot pay too much attention to her naval concerns. We are the only barrier to the omnipotence of France, and it is to our navy alone that we owe this superiority. Though I have not yet the advantage of being personally known to your lordship, I trust I may be reasonably permitted to take up my pen, and that as events may arise, your lordship will favour me with a few lines. I know your time is invalua-

ble. For the present, adieu ! Believe me most sincerely interested in your lordship's welfare, and in the success of those valuable officers and men under your lordship's command. I remain ever, my dear lord, yours, unalterably,

“WILLIAM.”

This kind of correspondence evinces on the part of his Royal Highness an attention to his friends, an attachment to his profession, and to those who belonged to it ; and a love for his country, which nothing extant regarding any of his royal brothers can exhibit. The son alluded to above, in the letter to Lord Collingwood, went down with Sir Thomas Trowbridge in the *Blenheim*, it is supposed off the island of Madagascar, when every soul on board perished. Lord Collingwood says, in a letter to his family, “I have the kindest letter from the Duke of Clarence, I do not know him personally, but my brother Wilford was intimate with his Royal Highness, and I believe he likes me for Wilford's sake.” This exhibits the Duke in a very favourable point of view in respect to the strength of his attachment. Captain Wilford Collingwood died in Antigua in 1787, when the Duke was in the West Indies with Nelson, and they were endeavouring to reform certain abuses there in the naval department on shore. A letter of Nelson's to Lord Collingwood alludes to this brother. It is dated on board the *Boreas*, in the West Indies.

“MY DEAR COLLINGWOOD,

Nevis, May 3, 1787.

“To be the messenger of bad news is my misfortune ; but still it is a tribute we owe each other. I have lost my friend—you an affectionate brother ; too great a zeal in the service of his country has hastened his end. The greatest consolation the survivor, can receive is, a thorough knowledge of a life spent with honour to himself, and of service to his country. If the tribute of tears be valuable, my friend had it. The esteem he stood in with his Royal Highness was great. His letter to me on his death is the strongest testimony of it. I send you an extract of it :—‘Collingwood, poor fellow, is no more.

I have cried for him ; and most sincerely do I condole with you on his loss. In him his Majesty has lost a faithful servant, and the service of a most excellent officer.' A testimony of regard so honourable is more to be coveted than any thing this world could afford, and must be a balm to his surviving friends."

The eldest son of the Duke of Clarence was in the army, and served in Spain, at Russia, and Vimiera. Another son was with the old friend of his father, Sir Richard Keats, at sea in the *Superb*, when Sir Richard embarked Romana's army from Jutland, and took it to Spain. The number of the duke's sons by Mrs. Jordan was five.

His Royal Highness lost his friend, Lord Falkland, in a duel at Chalk Farm, in 1809, and was much effected at the circumstance. Sir Alan Gardner, who was with Lord Rodney when his Royal Highness served under that great officer as a midshipman, died the same year. Gardner was noted in the navy for saying to his seamen, on going into battle on the 4th of June, 1794, "Now, no firing, my lads till you are near enough to singe the Frenchmen's beards !"

On the disgraceful affair of the Duke of York and his *chère amie*, Mrs. Clarke, the Duke of Clarence never spoke a word in or out of the house of peers ; a proof of his Royal Highness's good sense and correct feeling. He kept up his correspondence with Lord Collingwood, who, in writing to the Duke, gave him the details of his combats and skirmishes with the enemy. His lordship's health was very much injured by his services, and such was the jealousy among ministers at home, that they could not agree of a successor to his place, and suffered that great and gallant officer to die by inches, rather than send out some one to supersede him. A letter from Collingwood to his Royal Highness, containing an account of his operations, drew forth the following reply from the duke—

"Bushey House, December 7, 1809.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Your Lordship's agreeable letter of November 3d, from

off Cape St. Sebastian has reached me, and I congratulate you sincerely on the event of Admiral Martin having destroyed the ships of the line, and Captain Hallowell having made an end of the convoy. I am only to lament that the enemy did not give your lordship and the British fleet an opportunity of doing more; and I trust, from the bottom of my heart, that the next letter which you will have occasion to write will bring the news of the Toulon squadron being in your lordship's power. It is odd that the enemy should have selected the 21st of October for sailing; and extraordinary, also, that the French should build such fine ships, and handle them so ill. I am glad that your lordship is satisfied with the conduct of our officers and men on this occasion; and am clearly of opinion, that the lieutenants deserve, and ought, to be promoted. I am for liberal rewards. The gallant Keith, of course, comes within my ideas of promotions and gratuities. I have ever been, and ever shall be, of opinion, that zeal and bravery ought to be the sole causes of promotion. Your former favourite, the Empress Catherine, knew well this secret of state; and your lordship's observation is quite correct, that her imperial majesty carried the same notions even into her private amusements: 'None but the brave,' my dear Lord. I am glad that Spranger has done his duty, in taking four out of the seven islands, and hope the remainder will soon fall. The enemy must feel very awkward without them, and cannot fail to be interrupted in attempting the Morea. My best wishes attend you Lordship, publicly and privately; and believe me ever, my dear Lord, yours most, sincerely,

“WILLIAM.”

The gallant Keith was soon after promoted to the rank of post-captain; but died in the prime of manhood, at Aberdeen, in 1816. It was not long after he had been thus distinguished that he saw the death of his patron, Lord Collingwood. The admiral was worn out by fatigue and hard service, having been scarcely out of his ship from the battle of Trafalgar to the

hour he expired. He had again and again vainly applied to be relieved: he had been nearly five years on the ocean at one spell; a disorder, to which he had been long subject, at last attacked him severely, when on board the *Ville de Paris* on his way home, May 7th, 1810. Being asked if the swell of the sea, which ran high, did not disturb him, he said to the captain, "No, Thomas, I am now in a state in which nothing can disturb me more. I am dying; and I am sure, it must be consolatory to you and all who love me to see how comfortably I am going to my end." He was interred near Nelson in St. Paul's Cathedral. The widow, Lady Collingwood, having sent a mourning ring to the Duke of Clarence, his Royal Highness acknowledged the receipt in the following letter:—

"MADAM

Bushy House, Saturday night.

"I this morning received a mourning ring in memory of the deceased Lord Collingwood, which, of course, I owe to your ladyship's politeness and attention. No one can regret the melancholy event of the death of his lordship more sincerely than I do; and I feel great concern in having been prevented from attending the funeral. I was informed the interment was to be quite private, or else I should have made a point of attending the remains of my departed friend to the grave. No one could have had a more sincere regard for the public character and abilities of Lord Collingwood than myself: indeed with me it is enough to have been the friend of Nelson, to possess my estimation. The hero of the Nile, who fell at Trafalgar, was a man of a great mind, but self-taught; Lord Collingwood, the old companion in arms of the immortal Nelson, was equally great in judgment and abilities, and had also the advantage of an excellent education. Pardon me, madam, for having said so much on this melancholy occasion; but my feelings as a brother officer, and my admiration of the late Lord Collingwood, have dictated this expression of my sentiments. I will now conclude, and shall place on the same finger the ring which your ladyship has sent me, with a gold bust of Lord Nelson. Lord Collingwood's must ever be prized by me, as coming from

his family: the bust of Lord Nelson I received from an unknown hand, on the day the event of his death reached this country. To me the two rings are invaluable; and the sight of them must ever give me sensations of grief and admiration. I remain ever madam,

“Your Ladyship’s obedient and most humble servant,

“WILLIAM.”

Lord Collingwood’s ill state of health was well known to his Royal Highness, and again and again he mentioned it to the King, and urged his Majesty to allow him to go out and relieve that brave officer, by hoisting his flag in the Mediterranean fleet. The Duke had before addressed a letter to Commodore Owen, who commanded a squadron in the Channel, in which he alluded to his own ardent desire of employment, and the wish he felt to share in the dangers of the war, and to accompany the brave men who were gathering laurels from the enemy. “When I shall have the honour to hoist my flag, I cannot be certain; but I am very much inclined to think that eventually I shall have the honour and happiness of commanding those fine fellows whom I saw in the spring, in the Downs and at Portsmouth. My short stay at Admiral Campbell’s had impressed me with very favourable ideas of the improved state of the navy; but my residence at Portsmouth had afforded me ample opportunity of examining, and consequently of having a perfect judgment of the high and correct discipline now established in the King’s service.”

The neglect of his Royal Highness by the Government, and his non-employment in the earlier part of his life, may be accounted for by his attachment to his elder brother, and his junction with the opponents of the ministers and his father at the period. There was a good deal of prejudice felt against him by many of the planters on the West India slave question. The excess of dissipation, gambling, reckless profligacy, and intercourse with the softer sex, which were so conspicuous in

the conduct of his two elder brothers, were never laid to his door. Then there was his blunt, open, plain-speaking way, which from having little of the smooth and graceful pliancy and address of the varnished courtier, obtained him no friends among them at court, and helped out the neglect he unmeritedly experienced. The neglect of a court in England is the neglect of the fashion. In England the claims of merit and the dictates of reason are nothing before the goddess of folly. His Royal Highness seemed not to receive the smallest notice for some years, though he had done nothing to deserve the neglect in which he had been left. On his duty at sea, he would not have failed so egregiously as his brother the Duke of York failed as a soldier. He was attached to the service; his acquirements were before those of many good officers. He had the manners that take with a seaman in a commander, who must be very differently acted upon from the soldier to attach him to his officers. The Duke of Clarence was an ardent lover of his profession. Yet all did not avail either with his father or the public to obtain for him his wishes. His Royal Highness stated in Goldsmiths' Hall, on that body presenting him with their freedom, that it was the first honour of the kind he had ever received from the citizens. The tide turned at last, however, and he who had been neglected by the public, and thwarted by the obstinate adherence of his father to whatever caprice he adopted, escaped his false position, and lived to be the most popular individual in the dominions he governed. The last years of his life cast a halo of glory round his name that time may dim, but not destroy.

The loss of his sister the Princess Amelia, in 1810, very much affected the Duke of Clarence. She was the youngest of his sisters, and greatly loved by all who knew her, and she was decidedly the favourite daughter of the King. The funeral took place in the night by the light of torches, on the 13th of November. It was attended by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Clarence. All were much affected; but the Duke of Clarence wept during the whole performance of the last sad rite of humanity. There was the

youth and beauty of the Princess, and many sad incidents to deepen the painful emotions experienced by her royal relatives. Almost her last dying act had been to place a ring on her father's finger made of her own hair, and to articulate to his ear, "Remember me." After this melancholy act, the thin film, which had divided reason from the influence of disease, in the King's organization parted, and his mind became a dead blank, never again to be reinstated in its functions.

At the close of the year 1810, it was generally known that the exercise of the royal functions was suspended, by a recurrence of that malady with which his Majesty had been afflicted in 1788.

Although his Majesty had prorogued the Parliament to the 1st day of November, 1810, it was understood and well known that this was not the period intended for the commencement of business, but that a further prorogation was determined on, of which, indeed, notice had been given in the Gazette. This, however, could only be effected by a commission signed by the King; and when the moment arrived, his Majesty was so much indisposed as to be unable to affix his signature; accordingly, exertions were made to obtain as large an attendance as possible in both Houses. On the meeting of the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor stated, with great concern, that the personal indisposition of his Majesty was such at the present time, that he did not think it his duty, under the circumstances, to proffer to his Sovereign a commission to receive the sign manual; and he concluded by moving that the House, at its rising, should adjourn to the 15th day of November.

The House of Commons was, on the same day, placed in the unprecedented situation of proceeding to business, although an official notice of a prorogation had been given; but no commission having been signed for that purpose, the Speaker was obliged to take the chair. A similar motion for adjournment to that made in the House of Lords was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and being seconded by Mr. Sheridan, the motion was carried.

On the 15th the two Houses met, pursuant to the adjournment, when a motion was made for a further adjournment to the 29th, which motion, after some slight objections from the Opposition, was ultimately carried. On the question of the second adjournment, Mr. Sheridan, however, to the utter surprise of his own party, turned round and voted with the majority. Mr. Sheridan was known at that time to be the organ of the Prince in the House, and deductions were drawn from the conduct of Sheridan, in regard to the temper and views of the Prince with respect to the regency.

On the meeting of parliament, on the 29th, Lord Camden stated, that examinations had taken place before his Majesty's Privy Council of the physicians who attended the royal person, and the result of these examinations was, that it was the unanimous opinion of all his Majesty's physicians, that though his Majesty was incapable of coming to parliament, or of attending to public business, yet they entertained the most confident hopes of his recovery, but were unable to state at what period he might become convalescent.

This statement was followed by a motion for the adjournment of the House to the 13th of December, which met with considerable opposition, but was ultimately carried. On this occasion the Lord Chancellor made the following most extraordinary remarks, which although, strictly speaking, they may be considered as truly constitutional, yet they tended, in a great degree, to open the eyes of the Prince's party to the ulterior views of ministers as connected with the establishment of a regency, and to the conditions which were to be annexed to it. The Prince of Wales, according to the showing of the Lord Chancellor, was not to be invested with any powers arising from the *incompetency* of the sovereign, but merely as an individual, acting under the control and responsibility of the ministers.

It was in reply to some strong remarks made by Lord Grenville, on the unconstitutional power of ministers, acting independently of the crown, that the Lord Chancellor said, that according to the spirit of our laws, the Sovereign is King in infancy,

in age, in decrepitude. If you take away what the law gives him, you change the name and authority of the King, by the sanction and authority of which name you can alone rightly act. The King's political capacity, he would again repeat, continues the same in infancy, in sickness, in age, and in decrepitude. No subject can be considered in the same light. *God forbid that the two Houses should declare the King incompetent.* Much might be said on a question of this nature, but it never was to be allowed that such a power rested in the Privy Council.

By this memorable exposition of the powers of the Sovereign, the Privy Council, at whose head the King is supposed to sit in person, and from whose decisions issue some of the most important enactments by which the jurisprudence of the country is supported; this same august body, second to none in the empire, were told that they had no power to declare the incompetency of the individual who presided at their head; and that they could act with the same legality and authority, in the event of such incompetency, as if no such calamity had befallen the individual, and that no suspension whatever existed to the exercise of the royal functions. It was a startling doctrine, and made that lively sensation (as our neighbours the French would call it) at Carlton House, which, in the end, threw many obstacles in the adjustment of those points which the extraordinary case required.

The question of a regency, in an hereditary monarchical government, is at all times a dangerous subject for the statesman to handle. It carries with it the pre-supposition, that a King, in the abstract sense, can be represented as well by the log as by the stork which Jupiter sent to the frogs; or that it is only setting up one person in the place of another, and calling him a King—and a King he is. Some strong insinuations of this kind were broached in the House of Commons in the various debates on the regency question, particularly by Mr. Whitbread, who, being in opposition to the measures of ministers, unequivocally declared, that the acts of ministers went to show, that the affairs of the country could be equally

well managed, although the monarch was in a state of positive incompetency.

Before, however, we enter upon the immediate question of the regency, as connected with the proceedings in Parliament, it may not be improper, nor without its use, for the better recollection and understanding of the subject in all its parts and relations, to state shortly the principles on which those who brought forward and carried the restrictions on the Regent, and those who opposed them, severally founded and supported their doctrines and opinions.

The minister and his adherents set out with this short and simple maxim, that a regent is not a king; that in every respect and point of view, whether considered relatively to common sense, to justice, or to the fundamental and essential doctrines of the British constitution, each condition is, and ought to be, radically distinct; that whereas the powers of the King were full, complete, and his own, so far as by the exercise of them he sought after, and secured the good of the people over whom he reigned—a Regent was merely a person appointed to act for another, to whom ought to be granted all those authorities, powers, and prerogatives, which were necessary to enable him to supply the place and perform the duty of his principal; but from whom ought carefully and sacredly to be kept every kind of authority, power, or prerogative, which could possibly be exercised in such a manner by the Regent as might endanger the easy and full resumption by his principal of his legitimate rights, or tend in the smallest degree to embarrass or weaken the exercise of them when actually resumed. Besides this grand and leading principle, on the strength and justice of which they contended, that the royal prerogative of creating peers more especially should be cut off from the powers vested in the Regent,—ministers and their adherents maintained, that not a little was due to the personal feelings and comfort of the King; that, however, abstract reasoning might underrate to hold in contempt such an idea, yet it was neither possible, nor if possible, would it have been consonant to common justice or humanity, to throw

entirely aside in the consideration of the question, and in the arrangement of the particular authorities to be vested in the Regent, all regard to what the King might be supposed to have wished, could he have expressed his wishes, and what it was highly probable he would feel when restored to the exercise of his reason, Upon this subordinate principle, which certainly carried along with it every feeling man and loyal subject, and which was well calculated to create a favourable impression on the public mind towards those who promulgated and supported it; while on the contrary, it was dangerous to oppose it, lest the imputation of a want of feeling or loyalty should make a prejudice against the constitutional doctrines on which it might have been successfully combated:—upon this principle ministers contended, that the household of his Majesty should be left untouched by the powers of the Regent. The appointment of the person, to whom the care of the King was to be committed, arose from a mixture of both the principles which we have just stated. On the first and grand principle it was contended, with certainly very great cogency and strength of argument, that it would be highly improper to commit the custody and care of the King's person to the Regent—to one whose interest so evidently and strongly lay in the continued illness of the King; while on the subordinate principle, it was maintained that the King's recovery would most probably be retarded, if in his lucid intervals he was informed that the Regent had the care of his person; and that, on his perfect recovery, his satisfaction and comfort would be much more complete, if he found that his consort, and not the heir-apparent, had watched over his malady.

Such may be regarded as a rapid and brief outline of the principles on which ministers and their adherents grounded their resolutions that certain restrictions should be imposed on the Regent, and on which they proceeded in their selection and defence of the restrictions which they proposed and carried. Some objections may certainly be made to the principles themselves: and others of greater weight, or, at

least, of greater plausibility, to the application of them to the particular restrictions imposed on the Regent. But those objections will assume a less formidable appearance when the difficulties attending an opposite line of conduct are considered. It was in fact, a choice of difficulties, a most embarrassing and critical situation, in which the country was placed; and unfortunately, out of this labyrinth, precedent afforded no clue which could conduct parliament with certainty and safety.

The principles on which the Opposition grounded their doctrines and arguments bore very much the appearance, and possessed, indeed, in a great degree, the reality, of genuine British principles. They contended, in the first place (and upon this point they laid very great stress, and insisted loudly and repeatedly), that the good of the nation, and not the comfort or feelings of the King, was alone to be regarded, and ought alone to be suffered to enter into the consideration of the question: that the prerogatives and powers of which it was proposed to deprive the Regent were either beneficial to the community, or they were not. Powers vested in a sovereign, they insisted, could not be without some effect: if they were not beneficial to the people over whom he reigned, they could not be harmless; but in either case, whether these prerogatives and powers which ministers proposed to cut off from the authority of the Regent were beneficial or hurtful, their principles and arguments must fall to the ground. If they were calculated, and could only be exercised to produce the good of the nation, then parliament had no right, under any plea, to strip the person exercising the supreme authority, for ever so short a time, of them; or even to curtail or weaken them in the slightest manner. If they were prejudicial, then they ought not to be granted nor continued, either to the Sovereign or the Regent. This dilemma certainly was very embarrassing; nor did ministers meet it directly or fairly. Indeed, this important question can hardly be said to have been argued in a complete and full manner, either by ministers

or by the opposition. When the former dwelt with great force of argument, and with much appearance of triumph, on the necessity of guarding the easy and full resumption of the royal authority; the opposition, instead of meeting this branch of the argument directly face to face, turned aside and declaimed eloquently, and, in their turn, with great triumph, on the necessity, for the good of the nation, of vesting in the Regent all the royal prerogatives, as the British constitution could suppose none given, but what were absolutely necessary for the grand object of all legitimate government, the liberty and well-being of the people. Ministers, perceiving that this was not only a popular way of treating the subject, but that it rested on specious, if not on solid arguments, turned aside from it, and again brought into play the necessity of guarding the powers and prerogatives of the Sovereign, the permanent and real magistrate, against the encroachments of a temporary and delegated regent.

In one respect, the opposition pushed their arguments against the ministerial party with considerable vigour, acuteness, and success; and this point, thus successfully brought forward, had considerable weight with the mass of the people. They contended that the very principle on which ministers rested their leading doctrine, that the power of a regent ought to be restricted, namely, that otherwise he might and would have the means of rendering the resumption of the royal authority difficult, and the subsequent exercise of it cramped, —ought to lead ministers to take away from the Regent all control over the army, and the prerogative of dissolving parliament, since it was easy to conceive how these, in the hands of a person disposed to abuse his delegated and temporary authority, might be turned more dangerously and successfully against the Sovereign, than the prerogative of creating peers, or removing any or all of the royal household. The opposition put this argument in all possible shapes, and dwelt upon it at great length, and with much triumph, and it must be confessed, that by thus pushing the fundamental principle of the ministry to its complete and legitimate consequences, they

effected one of two objects: they made out either that the principle was erroneous and unfounded, or that ministers were inconsistent in their application and use of it.

Such is a brief sketch of the leading doctrines broached by the two great parties in parliament, on the great and difficult question respecting the powers which, consistent with the spirit of the British constitution, ought to be vested in a Regent. But there was a third party in parliament, more formidable for the boldness with which they promulgated and defended their opinions, and for the weight and influence which they possessed with a great portion of the people, than for their numerical strength, who, though they in general coincided with the opposition in their main view of the question, yet placed it in other points of light in which the regular opponents of ministry either durst not or were not disposed to consider it. The party alluded to, was that of which Sir Francis Burdett was regarded as the head and the leader:—this party did not hesitate nor scruple to maintain in the most open and undisguised manner, that ministers, by suffering government to go on so long stripped of the royal authority, and virtually of the person of the Sovereign, had given a practical proof of the truth of the assertions made by the most violent republicans, and particularly by their champion Thomas Paine, that the royal authority was not necessary either to the well-being or existence of government; and they added, that if the Regent actually did assume and carry on the executive power without all the prerogatives which the constitution had given to the Sovereign, that would be a glaring and practical proof, that more prerogatives than were necessary to the well-being of the state had been lodged with the Sovereign, and a sufficient reason to deprive him of the future possession of them. So far the doctrines and opinions held by this party were such as might have been expected from them, and in perfect consistence with their fundamental principles, and with their former professions and conduct. But when they proceeded to intermix high expectations of the Prince Regent, and to declare that from him they expected a line of conduct that would, to use their own

language, restore the constitution to its original purity and force, it was scarcely possible not to entertain a suspicion that they hoped, by expressing expectations they did not entertain, to draw the Prince over to their party, and to extract that by flattery from him which they did not look for from principle or inclination.

Having thus given a concise exposition of the leading principles of the several parties in parliament on this momentous business, we shall now proceed to lay before our readers an epitome of those proceedings in parliament, which terminated in the establishment of the Prince of Wales as Regent of these realms.

After several adjournments, the House of Commons met on the 20th of December, when the House having resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the state of the nation, the following resolutions were moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

‘1. That it is the opinion of this House, That his Majesty is prevented by indisposition from coming to his parliament, and from attending to public business, and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby for the present interrupted.

‘2. That it is the opinion of this House, That it is the right and duty of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain now assembled, and lawfully, fully and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his Majesty’s said indisposition, in such a manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require.

‘3. Resolved, That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two Houses of Parliament respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on

the behalf of the King, during the continuance of his Majesty's present indisposition.'

On the reading of the third resolution, an amendment was moved by Mr. Ponsonby to the following effect :—

'That a humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, requesting that his Royal Highness will be pleased to take upon him during the indisposition of the King, and no longer, the government of this realm ; and administer the same in the name and in the behalf of his Majesty, under the style and title of Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.'

This amendment was lost by a majority of 112, but it had the special tendency of exposing the views of the Prince's party, as it was supported by those members who were known to stand the highest in the confidence and favour of his Royal Highness ; and, further, it had the untoward effect of arousing the vigilance of the ministerial party in regard to the support of the restrictions, which were shortly to be submitted to the consideration of parliament.

On the same day, in the House of Peers, the question of the resolutions was agitated in a cursory way, owing to some questions put by Lord Holland, respecting the course intended to be pursued by the existing administration ; but it was not until the 27th, that the resolutions were formally moved by the Earl of Liverpool, and which drew from the Duke of Sussex one of the most virulent speeches against ministers which had ever been pronounced upon the subject. It arose in support of the following amendment to the third resolution moved by Lord Holland.

'That his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, being of mature age, be requested to take upon himself the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the King, during the continuance of his Majesty's present indisposition, and no longer.'

'That an address, founded on this resolution, be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, requesting him to take upon himself the government aforesaid ; and that it be at

the same time, and in the same manner, communicated to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, that it is further the opinion of this committee, that it will be expedient to abstain from the exercise of all such powers as the immediate exigencies of the state shall not call into action, until parliament shall have passed a bill or bills for the future care of his Majesty's royal person, during his Majesty's present indisposition, and the securing to his Majesty, whenever it shall please Divine Providence to restore his health, the resumption of his royal authority.

Our limits will not allow us to give verbatim the manly speech of his Royal Highness, but the following detached parts will fully exhibit its genuine tone and temper.

‘My Lords, if I understand anything of the constitution of my country, the ministers of the Sovereign are a set of men whom the King calls to his councils, and therefore are they styled his confidential servants. They are to take the pleasure of their Sovereign, to advise him upon all matters wherein the welfare and interests of his people are concerned, to the best of their knowledge and judgment, for which they are responsible to parliament. In consequence of their representations, his Majesty commands them how to act; and for the execution of these royal commands, they are equally amenable to the grand tribunal of the empire.

‘Now, then, my Lords, are we to allow ourselves to be persuaded, dare those ministers assert, that they have acted as they would have advised their royal master, whom they have not seen for these last eight weeks, with whom they have had no personal communication, who has no free will of his own, and who is separated from all the tenderest ties of nature? My Lords, if these late courageous ministers have acted, they have usurped a power which they have no right to exercise. If they have been frightened—if *they have hesitated*—if *they have stumbled*, and not acted, why then, my Lords, they are equally treasonable for allowing the magistracy of royalty to be suspended for such a length of time; which is a situation the constitution can never know, and, of course, can never

acknowledge. It is a shock the most dreadful, the most deadly, the constitution has ever received since the period of the Revolution.

‘My Lords, the Sovereign is a sole corporation; he never dies; he enjoys a political immortality. In attempting, therefore, the destruction of this grand constitutional principle, these late ministers of his Majesty have committed a regicide act against the magistracy of royalty.

‘My Lords, I hear of restrictions in the regency. I say my Lords, these restrictions cannot, must not be. If you feel the necessity of a regent, he must have full powers, and not be the very mummery or mockery of royalty; which is the system ministers are anxious to adopt. He must be, my Lords, an efficient magistrate, with those prerogatives which the common law of England assigns to a king, and which the people of the United Kingdom have a right to demand. The law has frequently provided a remedy of a regency for the infancy of our kings. So if a king should fall into such an unfortunate situation as assimilates him to that position, then the estates of the realm may, upon the parity of the case, seek the remedy provided for an infant, and lodge the power in a regent. And as, in the weakness of infancy, a prince regent has always, in law, had the same power with the king, who has not, or, from misfortunes, cannot have a will, therefore, the Regent’s will is the same as the King’s will, and consequently the power ought, and must be the same—but with this security, that, in the exercise of his important functions, the right of the Sovereign is owned by the Regent to remain in the King, and that he becomes the crown guardian of those rights.

‘Feeling as I do at this moment, my Lords, I cannot conclude otherwise than by imploring your Lordships to pay your most serious attention to a subject in which the vital parts of our constitution are concerned, and in quoting the words of a late learned Lord who filled the woolsack at the former and similar momentous period of 1788—“May God forget me, if I forget my King!”—and to which pious and fervent ejaculation I must further add with equal devotion—May God

forget me, if I forget the constitution of this country !—that constitution which placed my family upon the throne of these realms ; that constitution which has been long our pride, and the envy of all surrounding nations ; and, for the want of which blessing, they have all been confounded into one horrible mass of anarchy, ruin and despair, while we stand secure of revolutions, firm as a rock ; as a great beacon of civil, constitutional, and religious liberty, in the midst of a subjugated and desolated world ; that constitution for which my family have pledged themselves to live and die.’

The Duke of York followed on the same side ; but his speech, in point of argument, was merely an echo of some of the sentiments so ably expressed by his royal brother.

We are now arrived at the important point of the celebrated restrictions which were imposed on the Prince of Wales, as Regent ; and which, although accepted of, and acted under, were well known not to be very palatable to his Royal Highness, nor agreeable to those who expected to profit by the exercise of an unlimited power. On the 31st of December, the House of Commons, after a conference with the Lords, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, on the state of the nation, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and stated, that the resolutions declaring the King’s incapacity to exercise the royal functions having been agreed to by the Lords, it now remained for the Commons to consider of the measures that were proper to be adopted, to supply the defect in the executive government. He then stated, it would be his duty to submit a proposition to the House, calling upon his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to take upon himself the exercise of the royal authority, subject to certain restrictions in the use of it, and which restrictions it was intended should be limited in point of duration. He would propose, in the first place, that the Regent should not have the power of creating peers ; in the second, that he should be debarred from granting places or pensions for life ; and the third restriction would apply to making provision for the custody of

his Majesty's person, which he would propose, should be confided to the Queen, and a council nominated to assist her. He, therefore, accordingly moved the first resolution as follows :—

‘Resolved, That for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the royal authority, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, in such manner, and to such extent, as the present circumstances and the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require, it is expedient that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, being resident within the realm, shall be empowered to exercise and administer the royal authority, according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, that belong to the King of this realm to use, execute, and perform, according to the law thereof, subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.’

Having entered fully into the principles of that resolution he proceeded to read the following ones.

‘Resolved, That the care of his Majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, shall be committed to the Queen's most excellent Majesty; and that her Majesty shall have the power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the several offices in his Majesty's household; and to dispose, order and manage all other matters and things relating to the care of his Majesty's royal person, during the time aforesaid; and that, for the better enabling her Majesty to discharge this important task, it is also expedient that a council shall be appointed to advise and assist her Majesty in the several matters aforesaid; and with power, from time to time, as they may see cause, to examine, upon oath, the physicians and others attending his Majesty's person, touching the state of his Majesty's health, and all matters relating thereto.

‘Resolved, That the power so to be given to his Royal High-

ness the Prince of Wales, shall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage of the realm to any person whatever, except to (persons who have rendered eminent service to the country, by sea or land.)

‘Resolved, That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any office whatever in reversion, or to the granting of any office, salary, or pension, for other term than during his Majesty’s pleasure, except such offices as are by law required to be granted for life or during good behaviour, and except— (An exception will here be introduced in favour of persons rendering eminent services to the country by sea or land.)

‘Resolved, That, the said power shall not extend to the granting of any part of his Majesty’s real or personal estate, except as far as relates to the renewal of leases.’

To the first of these resolutions an amendment was moved by the Honorable Mr. W. Lamb, to leave out all the words which contained the restrictions: it was however lost by the trifling majority of 24; and in a division respecting the second resolution, the majority was only 16. The fourth resolution, respecting the King’s private property, was unanimously agreed to, and the consideration of the fifth resolution was postponed to the following day.

On that day, 1st January, 1811, the House met, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer briefly recapitulated the arguments which he had previously used, recommendatory of the adoption of the resolutions, when Earl Gower moved an amendment, to leave out certain words in the second resolution, after the words ‘Queen’s most excellent Majesty,’ respecting the power of the Queen in removals, &c., and to insert words to the following effect, ‘together with the sole direction of such persons and establishment, as are suitable in the present circumstances to the care of the King’s sacred person and royal dignity.’

The speeches of Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Whitbread in support of this amendment, and in annulling every restriction whatever upon the Regent, made a powerful impression

upon the House, and on a division taking place, ministers were left in a majority against them of 13.

On the following day, Lord Porchester moved as an amendment to the first resolution, that the words 'subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall hereafter be provided,' be left out.

On this amendment the brilliant powers of Sheridan were exerted with extraordinary effect; he entered into a far more extensive view of the subject than any of the speakers who had preceded him, and the character which he drew in this speech of Buonaparte will always stand on record as one of the most forcible delineations which was ever drawn of that extraordinary man. He closed his speech with these memorable words—'Whatever are my hopes and views of reform, I say now, as I have ever said, that we are struggling to preserve a condition of society far above that which the other civilized nations of the world have attained. Is this then the moment to fetter or restrict the constitutional powers of him whom the public voice has unanimously called to preside over our destiny during the unhappy indisposition of his Sovereign and father? Shall we send him forth with a broken shield and half a spear to that contest, on the issue of which depend not alone the safety of Great Britain, but the rights and happiness of mankind?'

Mr. Perceval then moved as an amendment to Lord Porchester's amendment, 'That the Queen have unlimited power over the household. On a division the ministers were again left in a majority against them of three. The resolutions, therefore, as presented to the Lords, went to restrain the Regent from the granting of peerages, &c., for a limited term; but they granted him the whole of the household, except what the two Houses might in their wisdom deem suitable to the care of his Majesty's person.

The resolutions passed in the House of Commons came on for discussion in the House of Lords on the 4th of January; but the arguments used by the Peers, in support of and against the resolutions, were so similar to those used by the Commons, that it is unnecessary to enter into any exposition of

them. On the first resolution, however, Lord Lansdowne moved an amendment for leaving out the words 'subject to such restrictions,' &c., and on a division, ministers were left in a minority.

Lord Liverpool then proposed the omission of the privilege which had been supported by his friend, Mr. Perceval, in the Commons, namely, that of granting peerages for extraordinary naval and military services; and certain opposition lords, who preferred the full restriction to an invidious distinction, voting on this occasion with the ministers, the numbers were for Lord Liverpool's amendment—Contents, 106; Non-contents, 100.—This amendment being agreed to by the Commons, the resolutions were passed, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer then stated, that as the two Houses had now agreed on their resolutions, he trusted they would also concur in appointing a committee to attend his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and her Majesty the Queen with the resolutions which the two Houses of Parliament had agreed to. The committee who were to wait upon the Prince should inform him that the two Houses of Parliament, considering on the means of supplying the deficiency in the royal authority, had resolved to empower his Royal Highness to take upon himself the office of Regent, subject to such limitations and restrictions as appeared to them to be proper in the present circumstances; and they were also to express their hope that, in his regard for his Majesty and the nation, his Royal Highness would take upon himself the weighty and important trust reposed in him, as soon as a bill should be passed for that purpose.

A resolution to the above effect was moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was agreed to unanimously, and ordered to be communicated to the Lords in a conference.

On the 8th, the Earl of Liverpool rose and stated, that their Lordships were now arrived at that point of time in their proceedings upon the important business of supplying the existing defect in the exercise of the royal authority, at which they were called upon, in conformity to the precedent on which

they had hitherto proceeded, to adopt the means of affixing the great seal to the bill about to be brought in, enacting the establishment of a regency in the person of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The principle of this measure had been so amply discussed in that House already, that he did not feel it to be his duty to address their Lordships at any length upon the subject. He should not, therefore, enter into any arguments on the question, unless something should fall from any noble Lord which might require particular notice. It became necessary for him, therefore, only to state, that the Resolution he was about to move was strictly conformable with the resolution moved in January, 1780, except one variation. On that occasion, the name of his Royal Highness the Duke of York was inserted in the commission; but, at the request of his Royal Highness, it was afterwards omitted, so that the commission was passed and made out without his Royal Highness' name. On the present occasion, recollecting that circumstance, he had felt it his duty to make an application to the princes of the blood on the subject, requesting to know from them whether they had any objections to the insertion of their names in the commission now to be made out. He had received from them an answer, expressive of their wish that their names should be omitted. This commission would be framed accordingly, and would resemble that of 1780, not as it was at first proposed, but as it was passed by the two Houses of Parliament. Under these circumstances, he would no longer detain their Lordships, but should proceed to move, that letters patent be issued, authorizing the affixing the great seal to the bill to be brought in, enacting the establishment of the regency in the person of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in the King's name, by and with the advice of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled; the form running in the usual terms. After some observations from Lord Grey, the resolution was agreed to.

On the question of the restrictions, there seems to have been but one opinion pervading every branch of the royal family; and, from the strong opposition manifested by them,

it was too evident that they sat upon the Prince of Wales like a galling yoke, and that the satisfaction which he expressed in assuming the reins of government was anything but genuine. Of the temper of the male branches of the royal family, on this most momentous of all subjects which ever engrossed their attention, the following Protest, signed by every member of it, is sufficiently declaratory, although it must be acknowledged that this Protest of the royal Dukes was rather premature—for, at the time of its signature, the restrictions had not passed the two Houses of the Legislature, and, therefore, their exact spirit and tenor could not have been ascertained.

. It is however worthy of remark, that the assembly of the royal Princes, who signed the Protest, was convened by the Prince of Wales himself; and, therefore, it is not a presumptuous conjecture to hazard, that the sentiments of the Princes were regulated in a great degree by those which were known to be the prevailing, though not the expressed ones of his Royal Highness.

“SIR,

“The Prince of Wales having assembled the whole of the male branches of the royal family, and having communicated to us the plan intended to be proposed by his Majesty’s confidential servants, to the Lords and Commons, for the establishment of a restricted regency, should the continuance of his Majesty’s ever-to-be-deplored illness render it necessary; we feel it a duty we owe to his Majesty, to our country, and to ourselves, to enter our solemn protest against measures we consider as perfectly unconstitutional, as they are contrary to, and subversive of, the principles which seated our family upon the throne of this realm.

(Signed)

FREDERICK,
WILLIAM,

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK,
ADOLPHUS FREDERICK,

EDWARD,
ERNEST.

WILLIAM FREDERICK.

' Wednesday Night, 12 o'clock, December 19, 1810.

' R. H. Spencer Perceval, &c. &c, &c.'

ANSWER.

' Mr. Perceval has the honour of acknowledging the receipt of a solemn protest, in the name of all the male branches of the royal family, against the measures which his Majesty's confidential servants have thought it to be their duty to communicate to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as intended to be proposed to the two Houses of Parliament, for the establishment of a restricted regency during the continuance of his Majesty's ever-to-be-lamented indisposition; and stating that their Royal Highnesses consider these measures as perfectly unconstitutional, as contrary to, and subversive of, the principles which seated his Majesty's royal family upon the throne of this realm.

' Mr. Perceval has felt it to be his duty to submit this communication without loss of time to his Majesty's servants; and deeply as they lament, that the measure which they have thought themselves bound to propose, shall appear to their Royal Highnesses to deserve a character so directly contrary to that which it has been their anxious endeavour should belong to it, they must still, however, have the consolation of reflecting that the principles upon which they have acted obtained the express and concurrent support of the two Houses of Parliament in the years 1788 and 1789; that those Houses of Parliament had the high satisfaction of receiving, by the command of his Majesty, after his Majesty's recovery, his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of their affectionate attachment to his person, and of their zealous concern for the honour and interests of his crown, and the security and good government of his dominions; and that the uninterrupted confidence which his Majesty was pleased to repose, for a long series of years, in the persons who proposed the measures which were grounded on those principles, entitles

his Majesty's servants, in their judgment, still further to conclude, that those principles and measures had the sanction of his royal approbation.

' Downing Street, Dec. 20, 1810.

' His Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c. &c.'

On the 11th, at two o'clock precisely, the deputation from the two Houses went up to Carlton House to present to his Royal Highness the resolutions to which the two Houses, after long discussion, had agreed. The lords and gentlemen, all in full dress, were ushered through the superb suite of rooms to the drawing-room, where his Royal Highness stood; his Chancellor, William Adam, Esq., and Earl Moira on his right hand; the Duke of Cumberland and Mr. Sheridan on his left; behind him four officers of his household, Mr. Tyrwhitt, Colonel M'Mahon, Colonel Bloomfield, and General Turner. The deputation advanced according to their order of precedence: the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Secretary Ryder, the President of the Board of Control, and the Master of the Rolls; and they made the usual reverences.

The Lord President then read from a paper in his hand—

' That they were a committee appointed to attend his Royal Highness with the resolutions which had been agreed to by the Lords and Commons, for the purpose of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, during his Majesty's illness, by empowering his Royal Highness to exercise that authority, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, subject to such limitations and restrictions as shall be provided.

' And that they were directed to express the hope which the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons entertain, that his Royal Highness, from his regard to the interests of his Majesty, will be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be invested in his Royal Highness, so soon as an act of

Parliament shall have been passed for carrying the said resolutions into effect.'

The Lord President then read and delivered to his Royal Highness the resolutions.

To which address his Royal Highness returned the following most gracious answer :

• MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

• I receive the communication which the two Houses have directed you to make to me, of their joint resolutions on the subject of providing "for the exercise of the authority during his Majesty's illness," with those sentiments of regard which I must ever entertain for the united desires of the two Houses.

• With the same sentiments I receive the expressed "hopes of the Lords and Commons, that from my regard for the interests of his Majesty and the nation, I shall be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be involved in me," under the restrictions and limitations stated in those resolutions.

• Conscious that every feeling of my heart would have promoted me, from dutiful affection to my beloved father and Sovereign, to have shown all the reverential delicacy towards him inculcated in those resolutions, I cannot refrain from expressing my regret that I should not have been allowed the opportunity of manifesting to his afflicted and loyal subjects that such would have been my conduct.

• Deeply impressed, however, with the necessity of tranquilizing the public mind, and determined to submit to every personal sacrifice consistent with the regard I owe to the security of my father's crown, and the equal regard I owe to the welfare of his people, I do not hesitate to accept the office and situation proposed to me, restricted as they are, still retaining every opinion expressed by me upon a former and similar distressing occasion.

• In undertaking the trust proposed to me, I am well aware

of the difficulties of the situation in which I shall be placed but I shall rely with confidence upon the constitutional advice of an enlightened Parliament, and the zealous support of a generous and loyal people. I will use all the means left to me to merit both.

‘My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘You will communicate this my answer to the two Houses, accompanied by my most fervent wishes and prayers, that the Divine will may extricate us and the nation from the grievous embarrassments of our present condition, by the speedy restoration of his Majesty’s health.’

This answer was delivered by the Prince with that most graceful and dignified deportment which so peculiarly distinguished him.

The following is merely inserted to exhibit the ceremonies which were performed before his Royal Highness, on the first Sunday that he attended Divine service, after having accepted of the regency. It took place on the 27th of January.

At 12 o’clock, the Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Earl of Moira, Lords Dundas and Keith, arrived at the Chapel Royal, St. James’, when the service of the day began which was read with great solemnity by the Rev. Mr. Pridden, and the Litany by the Rev. Mr. Hayes. On the Bishop of London (the Dean of the chapel) and the Rev. Mr. Holmes (the Sub-dean) entering the altar, to read the Communion-service, they turned to the royal closet, and made their obeisance to the Prince, as is customary when the King is present. A sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Maddy, from Acts iv. 12; after which the anthem of ‘God is our hope and strength’ was sung; and, at a quarter past two o’clock, his Royal Highness descended from the closet, and, followed by the three above noble Lords, went up the aisle of the chapel, and took his seat under a canopy, and the Lords on the opposite side of the altar; when the Sub-dean presented to the Prince a gold dish, and his Royal Highness put in his offering, and afterwards the same was presented to the Lords

attending him. The Dean, after taking the sacrament himself, administered it to his Royal Highness and to the three noble Lords, and Mr. Maddy, who had preached. On his Royal Highness leaving the chapel, he was received with military honours.

On the 28th, the Regency Bill again came under discussion in the House of Lords, when the Duke of Sussex addressed their Lordships at great length, and with considerable warmth, against the bill, Lord Grenville, however, moved an amendment to the clause for limiting the period of the restrictions till the 1st of February, 1812, by proposing that the word 'August, 1811' be inserted, instead of the word 'February.'

A division took place on this amendment, when it was carried by a majority of 17; and, on the 2nd of February, the Earl of Liverpool proposed a resolution, authorizing certain Lords to apply the great seal to a commission for granting the royal assent to the Regency Bill, which was agreed to; and the same having passed the Commons, the royal assent was given to it by commission on the 5th, and there, as far as the Parliament was concerned, terminated this important business.

Soon afterwards the Regent gave a splendid fete at Carlton House, to above two thousand persons, at which the exiled royal family of France was present. The supper table was not left until half-past four in the morning, and the dancing was resumed in the morning sunshine, so much were the habits of fashion at war with those of nature and good sense. The public curiosity was aroused to see the wrecks of this gala, and crowds were admitted, until, accidents began to occur, when the Duke of Clarence addressed the people, and informed them that he was desired by his brother, the Regent, to state that it was found necessary to close, and not to re-open the gates. Many persons had been much injured by being thrown down and trampled upon.

It would, perhaps, be difficult to find, throughout the pages of history, a monarch or a prince more open to adulation, or who had a greater share of it bestowed upon him than the

Prince of Wales. No worshippers of Vishnu or of Fo could bend before the altars of their deities with greater reverence and adoration, than the tribe of sycophants, who, swarming in the chambers of Carlton House, offered up their incense before their royal idol. It was a food which seemed to augment the appetite for it in proportion as it was administered; nor was it in the least perceived by the royal cormorant, that adulation is always attended by a companion from whom it is necessarily inseparable;—this companion is duplicity, without which adulators could not carry on their approaches, nor circumvent those whom they mean to make the dupes of their purposes. The Prince of Wales, from his infancy, as far as flattery goes, was, in the true signification of the French phrase, *un enfant gâté*; but it should have been considered by those, who were in the habit of administering such a dangerous aliment to the royal mind, that there are no princes to whom flattery is so pernicious as to those who are born to wear the crown of this kingdom. In realms abroad, the voice of flattery proclaims their praises, whether they be worthy or undeserving; far otherwise, however, does the breath of adulation affect an English prince. It lays him open to a number of inconveniences; it prepares a multiplicity of mortifications; the wretched incense of unfounded praise with which he is fed by a servile herd within the precincts of his palace, evaporates there, and he is, on that account, startled with the language which he hears when he ventures abroad and mingles with his subjects.

To flatter, therefore, a king of England, is not only to deceive, but to injure him. It exposes him to the indignation and even to the insults of the meanest of his subjects. These, indeed, from their obscurity, and the absence of all hope or fear from him, will be the readiest to vent their discontent without restraint. But let not a prince be mistaken, and despise their clamours; they are the faithful interpreters of what their betters do not choose to express in unqualified terms: but where is the monarch that takes warning from such notice, however coarsely given? It was by undervaluing such admonitions that Charles I. lost his head, and James II. his crown.

But have we become wiser since the days of George IV.? or are we not still deeper immersed in folly and extravagance? Have we not at the close of the year 1837, had a pageant enacted before us, which to every reflecting mind, is an omen of the times, by no means consolatory or cheering. Abstractedly speaking, the immediate character of the illustrious female, whom chance has placed upon the throne of these realms, forms no part of our present consideration, but it is against the *system* that can make an infant a Queen, that we enter our most decided protest. Pageants and gaudy shows might at one time have had a preponderating influence over the minds of the English people, but the Ministers of this country should know that the public mind is now too enlightened to be captivated by any such shallow artifices. With the present disposition of the people, they should carefully avoid every act, which can excite any reflections in the public mind on the advantages or utility of royalty, or if the sovereign is to be brought before the public gaze, it should be done under those circumstances, by which the national character can be exalted, or the interests of the empire promoted. The very exposure of the Queen in such a pageant as has lately been performed in the streets of the metropolis must produce in every person some serious reflections upon the execrable stupidity of a system, which places so young a girl at the head of our national affairs, and without any reference to her character, her dispositions, conduct or capacity. What person could have beheld in the procession of gigantic troops in their magnificent and cumbersome uniforms; without asking himself the question, who is the Generalissimo of our land forces? and the answer would instantly occur to them, *a young lady of eighteen*. When the crowd saw a veteran naval officer scarred with wounds, proceeding to the city banquet, could any man refrain from reflecting, that the Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, the Commander-in-Chief, who is to direct the thunders of our mighty fleet in the protection of our country, or the chastisement of its enemies, is a girl not yet out of her teens? When the ermined judges in their scarlet robes, were proceeding to the

dinner in their splendid carriages, could the people refrain from reflecting, that the complicated, disastrous, and almost innumerable corruptions, follies, and crimes of our laws and our law courts, were to be sifted and corrected by a young lady, not yet of age, and who in any stage of private life would be termed by our laws an INFANT? When any of the professed reformers of the Court of Common Council beheld at the table a prelate, did it not strike them, that the purification of that auguean stable, that common sewer of foulness and fraud, the CHURCH depended upon a little lady of tender years, and without any reference to her abilities or virtues?

We are no advocates for the total seclusion of royalty from the public view, and it was amongst the many faults of George IV., that his people only knew of his existence by the reports of his extravagance and his profligacy; but it is the nature of the circumstances on which must depend the propriety or impropriety of the exposure of royalty, and everything which tends to depreciate the value of royalty, or call into question, the nature and benefit of an hereditary succession to the throne, ought in these times to be most studiously avoided. Immediately prior to the French revolution, the ill-advised and infatuated King and Queen of France, conceived that they could revive the long lost respect for the royal system, by giving fetes, and frequently appearing in state amongst the population. George IV., although hating a public exhibition of himself, imagined that by an excessive extravagance of living, and by a frequent display of royal magnificence, he could prolong our esteem for royalty, and create a love of his person amongst the people. His base tory ministers took advantage of his childish love of show, and kept him from interfering in the government, by gratifying his foolish and vicious inclinations, but the day is gone by for blinding the people to the nature of royalty, by splendid pageants, which they themselves are called to pay for.

On the House of Brunswick no country had ever greater claims for a wise and a provident form of government. Raised from obscurity by the act of settlement, to preside over a

great and commercial people, much allowance was made at the time for their ignorance of the laws of England, and the prejudices of their education; but the accession of George III. was hailed as a favourable change in the dynasty of a House, which up to that period was rather tolerated than loved. For a short time George IV. riveted the affections which his father had begun to kindle in the hearts of a brave and generous people, and a more equal rule would have obtained for him the enviable title of the father of his people. But although his family owed so much to the country,—though it was impossible he should be deficient in constitutional knowledge—though associated for many years with men of the most enlightened views—himself by no means wanting in classical knowledge, with all the sources of inquiry open to him, and the experience of a reign, like that of his father, of one continued series of mournful recollections and sinister policy—neither the result of the American wars, nor the triumph of the people over despotism in France, nor the aggravated sufferings of a debt exceeding anything in ancient or modern history—not one of all these powerful circumstances could deter him from attempting to establish and maintain in this country the exploded policy which had embittered his father's life, and brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold. The civil liberty which had, though feebly, taken root on the continent, when the universal tyranny of Charles V. crumbled into nothingness,—which Elizabeth knew how to balance to the advantage of our foreign relations and national honour—which Charles I. rejected, and William III. was called over to protect, became an object of aversion and suspicion to George IV., and of contumely to his domestic government. Every part of his administration was modelled on rather what had been, than what ought to be, and the worst periods of monarchica principles were consecrated by a tacit adhesion to a combination of despots, called the Holy Alliance, directly opposed to the laws and institutions of freedom,—those very laws and institutions, the spirit of which he had sworn to maintain and defend,

From the period of the Prince of Wales becoming Regent.

in 1811, to his accession in 1819, his domestic policy was uniform and invariable, always tending to the increase of his own power at the expense of the liberties of the people. His court was, perhaps, more refined than the gloomy solitude of Tiberius, but it was no less jealous and exclusive. Hence, the persons about the court were more slaves than friends—more fawning truckling sycophants, than advisers. Incapable of a durable friendship, he abandoned his early counsellors, in the same heartless manner as he did his successive mistresses, for some new object of caprice and indulgence. Thus, whatever may have been the dissolute habits of Sheridan, whatever may have been the personal foibles of Fox—the incomparable talents and political honesty of the latter should have attached a faithful and grateful master. But at the very moment that he called him his preceptor in the art of governing, he was about to contract an engagement with those who repudiated his principles, and impugned his character; thereby renouncing the glory which awaited the character of a patriotic king. In this spirit he carried on the war and rewarded the victor.—The benefits which liberal principles hoped to obtain by the conquest—the diminished taxation expected by the people—the remission of arbitrary laws enacted at a moment of public panic, which were expected to follow on the peace, were evaded or delayed, till it pleased God to close the scene at once, and by removing our monarch to a heavenly kingdom, perhaps, save a terrestrial one from anarchy and rebellion.

The Regent had not possessed his power many weeks, before it was whispered about that he meant to reinstate the Duke of York in his situation as Commander-in-Chief. While there were many considerations and circumstances which rendered this highly probable, there were others which surrounded it with no small degree of doubt. On the one hand it was well known that the Prince, through the whole of the proceedings against the Duke of York, firmly adhered to the belief of his innocence—or what was nearly tantamount to the same thing, if he did not actually believe in it (and he ex-

hibited the semblance of it,) at all events, he was heard openly to declare it as his opinion, that his guilt had been greatly exaggerated; that his accusers were actuated by the worst of motives, and had recourse to the most foul and unjustifiable means to accomplish their purposes; finally, that the punishment which the Duke had suffered, by being obliged to relinquish his situation, was much too severe for his indiscretion.

The two royal brothers presented at this time, rather a curious spectacle; and on their meeting, they might, with the utmost propriety, have exclaimed, "Brother! brother, we are both in the wrong." The elder one was exerting all his power and influence to disgrace and ruin a woman—the younger had been brought to disgrace and ruin by a woman; to which of the two the greater degree of blame ought to be attached is a question which would not require the profundity of a casuist to determine; the Prince of Wales was a married man, the Duke of York was also a married man; if, therefore, the former, in a sudden fit of honest indignation, declared it to be an act of moral turpitude in the latter to associate with prostitutes, and to be continually guilty of infringing the seventh part of the Decalogue, although on every Sabbath each of them responded with an audible voice, "Lord incline our hearts to keep this law;" yet the Prince by so censuring his brother must have known that he was at the same time passing a severe censure upon himself. In character and *profession* there was scarcely a shade of difference between a Jersey and a Clarke; and we rather opine, that, if the two ladies had been put into the scales at the same time, my Lady of Jersey, in point of lightness of character, would have kicked the beam at once.

With the possession of these sentiments and feelings which the Regent entertained on the topic of his brother's disgrace, it was, therefore, to be expected that he would exert himself to reinstate that brother; and this measure might have been anticipated without any apprehension for the consistency and purity of the Prince's political principles, for the matter itself

was rather of a personal nature, as far as the Regent was concerned, although he could not be ignorant that his reinstatement would excite the attention of parliament, and arouse again the indignant spirit of the country, which, although it had been stifled, was not wholly subdued.

On the other hand it was contended, that however strong might be the fraternal affection which the Prince bore towards his brother, and however deep and sincere his conviction, that he had been unjustly and harshly treated, yet that he would have hesitated to take a step, which the remembrance of the public sentiments and feelings, at the time the investigation into the conduct of his royal brother was set on foot, must have convinced him would be highly unpopular, if not absolutely dangerous.

The Prince, however, and his advisers in this business, appeared to have weighed the matter well, and formed a more true and just estimate of the steadiness and consistency of popular feeling, than the opponents of the Duke. There were, indeed, several circumstances which operated decidedly in favour of the Duke of York, and which had cooled in no slight degree the public indignation against him, and their predilection for his accusers. In fact, Colonel Wardle seems to have gone dizzy with the adulation which was poured in upon him from all quarters; not suspecting that every secret engine was set to work to retaliate upon him, and in fact it must be admitted, that he did all that his enemies could have wished, and more than, without his assistance, they could have affected, to destroy his own popularity; and in proportion as his credit and popularity were destroyed, the crimes of the Duke of York were by some forgotten, and by others disbelieved, or thought to have met with more than adequate punishment. When, therefore, it was officially announced in the Gazette, that the Prince Regent, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, had been pleased to appoint the Duke of York Commander-in-chief, scarcely a voice was raised up against it. Lord Milton, it is true, in the House of Commons, in the first warmth of his surprise and indignation, gave notice of a motion on the

subject, but he appears afterwards to have cooled, and when he did make his motion, it was supported by very few, while many who had before inveighed against the Duke of York in the most decided and violent language, read their recantation, and pronounced their belief in his innocence.

As soon as the session of parliament 1801, was over, the Duke of Clarence paid a visit to the coast, in consequence of the measures taken to meet the threat of Napoleon's invasion. Whilst his Royal Highness was at Portsmouth, one of the vessels designed for bringing over the invading troops, which had been captured in a skirmish, was brought in and examined by the Duke of Clarence. This vessel had been taken by the Naiad frigate, on board which his Royal Highness immediately repaired. The ship's company was mustered in the usual way to receive him in their respective divisions. At this time, men were scarce, and all who could be got were entered to make up a crew. It was very often the case that the appearance of the company was not as fine as the commander of the vessel could desire. In the present instance, the crew being mustered according to their rating, whether seamen, able seamen, landsmen, or otherwise; or, to be more nautical, top-men, and forecastlemen first, and so downwards to landsmen or waisters, and after-guards-men, The first-lieutenant, wishing to make the best show of his company possible, and never dreaming that his Royal Highness would find out the trick, placed five or six good-looking landsmen among the able seamen, to make a better appearance. The Duke, whose knowledge of the "cut of a seaman's gib," was as fresh as ever, and who still retained a recollection of the *je n'ai sçais quoi* which is inseparable from the genuine tar, and yet cannot be described by him who is most familiar with it, to the astonishment of the poor lieutenant marked the men at once, and declared that not one of them had ever been in the tops nor on a yard in their lives. His Royal Highness fathomed the innocent stratagem the lieutenant had attempted. Calling out of the class each intruder, laughing immoderately at the joke, and with the greatest good nature, his Royal Highness said to the

men, as he singled them out, and then to the lieutenant whose, name was Green, "Come sir stand out!" "Here, Mr. Green, here is another of your topmen—take him away; I know the gib of a sailor as well as you do!" The lieutenant was deeply mortified at the failure and discovery of his scheme; but the ship's company were wonderfully pleased at the sea-going knowledge of his Royal Highness. The captain of the fore-top, a Cornish man, and a remarkably gaunt figure, whom many a storm had blown upon, said to a messmate, "How he twigged long Bill and the rest on'em; and all because Measter Green would make sailors o' the varminte a set o' lubbers that don't know a weather-earring from a bob-stay. "Ay leave him alone for that," replied the other, "I see'd he knew a marline spike from a hand-saw for all Mr. Green's trick upon his honour, and the topmen too, for matter o' that." His brother officers afterwards continued the joke unmercifully upon the lieutenant, and "Mr. Green's topmen" was a standing phrase for a land-lubber, or awkward sailor, for a long time. The lieutenant was a good officer, and with the kindness of heart for which the Duke of Clarence was uniformly remarkable, Mr. Green obtained promotion through him, and thus blunted the edge of the joke by a commander's rank no long time afterwards. Another seaman remarked, as his Royal Highness left the ship, "There he goes, I seed'un years ago before—he's as good a craft afloat, I'll be bound, as old Rotheram o' the Bellyruffan, barring he don't keep a quid in his jaw." Meaning that last in look of the old race of old sailor officers Captain Rotheram, who commanded the *Bellerophon*, chewed pig-tail, and wore a little, old fashioned three-cocked hat, of the Roderick Random school.

His Royal Highness, on landing one day from a visit he had paid to a vessel of war at the Nore, was greeted by a good many of the sea-going profession, who wished to catch a glimpse of his person. A tar in the crowd, who had never seen a prince of the blood before, and had imagined something strange must belong to one so high in rank, turned to a companion and said. "I'm blessed if he bean't just like one of our officers, only but for that piece o' metal on his jacket."

"Why, to be sure, Jim," said the other "what should he be but a man; that thing is the mark they put upon a king's son," alluding to the star.

Another instance of the kindness and condescension of his Royal Highness about this time has long been made public. He loved nothing more than to talk over old times. His adventures in the West Indies when a midshipman, he was fond of alluding to in a particular manner. Indeed, of those times when the string was touched, his Royal Highness would talk as long as he could get any one to dwell upon the subject who knew localities. At Windsor Castle, when the crown was on his head, he had a little retired room where hung his picture in a midshipman's dress, and where no one was allowed to enter but himself. His children's pictures were also hung there, and he used often to sit alone in that room meditating on the spring-time of his existence—that time which men seem to live through the other seasons of life only to regret.

An old seaman, named Matthew Harcastle, died a good while ago, who resided in the vicinity of Gainsborough; he had fallen into poverty after losing the assistance of his wife, and having disposed of every thing he possessed he came to the parish. Under these circumstances, it struck him, that as he had once sailed in the Prince George when his Royal Highness served on board as a midshipman, he might, if made acquainted with his destitute circumstances, get him for the little remnant of his life into Greenwich Hospital. A benevolent individual who lived near him, lent the man a little money to endeavour to realise his project, and, obtaining a passage to London, he sought out his Royal Highness, and after several unsuccessful attempts found him at home. Instantly on making his name known to the Duke, he was admitted. In fact his Royal Highness met him in the passage of his house, shook him heartily by the hand, and bidding him follow him to a room, set a chair for the poor time-shaken tar and, taking one himself, entered upon the history of their days together in the Prince George, with great delight. He went over the stories of the time with the old man, recapitulating

the incidents that occurred when they were in the same ship, his Royal Highness then only a middy or "reefer," as the incipient sailors were often styled in jest; and when Hardcastle was master of the powder magazine. When the conference on the past was over, the veteran stated his object in waiting upon his Royal Highness, and related his destitute condition in his old years. The Duke told him he very much feared an application for Greenwich was too late, but he would do all he could for him, and apply immediately, bidding him to call again in a couple of days. Accordingly the old man called upon his Royal Highness at the appointed time. The Duke said he was sorry to say that nothing could be done for him at Greenwich; "but no matter, Matthew, I will allow you ten pounds a year as long as you live; and if that won't do, I will help you further. Write to me when you get home, and let me know you have got safe down." The Duke then gave him money to pay his expenses home, and for many years continued to the old tar from his own purse the sum which Greenwich Hospital could not, according to its rules, deal out to the poor man; who to his last hour deeply felt the kindness of the bounty his Royal Highness had so feelingly extended towards him.

For this kind consideration towards inferiors the Duke was remarkable. He felt his dignity, and never lowered it, but he did not permit it to stand in the way of the most friendly intercourse with others. His habits were very much like those of George III.; he retired to rest for years except on very particular occasions, as early as 11 o'clock, and he was always up and dressed by seven o'clock in the morning, when he was accustomed to take pedestrian exercise for an hour and sometimes for a good deal more. His day was passed in the regular repetitions of the allotted exercise, business, or pleasure, and no one could live more by rule. His Royal Highness not only walked before breakfast, but continued the exercise again for sometime before dinner, and always in the open air, if the weather admitted of it, generally for a couple of hours. If the weather was bad, a corridor or drawing room,

- with the windows all flung open, was the substitute. In fact his Royal Highness in this respect was the reverse of his two elder brothers, and exceedingly active. In travelling he would alight from his carriage whenever an opportunity offered, and walk about, even if only for a few minutes. From an asthmatic complaint to which he had been long subject, he avoided going out in damp or wet weather. His repast was of plain animal food, with very little vegetables at any time, and his lunch at two o'clock in the day was in reality his dinner, for he scarcely ate any thing at the hour allotted for the meal distinguished by that name, though he would sit and take his sherry with his company for an hour or two. During the latter years of his life he was accustomed to doze a little after dinner, and the company, of which he was fond of seeing a goodly number, would speak in whispers not to disturb him; he generally started up in ten minutes, with a good-natured "Come, gentlemen, push the bottle."

His asthmatic complaint generally recurred in May or June: it was attended with spasms and a severe cough. It endured frequently for ten, twelve, fourteen days or more. Sometimes the paroxysms were severe; under them his Royal Highness was remarkably patient. An opinion having been given him that his fit would be over on one of these occasions in a given time, he said, "Well, doctor, you thought this fit would be over by nine o'clock, now, you see, it is near ten; well, well, can't be helped!" Up to sixty years of age he was as vigorous and active as if he had been but forty. He continued on foot every day for some hours, and bore it without fatigue.

The following anecdote is recorded of the Duke:—On entering a shop at Brighton, where there were three quaker ladies, in a joking way he said to the youngest, as they were looking over some gay articles, "So, I see, thou art not above the vanities of this world." The quakeress made no reply, but the matron who was with her, gave his Royal Highness a look, speaking louder than words. The Duke felt he was wrong, and making the purchase of a handsome work basket asked leave of the oldest lady to present it to her daughter. "She will receive

it, Friend, and thank thee," was the reply; and thus terminated, in mutual courtesy, the effect of the Duke's thoughtless observation.

On the death of Sir Peter Parker in 1811, the Duke of Clarence was made admiral of the fleet. The period when the restrictions placed upon the Regency were to expire had arrived, and the Prince of Wales, feeling himself more at liberty, made overtures, through the Duke of York, to Earl Grey and Lord Grenville, for the purpose of forming a liberal administration on an extended basis. The two noble lords declined the invitation. The Marquis of Wellesly at this time resigned the situation of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which was given to Lord Castlereagh. In May, 1812, Mr. Perceval was assassinated, and then the Marquis Wellesly was empowered to form a new cabinet, but the Duke of Clarence was not included in the arrangements.

The high rank which the Duke of Clarence now held in the navy, precluded him in some degree from being appointed to the command of a squadron; but as it was his desire to witness the operations which was then carrying on on the Dutch coast, he hoisted his flag on board the *Jason*, and it was on this occasion that the following sarcastic effusion from the pen of one of our pensioned poets was given to the public.

Dear brother, I own I am delighted,
To find myself kindly invited,
To take the command
Of a squadron well mann'd,
At a time when I thought myself slighted.
You know I am gallant and clever,
And ready to do my endeavour,
For eating and fighting,
Since both I delight in,
And would fain be meddling for ever.
Too long have my amorous capers,
Been a dish for the saucy newspapers,
Those vile scandal breeders,
To serve to their readers,
To chase hypochondriac vapours.

That a prince should be tied down by rules,
 Is a lesson taught only by fools;
 And though a dull stoic,
 May call it heroic,
 It is scouted in civilized schools.

I know to our mutual thinking,
 Its pleasant with beauty to link in;
 But surpassing all others,
 To us and our brothers,
 Is the pleasure of eating and drinking.

I own it, since my promotion,
 I have not ventured much on the ocean;
 For great men in our creed,
 To themselves should take heed,
 Nor rashly run into commotion.

Neither navy nor army 'tis known,
 Have been graced by the sprigs of the throne;
 Brother Fredrick to danger,
 Indeed is no stranger,
 But he's welcome to all he has won.

But though honour and I, my dear brother,
 Have as yet been unknown to each other;
 A chaplet of fame,
 I'll bind round my name
 Which shan't disgrace father and mother.

I'll make war on the coasters I meet,
 And compel all the boats to retreat;
 To the wave and the gale,
 Not a smack shall set sail,
 Through the terror of me and my fleet.

I'll frighten the sharks and the seals,
 At the sight of my multiplied keels;
 The dolphins and poles,
 Shall fly us in ships,
 And the grampuses take to their heels.

I'll despatch all the mackerel to quod;
 Destroy millions of herrings, by God;
 And intrepidly sweep,
 All the depths of the deep,
 Of their tenants from cockles to eel.

Then, sir, will I offer before you,
 Rich trophies, unequalled in story ;
 Muscle shells and fish scales,
 And the swimmems of whales,
 To increase, sir, your maritime glory.

From this plan of my naval campaign,
 You will judge of my exquisite vein ;
 For judging a battle,
 With salt water cattle,
 And conquering fame by a mere *coup de main*.

I trust this immense operation,
 Will meet with your high approbation ;
 And that you will signify,
 In your gracious reply,
 When you wish me to be at my station.

P.S. May I hope the grand duchess will deign,
 To approve of the exploits of her swain ;
 And sweetly to bless
 Him with nuptial caress,
 When he comes back from scouring the main.

The Duke had the pleasure of finding, about this time, that two of his sons had distinguished themselves in the Peninsular war, under the Duke of Wellington. At the bombardment of Antwerp, and the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, the Duke of Clarence was present, having hoisted his flag in the Jason. In one instance he received a slight injury from the explosion of a shell. His Royal Highness was opposed to the enemy occasionally on shore during these sieges, of which he did not witness the conclusion, as the resistance of the place was prolonged until the capture of Paris and the exile of Napoleon.

Being about to return to England in the Jason, his Royal Highness received on board that ship and brought over with him to Sheerness the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the sister of Alexander of Russia. On landing, his Royal Highness conducted the Duchess to the Pulteney Hotel, which had been prepared for her reception. Soon afterwards his Royal Highness sailed in the Jason to accompany the yacht carrying Louis XVIII. to the French coast, having been restored to his throne

by the allied forces. The French witnessed the Monarch's return to his native land in the vessel of the enemies of his country with the feelings of mortification perfectly natural in such a case.

The Duke of Clarence then shifted his flag to the Impregnable, in order to receive on board and convey to England the Emperor Alexander of Russia and the King of Prussia. His Royal Highness went on board the Impregnable as Admiral of the Fleet, on which Sir William Young had just struck his flag, and it became his right to appoint his own officers to her, and numerous were the applications made to him for such appointments. The Duke was too generous to displace one of those who had served with Admiral Young, and he commanded that they should serve under him according to the dates of their commissions. Nothing could be more kind and considerate than such conduct—nothing could better bespeak a noble heart. The Duke on this occasion received a secretary whom the Foreign Office had nominated. It may exemplify a little, the system of espionage of the days of Lord Castlereagh, that the heads of the Foreign Office expected such a secretary, as part of his business, to send to it copies of the letters and correspondence of the Royal Duke, together with any information of note that the exempt of the office might deem worthy of notice. This the *employe*, clearly too honourable a man for his post, would not do without communicating the order to the Duke. The princely Admiral of the fleet returned a stern denial to any such liberty, not choosing, except of his official correspondence with the Admiralty, to permit any one, except the King, his brother, to have copies of the communications he might address to the allied Sovereigns on the occasion, particularly to the Emperor Alexander, during the time his Royal Highness was engaged in that service.

The conquerors of France embarked at Boulogne on the 6th of June, and were received with due honours on board the Impregnable. They were received with the like honours at Dover, where a grand entertainment had been prepared for them by the Duke's order. The next day the two Monarchs

left Dover for London, and the Emperor of Russia took up his residence in the Pultney Hotel, and had alighted, entered the house, and was at the top of the stairs, before he was recognised. He embraced his sister in an affectionate manner, and took up his quarters there. The King of Prussia and the veteran Blücher, remained, while they stayed in the country, at the house of the Duke of Clarence, who went down to Portsmouth to a more congenial duty to himself than feasting and riding about the country. He was soon after followed by the Prince Regent and Duke of Cambridge, who preceded the royal foreigners, in order to meet their illustrious guests there in form. At the place of embarkation they were received by the Duke of Clarence, and the naval procession in the royal and other barges, which passed down the line formed by the shipping, the yards being manned for the occasion. The Duke of Clarence preceded the party to the *Impregnable*, on board of which he received his august guests, as commander-in-chief; the ships' company cheered, and the vessels fired salutes.

The royal visitors were very curious, and narrowly inspected the vessel. They questioned the sailors, tasted their grog, made them presents, and seemed to be much pleased with the scene. A grand collation was laid out for them on the Prince Regent's richest plate, after partaking of which, they returned on shore and dined at the Government House, where a banquet was given by the Prince Regent. The next day they visited the Dock-yard and Arsenal, examined the machinery, and the Emperor of Russia went again on board the *Impregnable* with the Duke of Clarence. The fleet got under weigh, formed the line in front of the Isle of Wight, every ship firing a salute, the Royal Sovereign being the headmost ship, in which were the Regent and King of Prussia. There were above two hundred sail of every class and kind of shipping under sail together. After standing out a few miles to sea, the fleet returned to its anchorage, and the royal party landed. The next day the troops in the garrison were reviewed, and the royal party proceeded to Goodwood, to breakfast with the Duke of Richmond; from thence they went to Petworth, and dined with Lord

Egremont; and thus continued their journey to Dover, and re-embarked for the Continent.

On the 7th of July this year, the Duke of Clarence accompanied his royal brothers and the Prince Regent to St. Paul's Cathedral, on the day of thanksgiving for the peace.

About this time a court-martial was held, on the application of the officers of the tenth dragoons, against Lieutenant-Colonel Quintin, their commander. This officer had been a riding-master to some of the prisoners, it was said, and had clearly been pushed up in the army by promotion of some kind. This report was fully justified by the results. The charges were specific, and they were in the essential part fully proved. The nature of such a tribunal is easily seen when it sits in any way opposed to particular inclinations. The main charge against this Colonel Quintin was, his having neglected his duty as a commanding officer, than which there could scarcely be one more onerous. Of this charge, Quintin was found guilty, and the very finding confirms the truth of the acts with which he was charged by asking the simple question, "how did he neglect his duty?" The reply to which is by his being guilty of the offences charged in the first article exhibited against him. On the fourth charge, of relaxed discipline being allowed by the said Colonel Quintin to exist in the regiment while under his command, having been before reprimanded, the court-martial did not think proper to increase the reprimand, and for a crime which would have broken any other officer, it may be imagined, the Colonel was only reprimanded again. Lastly, so strong was the shield thrown over this offender, that the Regent takes especial care, in the King's name to admonish officers of the severe responsibility attaching to those who become accusers of their superiors—they are unmindful of it by what they owe "to the first principles of their profession, by forming an opinion of their commander's personal conduct, which neither their general experience of the service, nor their knowledge of the alleged facts, could justify." Some were "inadvertent," it seemed and some "inexperienced," and so the officers who had proposed a duty to the public, in bringing

a commander guilty of neglect of duty to trial, are all turned to the right about for it, and in order to punish them, they are told, though some of them are officers, fully the equals of Colonel Quintin in army rank, and in every thing, but the date of a commission, that they are not to form a judgment, to exercise their reasons, or to bring a superior officer to trial, do what he may. It is difficult to say whether the arbitrary nature, the false reasoning, or the stupidity of such an order issued in his Majesty's name, is most conspicuous. Two of the officers were sons of the Duke of Clarence, one now the Earl of Munster, and the other Henry Fitzclarence, who died in the East Indies. These last were kindly permitted, as if to insult their kind father, to seek their fortunes in India, for doing an act in concert with others of public duty. This was not all. It rests on the authority of a letter of their mother's that M'Mahon, the Prince's secretary, when they were sent out to India, sent with them a note, begging that the strictest discipline, not to say severity, should be exercised towards them, in consequence of their share in the business of the 10th Hussars. The individual to whom it was addressed said in reply, "that he had received the colonel's letter, and that he should have returned it with the contempt it deserved, but that he chose to retain it, that he might have it in his power to expose him, should such unfair and offensive conduct be repeated, and that no British officer would be dictated to in their line of conduct with those under their command." Now M'Mahon could not have done this without orders from some quarter. The 10th was the Prince of Wales regiment—who could have dared give such orders but himself? Yet the compliment to his brother's feeling was as bad as could well be. The Duke of Clarence had always paid great deference, and shown much regard for him, and this was an ill re-payment of such regard. There might have been underlings about the household, who were friends of this Colonel Quintin's, but could they have ventured on such a contemptible and pitiful act without a motive? As it turned out, the officer's dismissal did not mend the character of the regiment. The poppyism of the 10th under its recast

state became a standing joke in Dublin, and the regiment will never lose the well earned reputation. One of the young men sent to India never returned to England; the other has distinguished himself as a soldier and a man of considerable acquirements, and no members of any family have conducted themselves, in the delicate circumstances in which their positions have placed them, with more correct feeling and scrupulous propriety of public carriage. Nothing which can reflect upon one of them, which is founded in truth, has ever been advanced, because uncharitableness itself cannot discover a holding-place in their conduct. The interests of truth require this should be said in speaking of them. As to Colonel Quintin, his conduct was not spared by the press of that day: it had been better employed in urging some more impartial system of Court-martials which are not bound to make their consciences "become the accusers of their superiors."

When the lamented Princess Charlotte was married, on the 2nd of May 1816, at Carlton House, the Duke of Clarence supported his niece at the ceremony, and always exhibited towards her Royal Highness the greatest affection.

In 1817, the Duke of Clarence accompanied the Queen, his mother to Bath, where her Majesty was advised to go for the benefit of her health: the Princess Elizabeth, also, accompanied her mother. They had scarcely arrived in the city, and began to use the waters, before the death of the Princess Charlotte was announced. The Queen fainted upon hearing the news, and the Duke of Clarence, who was dining at the Guildhall, left the table on hearing the melancholy intelligence, as did all the guests. The illustrious visitors returned the next day to Windsor Castle. At the funeral of the Princess, in St-George's Chapel, Prince Leopold, as chief mourner, was supported by the Dukes of York and Clarence.

The Duke of Clarence returned to Bath with his illustrious relatives after the funeral was over. The Duke had found benefit from the waters in attacks of the gout, and regularly drank them during his residence there. On going to visit Clifton and the neighbourhood of Bristol, the Duke of

Clarence received the freedom of the city of Bristol in a gold box; that of Bath had previously been presented to him.

Soon after the return of the royal party to Windsor, they proceeded to Buckingham House to celebrate the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Prince of Hesse Homburg, a very desirable match for the German potentate, whose whole revenue was said not to exceed 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.* The Duke of Clarence and Kent led the bride to the altar, and her Royal Highness was given away by the Duke of York. Shortly after this event it was proposed, upon the motion of the Earl of Liverpool, to augment the income of the Duke of Clarence, on the understanding of his marriage to the Princess of Saxe Meiningen being to take place. In the House of Commons, in place of 10,000*l.* a-year, 6,000*l.* was moved by Mr. Holme Sumner, who complained of the Duke's being in debt. Lord Castlereagh said, if the resolutions were agreed to, the Duke, besides making a provision to extinguish his debts, would have 25,000*l.* of unencumbered income. The amendment of Mr. Sumner to reduce the 10,000*l.* to 6,000*l.* was carried in the House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh announced that the negotiation for the marriage was at an end. The Duke, declaring he could not marry without running in debt, and keep up, at the same time, a proper establishment, begged to decline the proposed allowance. On the persuasion of his friends, however, a short time afterwards, the Duke was induced to accept the offer, and continue the treaty for the marriage of the Princess before mentioned: the correspondence was therefore again resumed. Soon after the Duchess Dowager brought over her daughter to England, circumstances preventing the Duke of Clarence from going to Germany at that moment, and he was married to the Princess at Kew, on the 16th of July, 1818.

There were present at the marriage the Duke and Duchess of Kent, who were re-married according to the rites of the established church. The Queen was able to attend the ceremony.

which took place in her Majesty's drawing-room at Kew. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The two brothers with their brides having received the Queen's blessing, her Majesty retired, being too weak to remain longer with the company. The Prince Regent gave away both brides. At five, the Prince Regent and the whole party sat down to a grand dinner until the hour of seven. Soon after the Duke and Duchess of Kent left for Claremont. The Duke of Clarence, his bride, and the Regent, then proceeded to the cottage in Kew Gardens, near the pagoda, and drank tea. The Duke and Duchess of Clarence drove afterwards to St. James's, and in a few days subsequently proceeded to the Continent to spend the remainder of the year in Germany. In fact, at this time the royal family were on the point of dispersion to meet together no more. The Queen too was failing fast, while the head of all the royal house was unconscious of the scene going on around him. For a long time his mind had been a blank to all existing objects; to life or death around him; to the joys or sufferings of his nearest connexions, he was doomed to be for ever insensible. His mind was in its grave, but he was spared thereby a knowledge of the ravages which death made in his family. The Princess Charlotta, the Duke of Kent, and the Queen passed away from existence without his being conscious of the bereavement, and thus the calamity of his bodily disease relieved him from a cup of triple sorrow. The Queen died at Kew, of an anasarcal affection, attended with spasms, on the 17th of November, 1818, in her 75th year.

At this time the Duke of Clarence was in Hanover, and it was announced that on the 28th of March, 1819, the Duchess of Cambridge was delivered of a son, and on the following day the Duchess of Clarence of a daughter. The young Princess lived only a few hours. The illness of the Duchess was protracted, and she was thought to be for some time in considerable danger. On getting better, travelling was recommended for her recovery, and her Royal Highness with her husband

set off for Meiningen, in Saxony, her native place. The whole extent of territory is not more than that of a second rate English county, with a population about equal to that of Cambridge or Buckingham. The capital town has 5000 inhabitants; and the population is agricultural. The court of this little state is held at Meiningen; which has, according to some accounts, its bathing-places, one of which is Liebenstein. This was visited by the Duke and Duchess of Clarence for the purpose of taking the waters. From thence they returned to England; but on their way, the Duchess again miscarried at Dunkirk, before they could set sail, and was taken very ill. She embarked in the Royal Sovereign yacht at last, but was too weak on reaching Dover to proceed to London, and on the invitation of Lord Liverpool, the Duke took his wife to Walmer Castle, where after a residence of six weeks, she was enabled to proceed with the Duke to St. James's. As soon as Bushy, which was repairing, became in a fit state for their reception, they repaired thither to enjoy the tranquillity of the country, and the retirement to which the Duke had become so much attached.

It is said that about this time he appointed the son of a favourite gamekeeper at Bushy to succeed his father, who had recently died. The young man broke his leg, and while confined was very anxious about the deer. "Don't fret about the deer," said the Duke, "keep yourself quiet—I will attend to them—and mind, do not go out too soon." Not long after, this man gave himself up to drinking, and in order to cure him the Duke required that he should appear before him every night at eight o'clock. The care of his Royal Highness was vain, the fellow was worthless, and died of the sottish life he led, defeating every effort of his benevolent master to cure him.

The Duke had not been long at Bushy, before his eldest son, now the Earl of Munster, returned from India. He became aid-de-camp to the Marquis of Hastings almost immediately upon his arrival there. He was employed much both in a civil and military capacity, and acquitted himself with honor

upon every occasion. At length he was despatched home on a mission to the Company, and on the 8th of December, 1817, Major Fitzclarence left the camp of Singapore for Bombay, which city he reached early in February, carefully examining the countries on his route. At Bombay he embarked for Corseir in the Red Sea. Thence he proceeded to Cairo, and embarked at Alexandria in the Tagus frigate, of which his brother Adolphus was a lieutenant. The Major left the frigate at Gibraltar, and in 1818 reached Falmouth in the packet.

In 1819, Lord Liverpool proposed to place the King in the legal custody of the Duke of York, allowing his Royal Highness 10,000*l.* a year for the charge, which was looked upon as so much money bestowed for no possible purpose, but that it would be very acceptable to his Royal Highness, who continued inextricably in debt.

In April, 1819, the Duke and Duchess of Kent arrived in England, and on the 24th of May, the Duchess was brought to bed of a daughter, the present Queen Victoria. The Duchess of Cumberland also was delivered of a son in Berlin, on the 27th of the same month.

The health of the Duchess of Kent and her infant being delicate, she was advised to remove to the southern coast of England for her recovery. Accordingly, the Duke, Duchess, and infant, Princess Victoria, proceeded to Sidmouth, in Devonshire, for that purpose, and both recovered their health very speedily. Unfortunately, the Duke took cold from neglecting to take off his wet boots after walking abroad, which brought on a fever, of which his Royal Highness died, in his 53d year. The death of the Duke of Kent was speedily followed by that of his father, George III. at Windsor, in his 82d year. He breathed his last on the 29th of January, 1820.—No gleam of reason, even at the last hour, cast its flash upon the desolations of his mind, before life departed from his attenuated body; for he was reduced to a skeleton by a diarrhoea before he expired. His Majesty was buried on the 15th of February. The Duke of York was chief-mourner, and the Dukes of Clarence, Sussex, and Gloucester, with Prince

Leopold, followed him to the "house appointed for all living."

The death of George III. left two brothers, both childless, between the Duke of Clarence and the throne. It was possible that his throne might be filled by his Royal Highness, when his temperate habits, and his constant attention to exercise, were considered, in their effect upon a naturally healthy body. The Prince of Wales, who now became king, was indolent in his habits, and grown enormously corpulent; and the Duke of York had lived a hard life, and from his appearance did not promise an existence of protracted duration.—There was a good chance, therefore, then of the events which actually occurred taking place, sooner or later. In less than seven years the Duke of York's death left his brother of Clarence the heir presumptive—but this is anticipation.

George IV. mounted the throne determined to be every inch a king, and was scarcely proclaimed before there was discovered a diabolical conspiracy to assassinate the ministers which has been called the Cato-street conspiracy. The spies and informers in the hire of the government had, there is no doubt, tampered with men rendered desperate by poverty, and even furnished them with small sums of money to carry them forward in the treasonable design they were induced by these very spies in the first instance to adopt. The spy was valueless without he developed a conspiracy, and if he did not discover one, he got up one too often for the purpose. These vile tools of a degraded system of government were lucratively rewarded afterwards for their atrocious labours. The Cato Street plot had like to have re-acted upon the ministry, to whose agents it is pretty clear it owed its existence, in a most horrible manner. The design was fortunately frustrated, or many of those members of the cabinet who were too honourable to sanction the system of Castlereagh and Sidmouth—the system so carried out by the Irish government during the rebellion, that confounded guilty and innocent in one common immolation—would have fallen victims by a mode of death, which of all others, is most abhorrent to British feeling. The

police got some clue to the place where the conspirators met, and succeeded in arresting the parties concerned. Captain Frederick Fitzclarence commanded a company of the Guards that assisted, and was the principal means of securing the criminals, the leader of whom was one Thistlewood, a broken-down gambler, in the deepest pecuniary necessity.

Scarcely had this alarm lost its effect on the royal mind before Queen Caroline, the ill-fated wife of the Sovereign, caused him fresh trouble. Had her Majesty been treated with common fairness by her country, or had she been allowed the extremes of rank to which she was entitled, she might have lived in the most perfect state of separation and retirement from the royal view. This was not sufficient; she was pursued from the very first with a vindictiveness which could have no valid ground but in bad feeling in the royal bosom; and as the result of unwise actions is sure to make the author of them to suffer, the reign of George IV. became greatly degraded in the endeavour to crush a female against whom no one fact could be proved, whatever were her inadvertencies. In the affair of the trial of Queen Caroline, the Duke of Clarence was much censured in the part he took, but it is well known that at one time he was the Queen's friend, and the deference he paid to his brother, and the statements he received from the law-officers for the prosecution, and from the Court, there is no doubt impressed his Royal Highness with the belief of the lady's guilt. The attendance of the Dukes of York and Clarence, as peers of parliament, was a duty. The Duke of York took no part in the proceedings, yet both his Royal Highness and the Duke of Clarence were accused of belonging to a conspiracy against their ill-used sister-in-law. The fact was, that the Duke of Clarence had frequently spoken of the Queen with respect, and even affection, nearly up to the time when the charges were brought against her, and it is extremely probable that he believed her guilty. The Duke, too, was accused of seeking evidence against his noble relative abroad, which was utterly false. Her persecution was a most scandalous proceeding, and the conduct of the King throughout was cruel

and vindictive; but there is not the smallest ground for supposing that the two Dukes, who were on an intimate footing with their brother, did not act conscientiously, believing there was ground for the rumours and charges alleged against her Majesty. If their Royal Highnesses acted contrary to their consciences, what shall be said of the eight or nine bishops, whom every truly christian principle should have kept from voting at all in such a case, were there no question about the Queen's guilt or innocence?

On the 10th of December the Duchess of Clarence was delivered of a daughter prematurely, but vigorous and likely to live. Three months after it was born, however, it died from intussusception of the bowels. It was named Elizabeth at the altar. The infant was the last hope of that succession from the family of the Duke of Clarence. Its decease was a great shock to the Duchess, who was so much afflicted by the loss, that she was attacked by illness, and her life placed in great danger; however, her Royal Highness recovered after a painful and a protracted indisposition. The Duke of Clarence married his eldest daughter, Miss Eliza Fitzclarence, to the Earl of Errol, at the close of the year 1820. In the beginning of the year, an addition of 6,000*l.* per annum, with arrears, was voted to the Duke of Clarence, by a very considerable majority of the House of Commons. George IV. was soon afterwards crowned at an expense and in a manner the most inconsistent with the habits of an enlightened age that could be imagined. All the empty pageantry and show of the olden time were revived on the occasion. The full amount of the expense incurred was never clearly known to the public.

The Duke of Clarence took a journey this year with his Duchess into Germany. They embarked on the 13th of June, 1822, on board the Royal Sovereign yacht, and sailed to Antwerp, proceeding from thence to Ghent, where they visited the Duke of Saxe Weimar, and then set off for Coblenz, spending a little time at Niewied with Prince Maximilian. They went on to Frankfort, where they were received by the Landgrave and Landgravine of Hesse Homburg. They soon after

reached Nalda, and on the 14th, met there the reigning Duke of Saxe Meiningen. On the 24th of July the Duke went to pay a visit to his sister, the Queen of Württemberg, at Stuttgart. On this journey his Royal Highness had a narrow escape of losing his life near Kundelsau, owing to a drunken postilion; the horses of his carriage were urged down a declivity, on one side of which was a precipice, by the weight of the carriage; the wheel-horses seeming sensible of the danger, by a strong effort retarded the velocity of the vehicle in turning an angle of the road, where destruction seemed inevitable, thus taking the carriage just clear of the danger. The Duke travelled as Count Von Munster. He reached Louisburg in time to embrace his sister. His Royal Highness remained a week at Stuttgart, and then returned to Meiningen to the Duchess. Not long after the royal party left the place for Heidelberg, whence they made excursions on the Neckar.

The Duke left Hesse Homburg for Brussels, and thence by way of Ghent proceeded to Antwerp, and embarked in the Royal Sovereign for England.

The Duke found that death had made fresh inroads among his old connexions and friends in 1823; Earl St. Vincent, whom the Duke succeeded as General of Marines, Lord Keith, and Lord Erskine, died that year. He had become patron of several charitable societies at Plymouth, and gave his name to a new one, which was called the "Royal Naval Annuitant Society," in 1823.

In the beginning of 1825, the Duke of Clarence left England on board the Comet steamer, at Woolwich, and landed at Calais; from whence his Royal Highness proceeded by Ghent to Meiningen, whither he went to be present at the marriage of the Duke of Saxe Meiningen to a Princess of the house of Hesse Cassel. The Duke took with him on this occasion two of his daughters, whom the change of climate very much affected, and they were obliged to have medical attendance. On this occasion the conduct of the Duke as a father was remarkably kind. He visited them four or five times a day, and showed a paternal solicitude about their recovery the most un-

remitting. The Duke then visited Ems, and was so hale and well in constitution that he kept a Prussian officer, sent to compliment him, full two hours on his legs until he was overcome with fatigue. The Duke returned by Antwerp, where a yacht was waiting for him, the Duchess and their suite. A grand dinner was given on board, by the Duke, to the King of Prussia, the Queen of the Netherlands, and upwards of one hundred persons of distinction. The next day the vessel fell down to Flushing, towed by the Comet steamer; but when out at sea a storm arose, the steamer was separated, and went on for the Downs, while the yacht steered for Yarmouth Roads, where the illustrious party landed, and immediately set off for London.

The Duke and Duchess of Clarence quitted England for the Continent again by way of Calais, on the 21st of May, 1826, whence they proceeded to Ems. In June his Royal Highness was attacked with his old asthmatic disorder. These attacks were very severe, caused much personal suffering, and left him always in a state of great exhaustion. He bore them with a patience and resignation most exemplary. On this tour the Duke visited Constance, travelled through Wirtemberg, and by Ulm to Stuttgart, returning to Meiningen. After a residence of about four months, the Duke and Duchess came back to England, by way of Coblenz and Brussels, passing over the field of Waterloo, where the lying guides impose so many tales upon travellers, and did not it appeared spare the Duke. They reached Calais on the 30th of September, and forthwith embarked for Dover. The Duke was observed to be exceedingly exact and methodical in everything. His expenses, were calculated with the greatest minuteness, and his mode of travelling so arranged, that there should be the least possible delay upon every occasion. Abroad his kindness to his servants was very remarkable as well as at home. In Germany he would fancy he saw unhappiness on the face of one of them, and conjecturing the cause, would endeavour to remove it. Mr. J——, one of his Royal Highness's suite, the Duke fancied one day was

solitary, and as the French say *ennuyance*, and he ordered a fishing-rod to be purchased for him, that he might amuse himself in Germany as he did in England. In this way the Duke always attached those of his suite or his servants to him; and as he was far from showing any of the hauteur of too many in high life, no one ever had more attached friends. His Royal Highness' temper too was remarkably agreeable.

The year 1827 had scarcely commenced, when the Duke of York's death placed the Duke of Clarence in the situation of heir-presumptive to the throne. Very soon after the event, where his Royal Highness at the funeral appeared as chief-mourner, an increase of 3000*l.* a year was additionally voted to the Duke, and 6000*l.* to the Duchess of Clarence. Scarcely was this matter of revenue arranged before the Earl of Liverpool was struck down by a fit of paralysis, and became incapable of continuing in the office of prime-minister. On the 11th of April, Mr. Canning succeeded to the premiership, after accepting his Majesty's commands to form an administration. The members of the existing cabinet received the notice with coldness and they all, soon after, sent in their resignations. It was from this moment that a dawn of that course of liberal measures which has tended so much to benefit the people of England first broke upon the gloom of the political horizon.

Before proceeding further, it will not be amiss to notice an incident of the time which is decidedly authentic, and which shows how curiously sometimes even accidental jokes become verified. The Duke of Clarence had always been disliked by the parties who were at the head of the government. He was of too plain speaking manner for them, not at all in consonance with those of the Court. The Duke of Clarence was not supple enough; he said what he thought upon all occasions, in the most blunt down-right way; he had not the polite arts of his royal brothers to win his way through the polished hypocrisy of the atmosphere of insincerity in which he moved, after he came from sea. His Royal Highness had not the benefit of that experience so doubtful in virtue, which

the dissipated circles of princes exhibit. His life was passed in the cockpit and the ward-room, and if the more experienced courtier were better able to overreach and to deceive, to put on a glazing softness of manners, to assume the wisdom that he did not possess, and the conduct more honoured in the breach than the observance, so much the better for the moral worth of the man, if these virtues detracted from the imagined accomplishments of the Prince. No one who knew anything of the character of the two individuals, would charge the Duke of Clarence with being less gifted in mind than his brother of York, much less lay at his door an equal share of follies or vices. More need not be said here on a subject upon which so much might be adduced in the way of comparison, as long as the reader is satisfied that no moral nor intellectual inferiority, which cannot for a single instant be admitted, was the cause why the Duke of Clarence was neglected by the ministers of the day, when he sought active employment during a long course of years, in a service the hardships and duties of which he had patiently gone through; or why his good-nature and simplicity of character were sometimes imposed upon, and often declared for a purpose to be a lack of intellectual ability. It must surely be admitted, that in what was solid and indicative of talent, the Duke of Clarence, unaided by the first wits and writers of the day, to say fine things for him and palm them upon the world as his, was still able to conduct a correspondence, or maintain an argument equal in good sense to any individual of his august family. There seemed at one time a continual desire to disparage and detract from the quiet and unostentatious merits of this Prince, this feeling, infecting even the most vulgar and ill-bred of those who frequented the court of his father and mother. To the Prince Regent indeed, when made Admiral of the Fleet, the Duke of Clarence was indebted for a momentary employment in the *Chamel*, hoisting his flag there as Admiral of the Fleet. Again his Royal Highness remained without taking any part in professional service or public life, until Canning placed him at

the head of the Admiralty as Premier, and greatly to the satisfaction of the English people, for ever struck down the baneful Melville influence, which had so long through sire and son, appeared the appanage of a jobbing Scotch family, not more sedulous in preserving unbroken the strings that pull the puppets of corruption, than some thrifty Scots were wont to be, when they could once clutch them.

With the removal of the Melville incubus from the Admiralty, fell also one whose claim to notice, in what is called "respectability" in the world, was very much the Scotchman's inferior. Superior in talent, he applied that talent unscrupulously to his own advancement under them. With the Melville interest fell the vocation of Mr. John Wilson Croker, who owed to his distinguished services towards the discomfiture of Mrs. Clark, in the history of the amours of the "Duke and Darling," the high office of Secretary to the Admiralty. In those days it seemed as if favour truly went by kissing, and the "Duke" and his "Darling's" kissing being discovered, made the fortunes of Mr. Croker. Wit and Mr. Croker, for the gentleman is a wit, may be good-humoured and fine, or ill-natured and coarse; that of Mr. Croker cannot be ranked in the class the shafts of which are very high, nor are they polished very discriminatory in that direction to the wounding of vice or virtue; even Mr. Croker quailed before the Amazon when she retorted so sharply upon the selfish advocate of the Duke, on his pertly asking her "What name was signed to the *anonymous* letter?"

Alluding to Mr. Croker, it must be omitted that he was one, of course, who affected to think lightly of the Duke of Clarence, most probably because he saw others affect the same thing among the race of upstarts who formed the later companions and flatterers of the Prince Regent and King George IV, a race neither recommended to royal or princely notice by talents, birth, or acquired knowledge, but courtiers of the most supple and crouching character who had sprung from nothing. Croker was a man far above this class, but he did not disdain to take his tone from those who were in talent

very far his inferiors. It is well known that Croker, with no more knowledge of naval affairs than he had acquired by coming to London, without being "trundled," as one of his countrymen said, "across the channel in a wheelbarrow," took a vast deal of that kind of knowledge upon trust, or acted as if he possessed it. This frequently disgusted officers who had spent their lives in the service, and were full as likely to know something of the navy as Mr. Croker. Among these was his Royal Highness, who open and candid as he was by nature, it is said, did not hesitate to express at times his feelings on the subject, not where he thought it would be repeated. Busy cavedroppers did, as is usually the case, promulgate what his Royal Highness had said. Thus the feeling on both sides, so says report, was not that of the most perfect esteem. It happened that Croker was one day at the Pavilion, when the Duke of Clarence was there. George IV. was walking in the drawing-room, the Duke of Clarence and some others formed a group at a table conversing about the navy. On some remarks made by Mr. Croker, the Duke said, "Croker were I King, I'd be my own First Lord of the Admiralty, and you should *not* be my secretary;" to which Croker answered, "Then I must do the best I can now I am secretary; but does your Royal Highness recollect what King of England was his own First Lord of the Admiralty?" The Duke replied in the negative. "Why, it was James II," said Croker, in his pert manner. The King, who was approaching that table, hearing the laugh go round at this speech of Croker's, said, "What, Croker, what is that? One of your good things, I suppose?" No, and please your Majesty—nothing, but your royal brother is saying what he will do when your Majesty is no longer King." George IV. turned round and walked away, making no reply to this impertinent answer, which gained Mr. Croker a reprimand from his Majesty before he left the royal residence the next morning.

That the non-employment of his Royal Highness in the service to which he belonged was not entirely the act of his royal father, has been repeatedly stated, that there is every

reason to think it correct. It was said that the experiment of placing the Duke of York at the head of the army in active service, during the last war, had been so unsatisfactory, that the ministry was not inclined to make trial of a princely commander in the naval department of the public service. The experience, however, of a sailor's six years actual service at setting out, is a very different thing from a military commander made on the parade.

Mr. Canning's ministry was marked by no finer stroke of policy towards dashing the hopes of the party so splenetic towards him, than in making the Duke of Clarence Lord High Admiral. The navy was highly pleased to see the Duke displace Lord Melville at the Admiralty; and his Royal Highness gained much on the public, professionally and otherwise, by the steps he took upon entering on an office which had lain dormant for a hundred and thirty years. The Duke, however, was not a member of the Cabinet, as the head of the Admiralty is generally; perhaps from his being thought too closely connected with the Crown. His Royal Highness nominated the Hon. Captain R. C. Spencer as his secretary, the author of the Nautical Catechism. The Duke held levees, and accepted the presidency of several societies formed for public objects. He made an excursion along the southern and western coasts in the *Royal Sovereign* yacht, visiting the sea-ports, and doubling the Land's End to Milford, where the news of the death of Mr. Canning reached the ears of his Royal Highness. During the short and imbecile Administration of Lord Goderich, the Duke retained his office, and became deservedly popular. About the same time died the Queen of Wurtemberg of dropsy, just after a visit made to this country for medical advice, at the age of sixty-three.

At an entertainment given in the city in November by the Lord Mayor, a large chandelier, of considerable weight, fell to the floor with great force. Fortunately no one was directly beneath it, or they must have been crushed by its weight. The Duke received a slight bruise only, which a position of a foot or two in a different direction from that in which he sat would have rendered fatal. The intelligence of

the victory of Navarino, which the Duke of Wellington styled, an "untoward event," was received by the Duke on the 20th of November. It is said that his Royal Highness wrote a note to Sir Edward Codrington, on his setting sail, concluding in the old naval phraseology, "Now go it, Ned!"

The utter destitution of Lord Goderich in every quality adapted for a Prime Minister, caused his speedy resignation, and a temporary return to the old political system, under the Duke of Wellington's Premiership, although not long before he declared he must be mad to think of filling such a post. The Duke of Clarence was obliged to resign his office of Lord High Admiral in September. It was natural to suppose the Duke of Clarence would be an obstacle in the way of a complete return to the old system of government; and objections were soon raised by the Premier to certain expenses in the department of the Admiralty, the tendency of which was, to make his Royal Highness resign, in order to place Lord Melville in his old situation, which, under the old order of things, before the administration of Mr. Canning, seemed so snugly vested in the family of Dundas. The Duke of Clarence retired into private life again.

The Catholic question was now agitated, and the Duke of Wellington, as what he considered the least of the evils before him, determined to concede the point. His Grace knew the pliancy of many of the furious protestors against this liberal and necessary measure, and that the King's repugnance was difficult to be overcome. At last the Royal assent to the measure, retarded by intrigues against it, and by some individuals near the Royal person, gave the Premier a very difficult task. It was so late before the Duke of Wellington could succeed, that the measure hung upon a note despatched to Sir Robert Peel in the Lower House, after the sitting commenced—"You may go on." The Duke of Clarence, who upon this subject had always exhibited just opinions, made the following speech:—

His Royal Highness began by saying, "That he rose in consequence of an expression that had fallen from his noble friend who had just sat down. His noble friend had said that

his Majesty's Ministers were unanimous on this question, and that those who had been generally opposed to it had become its advocates. It was this observation which called on him to address their Lordships on this occasion, which was nearly connected with the internal state of Ireland, rather than in the petitions of those who appeared to know little or nothing about the situation of that country. It was remarked by his noble friend, that his Majesty's Ministers were now unanimous on a question relative to which they were hitherto divided. He wished to God that his Majesty's Ministers had been unanimous on that question long ago; or, he rather wished that an united Administration could have been formed in 1804, for the purpose of carrying this measure; for, from that hour to the present, his opinion had invariably been, that what was 'falsely called concession,' because he maintained that what was asked for was not concession, it was merely an act of justice to raise the Roman Catholics from their present state of degradation. It was that, and nothing more. And when an Act was passed for that purpose, he would pledge his life that it would have the effect of uniting and quieting eight millions of his Majesty's subjects. Now he was on his legs, he would state his opinions as shortly as he could, reserving to himself the right to support the noble Duke and his colleagues, when he saw them so unjustly and infamously attacked. If his Majesty's Ministers, fortunately for the good of their Sovereign and of their country, were at length united with reference to a measure of great consequence, he did, from the bottom of his heart, thank the noble Duke for having effected such a union; and he would support, as he ought, a measure which he most deeply and decidedly believed to be favourable to the best interests of the country. For forty years he had enjoyed the honour of a seat in that House, and during that time he trusted in God that he had never given a vote at which he need blush; but unquestionably he never had given a vote with so much pleasure and satisfaction as he should feel in supporting the contemplated measure. He congratulated all Europe on his Majesty's conduct, in recommending

the subject to the consideration of Parliament. He did so, because every man of common sense must see that the settlement of this question would be beneficial to the interests of England; and he would maintain, that the interests of Europe were closely connected with the interests and prosperity of England. Every thing which operated to the preservation and security of British interests operated also to the benefit of the general interests of Europe. He looked upon the measure which was about to be proposed, as one of the most important for this country that could possibly be conceived. He was happy that the noble Duke was selected by his Majesty to effect this great object. He rejoiced to find him placed in his present situation; and so long as he acted as his colleagues had hitherto done, so long should the noble Duke and his Majesty's Ministers have his hearty vote. When he thought it was right to tender his resignation, which his Majesty was graciously pleased to accept, he, in the only conversation he ever had with the noble and learned Lord on the woolsack (Lyndhurst) told him that he never would join in a factious opposition to Ministers, but that, on the contrary, he should feel it to be his bo-unden duty to give them his support, when their measures appeared to be calculated for the benefit of the empire; and he trusted that no action of his had belied the declaration. Nothing but the absolute conviction of the important crisis at which the country had arrived, and a strong desire to support the Administration, could have induced him to come forward on this occasion. The noble Duke and his colleagues had acted openly, boldly, firmly, and valiantly; and he thought it but an act of justice, thus publicly before God and man, to declare his sentiments with respect to their conduct. Professionally educated as he had been, it had fallen to his lot to have visited Ireland, and he should be the most ungrateful of men, if he forgot the reception he had there met with. During all his experience, he could bear testimony to the character, the energy, the bravery, and thorough good humour of Irishmen."

His Royal Highness then observed, "That at present he had nothing more to say, but he trusted he had said enough to convince their Lordships and the country, that he seriously intended to give his cordial support to those just measures of relief in favour of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. He should have, perhaps, a great deal more to say when the subject came fully and regularly before their Lordships. It was a question which he had long turned in his mind, and which he believed he had considered in every direction, and under every point of view in which it could possibly be considered; and his settled opinion upon the subject for many years was that, to which he had now given utterance. Here, it might be asked, if such had been his opinion, why had he not stated it earlier in some of the numerous discussions which had taken place on the question? In answer he would simply reply, because the measure had not been made a Government measure. He felt no hesitation in calling on their Lordships to look to his public conduct during the forty years that he had enjoyed the honour of a seat in that House; and he would ask any of them to point to any part of that conduct of which he should be ashamed. If he had erred at any time, he was sure it would be conceded to him, that he had erred with honour. He was ready to go through all the events of his public life, from the first time he mingled in public affairs; and he was willing to submit his conduct to the most rigid-examination. He had commenced his early career on the benches of the Opposition. After the year 1807, this was the third time that he had troubled their Lordships with his opinions on a public occasion. When it pleased the Almighty to render it necessary for the present Sovereign of these realms to assume the office of Regent, he (the Duke of Clarence) formed a resolution, that although he should not be satisfied with every thing that might occur, he would thenceforth give his support to his Majesty's Ministers. To that resolution he had hitherto adhered. On the Catholic question he had always maintained the same opinion; but he did not come forward actively and openly to support the measure, not only because, he said, his Majesty's

Cabinet was unfortunately divided upon it, but also because he saw that the measure itself was every year making way, and gaining new ground, and that it was every year acquiring such consequence, that the time was not far distant, when Ministers would be compelled to make up their minds upon it; and he reserved the declaration of his own opinion until that period should have, as happily it had now arrived. He thought it better, and more befitting on his part to act thus, than to make that Government, which was at all times arduous and difficult, still more difficult, by giving to it, his opposition. Entertaining that opinion, he had acted accordingly. The noble Duke at the head of affairs would recollect, his Royal Highness said, that he had expressed to him opinions similar to those which he had just delivered, at the period that he was removed from the high office which some time since he had the honour to fill. In a conversation which he then had with the noble Duke, he expressed his sorrow, that Catholic concession was still to be resisted, and that the Government should continue divided in opinion upon that question, which, above all other questions, was one that involved the interests and safety of the country. He added, at the same time, that while such differences in the Cabinet existed, the measure should not have his support; but still it was his opinion that it ought to be carried. Thank God! the day had at length arrived for the carrying this great and healing measure, of liberality and justice. He was not in the secrets of the Cabinet, but he trusted that, whatever measure might be introduced, it would be found much less objectionable than was now supposed, particularly, by the Right Rev. Lords on the bench opposite. He trusted that, before the measure was brought under their consideration, those Right Reverend Prelates would seriously deliberate, duly weigh, and anxiously consider, in what way they ought to act—that they would keep in mind they were the ministers of peace—that they would consider whether the situation of Great Britain, which must, and would be influenced by this important event, whether the situation of this country, and that of Europe at large, was not such, as that different events,

upon which none could calculate, might, at no distant day, be productive of war—that they would seriously ask themselves, whether their persevering opposition to the claims of their Catholic countrymen might not hasten such a crisis, or produce far worse, a civil war at home; and, in such a case, how would they dare to call themselves the ministers of peace? Let the Right Reverend prelates duly weigh these considerations, before they determined on opposing his Majesty's Ministers. The Royal Duke said, he would again repeat, that he knew not the exact nature of the measure which was to be introduced. It was sufficient for him that the intention of bringing it forward had been announced; and he thanked his God that the measure of justice was at length about to be carried into effect which would purify and tranquillise that dear, generous, and aggrieved country, whose rights had been so long withheld."

The Duke of Cumberland, who took the opposite side of the question, had an altercation with his brother of Clarence, thinking himself reflected upon as being actuated by factious motives in resisting it. His Royal Highness was soon after seized with his old asthmatic complaint, and could not resume his seat during the debates on the question, nor attend the Royal levee, which took place about this time. In a letter of the Duke's to Sir John Sinclair, his Royal Highness had recorded his opinion some years before on the Catholic question, as follows:—

"I feel very great satisfaction in finding that our sentiments agree on the point of the Catholics in Ireland, who have been too long degraded. That island might become the treasure of our empire, and I hope to God it will! Look to what was the state of Scotland till the Earl of Bute most wisely admitted Jacobites into the King's family and service. Who more loyal than the sons of Scotia? Do away in Ireland the disabilities of religion, and the inhabitants of Hibernia will be equally attached to their monarch."

The Duke's, therefore, was no miraculous and sudden conversion to the right view of the question, but one of long-rooted conviction

In the following year (1830), the first bulletin regarding the King's indisposition was issued. His Majesty had been a long time ill, but the fact was concealed from the public.— About three o'clock in the morning of Saturday, the 26th of June, he expired in his 68th year. The Duke of Clarence, as King William IV., in due course attended the funeral ceremony in the place of chief mourner.

The new monarch was proclaimed on the 28th. The Privy Council met at St. James's, on the royal decease, and was speedily joined by the King from Busby Park, who addressed it as follows :—

“ I am convinced you will fully participate in the affliction which I am suffering on account of the loss of a sovereign under whose auspices, as Regent and as King, this country has maintained during war, its ancient reputation and glory, has enjoyed a long period of happiness and internal peace, and has possessed the friendship, respect, and confidence of foreign powers. In addition to that loss which I sustain in common with you, and with all who lived under the government of a most beneficent and gracious King, I have to lament the death of a beloved and affectionate brother, with whom I have lived from my earliest years on terms of the most cordial and uninterrupted friendship, and to whose favour and kindness I have been most deeply indebted. After having passed my life in the service of my country, and having, I trust, uniformly acted as the most faithful subject and servant of the King, I am now called upon, under the dispensation of Almighty God, to administer the government of this great empire. I am fully sensible of the difficulties I have to encounter; but I possess the advantage of having witnessed the conduct of my revered father, and my lamented and beloved brothers; and I rely with confidence upon the advice and assistance of Parliament, and upon its zealous co-operation, in my anxious endeavours, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to maintain the reformed religion established by law, to protect the rights and liberties, and to promote the prosperity and happiness, of all classes of my people.”

It may be thought unjust to the memory of George IV. if it be denied that, under his rule, public opinion had, to a certain extent, made itself respected; and the whole honour of shaking to the foundation that system which set the feelings of the people at defiance, for the interest of a few, does not, therefore belong wholly to the reign of William IV. It must be granted that such was the case from the irresistible influence of circumstances. The death of Lord Londonderry from disease, who, with a small modicum of talent, contrived to prolong the almost continental mode of dealing with the people of England, and next the incapacity of Lord Liverpool from disease, and the introduction of Canning to office, but more particularly the last-named Minister, gave the natural current of opinion room to expand. The masses had long been reflecting on causes and effects. The panic of 1825-6, had occasioned men to speak loudly upon other things besides commercial distress, and, as the distress subsided, and people must talk of some thing, politics and the Canning policy continued the subjects of remark and scrutiny. The concessions of the Wellington Administration to the Dissenters and Catholics, and the disputes among the Tories on those occasions, prolonged the topic of discourse, rivetting the general attention to political subjects. Then there were incendiary fires and intentional outrages, which added food to the general stock for reflection; and, lastly, there was the advanced state of knowledge, to which much must be allowed. In all this, however, the monarch was passive, and the Minister often times acted more from the force of circumstances than from his own conviction of right. Preceding Administrations had never troubled themselves about the justice of any measure as a reason for carrying it into effect; is it expedient or politic? was the only inquiry. Now William IV. was no passive observer of the proceedings of his Ministers; and he was the first monarch who went hand in hand with the sound part of the people, by supporting his Ministers in a measure that shivered to pieces the usurped power of the oligarchy which had governed England almost absolutely for half a century up to that moment.

The rudeness and dislike shown to his Majesty William IV. by the Tory nobility and courtiers at first, were exhibited in all the journals in the interest of the party. The King, like some of the most powerful monarchs of Europe, did not see why he was to surround himself with the species of pseudo-greatness, which the perverse prejudices of too many, imagine to carry the whole secret of Majesty. William IV. was as accessible to his old naval friends as before. He invited them to dine with him familiarly, and gave great umbrage to some old courtiers by his kindness and condescension. Seeing from his carriage at Brighton an old friend in an Admiral passing by, his Majesty invited him to dine at the Pavillion that day. The officer excused himself by saying he had no dress uniform arrived. "Come as you are," was the good-natured reply. A number of these and similar anecdotes were bruited about, and, when the King supported Lord Grey in his Reform Bill, were declared with that support, equally proofs of the King's weakness of mind. Nothing could be more untrue. William IV. showed in this no mark of weakness, but rather one of mental acuteness, when he admitted the necessity of a return to the constitutional purposes of the House of Commons. His Majesty displayed, too, very great consistency and energy in supporting his Ministers all though that great measure, himself seeing and considering the difficulties with which it was attended. William IV. never seemed to exhibit any deficiency in that mental courage which arises from a fixed principle of action upon any subject requiring its exertion. George IV. was with difficulty kept to the concession of Catholic emancipation during the incessant attempts made to change his Majesty's resolution by High Church prelates and others. The Duke of Wellington rather extorted than gained the consent, with a mind weak in principle, however fully possessed of its own high esteem, Lord Grey found William IV. had only to be convinced, and, conviction once wrought, the King could be depended upon, from his Majesty's natural character of plain, honest dealing, and scorn of subterfuge.

The attempt to go on with the Ministry which William IV.

found had enjoyed the confidence of his brother did him honour; he desired to displace no one from office without a trial of his services. His Majesty made no change. The Duke of Wellington held the first communication between the new Sovereign and Parliament, on the 29th of June, in the following message:—

“William R.—The King feels assured that the House of Lords entertains a just sense of the loss which his Majesty and the country have sustained in the death of his Majesty’s lamented brother, the late King, and that the House of Lords sympathises with his Majesty in the deep affliction in which his Majesty is plunged by this mournful event. The King, taking into his serious consideration the advanced period of the present session, and the state of the public business, feels unwilling to recommend the introduction of any new matter, which by its postponement would tend to the detriment of the public service. His Majesty has adverted to the provisions of the law which decrees the termination of Parliament within an early period after the demise of the Crown; and his Majesty being of an opinion, that it will be most conducive to the general convenience, and to the public interests of the country to call, with as little delay as possible, a new Parliament, his Majesty recommends to the House of Lords to concur in making such temporary provision as may be requisite for the public service, in the interval that may elapse between the close of the present session and the meeting of another Parliament.”

The following resolution was then proposed by the Duke of Wellington, after making an exceeding warm eulogium upon the character of his deceased Majesty George IV. A similar address was also moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Peel, and the addresses, were both carried up to the throne:

“That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to assure his Majesty that we fully participate in the severe affliction his Majesty is suffering, on account of the death of the late King, his Majesty’s brother, of blessed and glorious memory. That we shall ever remember with affectionate

gratitude, that our late Sovereign, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, maintained the ancient glory of this country in war; and, during a period of long duration, secured to his people the inestimable blessings of internal concord and external peace. To offer to his Majesty our humble and heartfelt congratulations on his Majesty's happy accension to the throne. To assure his Majesty of our loyal devotion to his Majesty's sacred person, and to express an entire confidence, founded on our experience of his Majesty's benificent character, that his Majesty, animated by sincere love for the country, which his Majesty has served from his earliest years, will, under the favour of Divine Providence, direct all his efforts to the maintenance of the Reformed religion, established by law, to the protection of the rights and liberties, and to the advancement of the happiness and prosperity of all classes of his Majesty's faithful people."

The reply of his Majesty was to the following effect:—
 "W. R.—I have received with satisfaction the dutiful and affectionate address of the House of Lords. The expression of your condolence with me on the lamented event of the death of his late Majesty is highly gratifying to my feelings. I thank you for your congratulations on my accession to the throne, and for the assurance you have given me of every support in my determination to uphold the Protestant Reformed religion, as established by law, and to maintain the rights and liberties of my subjects."

William IV. held his first court at St. James' on the 3d of July, 1830, which was crowded by all classes of individuals among whom appeared a good many foreigners.

The following day was Sunday, when the new Sovereign came to town from Bushy, and heard a sermon preached by the Bishop of London, after which his Majesty received the archbishops and bishops in the royal closet, and there declared to them his attachment to the Protestant religion and to the Established Church of England. This reply was afterwards ungenerously, indiscreetly, and defactionously used for serving

the political ends of a party. His Majesty received the judges immediately afterwards.

When the new King took possession of Windsor, he gave out his orders for the future arrangement of affairs, and talked so much of retrenchment, especially in the more *recherche* department of the kitchen, that the servants there got into great alarm lest they should be too closely cut down. The King gave them no reason to fear this in reality, as his Majesty had dinner parties almost daily when at Windsor, and seemed to think without hospitality he could not be a Sovereign.

His Majesty was an economist. When Duke of Clarence he once received a service of plate with the bill, which he deemed much too high. The charge was 1500*l.* he ordered it to be sent back, with a message implying that he imagined the overcharge was made by the tradesman on the supposition that he must give long credit. His Royal Highness declared that such was not his practice,—that he invariably paid every account the moment it became due. The consequence was, that the bill was returned the next day 300*l.* less in amount, and the money sent back,

The address of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London was received soon after this. On one of these occasions the king begged a week's extra holiday for the boys of Eton. "Dr. Keat," said the monarch, in his good-natured way, "I have to beg it as a favour, that you will indulge your boys with an additional week's holiday at this season.

A chapter of the investiture of the Order of the Thistle was held on the 19th of July, and deputations from the two Universities were received. The deputations were introduced by his Majesty to the Queen. Inspections of the troops took place, and various honours, such as knighthood, were conferred. Sir James South being knighted at this time, a pension of 300*l.* a-year was conferred upon him for the encouragement of astronomical science.

On the 23rd. the King went to the House of Lords, and dissolved Parliament. His Majesty soon exhibited to those who were about the palace, that his habits were wholly the

reverse of those of his immediate predecessor. His activity was very great. His hour of rising was six o'clock, at which time he ordered all the messengers from the different offices of Government to be in attendance. Then, with the aid of his Secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor, he examined the various despatches, and gave the answers with a quickness which astonished those who were about him: sending the bearers on their return, before they imagined the despatches were half gone through. This the King owed to his early naval habits and education.

The King of Wurtemberg and Prince Frederick of Prussia about this time paid his Majesty a visit, and were sumptuously entertained. On the 26th, a grand review took place in honour of the strangers, with whom the King went to Woolwich. On the 28th, his Majesty held a levee, which was, if possible more crowded than the preceeding. After receiving, and graciously acknowledging, a deputation from Brighton, the King said to those composing it, "Tell the good people of Brighton that I shall soon be with them." At the same time, having been thanked by Sir Robert Wilson on reinstating that officer, the King said to him, "Sir Robert, don't thank me; I never tell an untruth. Your restoration was so strongly recommended to me by my Ministers, that it was my duty to comply. God forbid I should ever stand in the way of the favours of the Crown towards a meritorious officer.

Numerous visitings, entertainments, and answers to addresses were, at this time given day after day according to custom at such a season. The King bestowed the Rangership of Bushey Park upon the Queen for life; thereby, it may be presumed, indicating it as her Majesty's future residence, in case of her surviving him. His Majesty visited the Tower, the cemeteries in the Regent's Park, belonging to the hospital of St. Katharine, and on the 16th of August went to Brighton, where he would not suffer the military to be seen on his entering the place for the first time as King. Seeing two officers of the Guards in uniform among the crowd, he waved his hand from the carriage, and called to them, "Officers, wheel off!" Going around the

palace and gardens the next day, his Majesty went outside the edifice into the street, and the people, supposing he was going to take a walk, retired some distance off, when he kindly said to them, "You need not fall back; I am not going any further." After a survey of the palace, he went back to London.

William IV., in the same spirit of kindness, ordered the parks in London, and the superb terrace in front of Windsor Castle, to be thrown open to the people. The crowd soon began to be rude, with that coarse feeling so frequently discoverable in too many of the people of almost every class in this country. They climbed up to look in at the palace windows, trampled down the grass, and tore off the leaves from the orange trees. The King himself saw a man scratching his name on a statue of white marble, and immediately said, "I shall be compelled to do as my brother did, exclude the people from the terrace, though with reluctance, if this kind of conduct be continued." At Bushy, when the Duke was absent, people were admitted to all parts of the ground, even into the house. Among other entertainments given by the King, was one to the humble inhabitants of Windsor, and upwards of 3000 of them were regaled with roast beef, and its usual accompaniments. A party of 200 persons of rank dined the same day in St. George's Hall, in the Castle. The King visited the banquet given to the people, and remained with them, until grace had been said. On the 30th of August his Majesty visited Lewes, where he received an address from the inhabitants, and returned a most gracious answer. His attention to business of this kind, and his answers to despatches from his Ministers, were prompt, rapid, and effective.

His Majesty wrote an excellent hand. Mr. Carpue the surgeon once remarked to the Duke the excellence of his handwriting; and his Royal Highness said, "when I served as a midshipman, and I served the regular time, I was obliged to keep a log-book. The captain had a particular aversion to bad writing, and I was obliged to mind how I wrote. I acquired by this a habit of writing a legible hand, and to the same cause

I owe it, that I have made it a habit to note down the occurrences of the passing day. Every night I set down as I used to do in the log-book when a midshipman, the incidents that occur during the day, and thus I am enabled to recal and scrutinize my own conduct. This habit I find from experience to be a very good one.

It is now time to turn to more important events, in which his majesty exhibited his good policy,—events which in this country can never be forgotten, as they have laid the people of England under a load of gratitude to William IV. A revolution in Belgium had broken out, similar to that which had happened in France.

This was “untoward” at the commencement of the new King’s reign, but his determination to place confidence in his people marked in a peculiar manner, throughout his reign, his good sense. His Majesty no doubt felt, that if the wisdom of parliament were not adequate to the difficulties of the moment, there was no other aid to which he could have recourse. The country was in distress, while the revolution in Paris, and then in Belgium, had every where kindled a spirit of resistance throughout Europe, from its success, to all abuses of power. The arbitrary governments, that ruled by the will of the sovereign alone, in a particular manner feared and hated the brilliant achievements by which France had flung off the rule of that despotic prince, who had so abused the patience of his people. Belgium, discontented with the sway of a monarch, whose heart being Dutch, had given Holland an undue preference over the Netherlands, in his Cabinet, and, in fact, had looked upon them as secondary, if not as a mere province, to his favourite nation, imitated the French, and successfully drove the Dutch ministers and the functionaries of the nation out of their territory, beating subsequently the troops sent to subdue them by force. Poland found her ancient heroism rekindled, and endeavoured gallantly, but unsuccessfully, to shake off the barbarous yoke of Russia. Spain was evidently ready to break out into resistance; and it was easy to see that England was not likely to remain wholly unmoved at such a spirit-stirring

moment, in respect to the grievances, foreign or domestic, which might affect her.

At such a period, the course of the old government of the country would have been to encrease the army, enlarge the mass of the physical means of repression: the halter and knife of the executioner would have been set in order; the spy would have received his blood-money, and instructions have been given, at all risks, to get up a plot, and manufacture traitors for examples of terror. The rest would be left to the chapter of accidents, aided by what, in Lord Eldon's time, was called the "vigour of the law." How these resources of the "good old times," would have succeeded was, fortunately, not attempted to be shown. If the Duke of Wellington called the expulsion of the King of the Belgians "a revolt," he acknowledged the "revolt" of Paris. The Duke, too, was not one to live on the chapters of accidents; he had too much experience and foresight in war not to know how hazardous in practice the best schemes of the wisest heads are, and yet how much better they are than none at all. The Premier was an honest candid man, if he was an anti-reformer; and, above all, he abhorred civil war. The Duke might not have been permitted to remain inactive, in respect to old measures for keeping down the spirit abroad, but then there was a monarch just seated on the throne, who had few or none of those arbitrary notions with which his predecessors and European contemporaries were endowed. William IV. had been long a subject; he had belonged to a noble service, in which manly and honourable sentiments, and, above all, love of country, were leading characteristics; a service, too, that could never endanger public liberty. His Majesty knew that the grievances of which the people of England and Ireland complained, were founded in truth; and he could not consent to bury by coercion, and so nourish in secret until it burst all bounds and all control, that spirit of right deferred, which by timely concessions, might make the danger of disturbance pass away like the summer cloud. The King had been always favourable to Catholic Emancipation, which Wellington had carried, because he felt

its irresistible necessity. It could hardly be supposed, therefore, that when the excited feelings of the country concentrated itself in the demand for Parliamentary Reform, the King did feel the justice of the claim, and became friendly to its concession. The celebrated declaration of Wellington, in the House of Lords, on the 2nd of November, that he would never allow Reform while he held the reins of government, was impolitic, though it was honest. That declaration was the death-warrant of his political power. On November the 22nd, Parliament was opened by the King in person, and on the 16th December the Duke's resignation was accepted by his Majesty. The immediate cause of this event, was a division, and majority of 29 against the ministry, upon the amendment of Sir Henry Parnell, "that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the various items connected with the civil list, and to report thereon." The arrangements attempted by the Wellington Administration in discussing the plan exhibited in so remarkable a manner the disinterestedness of the King, that it cannot be passed over. His Majesty, in this manner, consented to many concessions for the benefit of the country, which did him the greatest honour, especially when it is recollected how difficult a thing, in general, is the consent of a crowned head, to the relinquishment of what, if of little consequence in itself, may be regarded as a sacrifice of the smallest degree of dignity or power. The amount saved to the country was not much, but the principle of the sacrifice was an important one.

It cannot be denied that there was one very great advantage to the King himself in this arrangement. The civil list had been the means of bringing an odium upon the crown, which in fact, the crown did not deserve. A large proportion of the needy and hungry of the aristocracy were quartered upon that source of emolument by the ministers, as if they were connected with the royal comfort, or constituted part of the King's household. The minister made it a profit for his dependants; and the odium of quartering idleness, and sometimes vice, upon the country in this way, was flung upon the king, who had nothing to do with it. By this wise arrangement, William IV. was

relieved of that censure which his predecessors had often innocently borne.

The blow which struck down the political influence of the conqueror of Waterloo for ever, kindled the brightest ray of renown that encircled the crown of William IV. His real character broke out with a brilliancy, that time, which dims the reflection of the common-place glory of monarchs, will in vain attack. Posterity will do more justice to the King's conduct, than Englishmen are able to do now, because it will more dispassionately contrast all that went before his reign with what took place under his sanction and auspices. The tranquil reign of this Monarch subsequently, and the regard felt for him by his subjects, while the other Monarchs of Europe saw their thrones shaken, and were drawing tighter the bonds that compressed public liberty, while, in fact, some could not move without dread of the assassin's arm, made a singular contrast to that of William IV., who ruled in peace, while every tongue blessed him."

Earl Grey being called by the King to office, it was soon discoverable that the great object which that high-minded and consistent nobleman had advocated through life, a Parliamentary reform, would be attempted. Those who had fattened for long years on the public property, who had maintained their hungry relatives or kin by taxes wrung from the labour of the trader and the toilsome industry of the over-worked mechanics, took alarm immediately. The money-changers feared being driven from the Temple, and the midnight thieves who had violated the sanctuary of the constitution to glut themselves on that to which, they had no right, instantly took the alarm. Nothing was to be discussed before the ministerial plan was developed, but affected terror lest the new members should follow an *ignis fatuus*, but of regard to popular applause !

It may readily be imagined that means covert or open, insidious or fraudulent, were now more than ever applied, to prejudice the King's mind, by those who saw as old Lord Eldon, the ever-enduring Chancellor, did, that the favourite avenues of

corruption would be closed to them for ever, if the popular branch of the Constitution ceased to be under the management of the House of Peers; in fact, to be little more than their instrument. Even the Crown itself was but secondary to that powerful part of the aristocracy, and was as much interested as the people in breaking the power of the barons, which indeed it had been obliged to do before in earlier periods of the monarchy.

It was now arranged by Parliament, that in case of a posthumous child of his Majesty by the Queen, her Majesty should be guardian during its minority. At the same time, the Duchess of Kent was declared Regent in the event of the demise of his Majesty; and both contingencies were provided for by a bill. The total amount of the King's civil list was fixed at 964,403*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*, including a grant of his Majesty's privy purse of 69,000*l.*, and her Majesty's of 9,000*l.*; and the grants to the civil list were divided into nine classes.

From this time all that relates to his Majesty is a history of the public events of his reign, to be remembered with satisfaction by the living, with a degree of praise not merited by any modern Sovereign, over whose existence, death has of late years drawn the curtain.

The unpopularity of the Duke of Wellington was still further augmented by the disappointment of the public at the King not honouring a civic feast at Guildhall. Plots were reported being about to explode. Sir John Key, an alderman, who afterwards fell back into his true place among the obscure society, declared there was to be an attack on the person of the Duke of Wellington. All this turned out to be mere moonshine, though no one could blame the Duke of Wellington for preventing the chance of a disturbance. It is to be observed, however, that his Majesty was never supposed to be in the slightest danger, it was the King's Minister only—an important distinction. So ignorant however was the Government of the real state of things, that artillerymen were afterwards ordered into the Tower, and the gates were carefully closed at an early hour. The Duke of

Richmond, in the House of Lords, said truly, that "The King reigned in the hearts of his subjects; and he pledged his property and existence, that the King might have gone, unaccompanied by guards, and unarmed, through every street in the metropolis."

Lord Althorp in the existing state of affairs, requested Mr. Brougham to postpone a motion of which he had given notice relative to Parliamentary reform. Mr. Brougham gave his consent with reluctance, stating that no change of administration, could possibly affect him, and that he would not postpone his motion, beyond the 27th of the month. Within two days, afterwards Mr. Brougham was gazetted Lord Chancellor, Earl Grey First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Here was indeed a change of circumstances, as well as of ministers, which promised some benefit at least to the people of England. Public opinion had put down the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet, and had taught that great soldier, what he probably was not sensible of before, "the true value of words." His war upon opinions comprised in one sentence, routed him from his post, and struck his power to the earth. That he had any idea of these words, forcing him from his position, is not at all probable. He had done great good while in office, and will not be forgotten for it; but his good was the effect of policy, not of principle. What he yielded was extorted, and not a free-will offering.

On the 27th of December, 1830, the King married his youngest daughter Amelia to Lord Viscount Falkland.

The Revolution in Poland, already mentioned, was another of those events, which, it is probable, owed its origin to the victorious struggles of the French in Paris. It broke out at the end of the year, and the Poles were in arms in January; and by their position in relation to the treaty of Paris in 1814, together with the affairs of Belgium, placed the affairs of Europe, in a difficult position for diplomatsists. Protocols became jests, "signifying nothing." The new ministry, however, put down "The General Association of Ireland," by

proclamation. Some arrests took place, for the violation of this proclamation, but they terminated like the Belgium protocols. The attempt only produced more agitation in Ireland; and Mr. O'Connell, having been attacked by the actions of the law, caused a strong re-action, which showed that the opinion of the people of Ireland was firm against the oppression under which they had long laboured. In England too, there was a good deal of disturbance abroad.

One of the first steps of the new Ministry was to fix the allowances of the Civil List. It was proposed to allow the Queen the same sum as Queen Charlotte had received, or 54,000*l.* per annum; the King declared that he would not give his assent to so great an increase to the public burdens. His Majesty in this instance, therefore, took the task of advising his Ministers, and, by so doing, conferred high honour upon himself, and proved that he did not merely echo the language of too many Princes in their boast of a paternal affection for their people, but proved that his Majesty was disposed to act up to his professions. The consequence to his Majesty was an increase of well-earned popularity.

It was on the 1st of March, 1831, that Lord John Russell brought forward in the Lower House the great measure which will render the reign of William IV. one of the most glorious in the British annals. It is out of place, and would occupy too much room here, to give an outline of the first Ministerial plan submitted to the Legislature of the country for Parliamentary Reform. It was violently opposed and the foremost opponents were the representatives of the University of Oxford, which, had it been what its founders designed, should have been the first in support of a proceeding which marked an age of increased knowledge and superior intellectual power; to these were added Sir Richard Vyvyan, a member for a county most noted for corruption in election proceedings of any in the kingdom. It was soon evident that the enemies of an uncorrupt Parliament would make a dead stand against the bill. Petitions in the mean time continued to pour in from all parts of the kingdom in favour of the measure, so as to show, be-

yond all power of denial, the feeling of the empire on the subject, which, notwithstanding, many of the petitioners thought did not go far enough.

On the 15th of April the Queen's settlement was brought before the House of Commons by a message from the Crown. The sum of 100,000*l.* per annum was settled upon the Queen, in case of the demise of the King, to be paid during her life. Bushy Park, and Marlborough House, St. James', were to be appropriated for her Majesty's residences.

On the 18th, Lord John Russell moved that the House of Commons do resolve itself into a Committee, to consider the provisions of the Bill for the Amendment of the Representation of England and Wales. His Lordship in this bill proposed to diminish the number of members for England and Wales, by thirty-one instead of sixty-two. Ministers were left in a minority of eighty upon the first clause of the Bill, upon a motion of General Gascoyne, namely that the existing number of representatives ought not to be diminished. Sir R. Vyvyan was again prominent in the debate, in opposing the change of the existing corrupt systems.

A dissolution of Parliament followed naturally; the existing House having lived but six months. Many did not expect that the King would go down in person to dissolve the House, but his Majesty determined upon the contrary course, intending to show the people that he would support their wishes by giving his entire countenance to the ministry. In the House of Commons, while his Majesty was on his way to the House of Lords, Sir R. Vyvyan rose and made a speech in the ultra-opposition style, declaring the country on the eve of a revolution, and condemning the ministry. He declared that the repeal of the Union in Ireland would follow, and the destruction of funded property. Sir Richard was followed by Sir Robert Peel, who said:—If the reformed Parliament be elected, if the bill, the whole bill, were to be passed, it did appear to him that there would be established one of the worst despotisms that ever existed. They would have a Parliament of mob demagogues, not a Parliament of wise and prudent men.

At that moment, society was wholly disorganized in the west of Ireland; and this disorganization was rapidly extending elsewhere. At that critical juncture, instead of doing their duty, and calling for measures to secure life and property from sanguinary barbarians, ministers, anxious, only to protect themselves, had recourse to a dissolution of Parliament. The power of the Crown had ceased, for he felt that it would be an object no longer of fair ambition with any consistent man to enter into the public service."

Yet under the Reform Bill so described, the Honourable Baronet subsequently worked hard to obtain office, and in one case succeeded for the space of three months. The sound of cannon in the midst of angry discussion, announced the progress of the King to the House of Lords. The Lord Chancellor having vacated the woolsack to receive his Majesty, Lord Shaftesbury took the chair, while the Duke of Richmond in vain reminded their Lordships that they ought to be in their places. This caused a scene of uproar difficult to be described, and only to be conceived by those who know what the term bear-garden signifies. The proposed measure of ministers struck at the influence of the Lords, who were under the borough system, the real governors of the nation, by their corrupt influence over members in the House of Commons. The Duke of Richmond rose to order. This redoubled the confusion. A peer, said to be Lord Lyndhurst, made a remark which caused the Duke of Richmond to request the standing order against offensive language to be read. The anomalous Lord Londonderry was frantic with rage, exclaiming it was all a *coup d'état*; he was pulled back by the robes by the Earl of Salisbury, who in vain endeavoured to keep the noble Lord from doing his own cause mischief "Order order," resounded again and again through the House. Lord Wharncliffe rose to read an Address in purport representing to his Majesty that "under the extraordinary circumstances in which the country was placed, and the excitement now subsisting, that it appeared to this House, that a prorogation or dissolution of Parliament would be attended with most disas-

trous consequences." The Lord Chancellor entered, and looking around him, said:—"My Lords, I have never yet heard it doubted that the King possessed the prerogative of dissolving Parliament at pleasure; still less have I ever known a doubt to exist on the subject, at a moment when the Lower House has thought fit to refuse the supplies." There followed upon this, loud cries of "The King—the King," and fresh uproar, during which Lord Mansfield declared the advice he had given to the King, which was a wild prediction of all sorts of mischief ensuing from the Reform Bill, if passed. The cries of "The King," were redoubled, and his Majesty entered and mounted the throne.

The Speaker then addressed his Majesty from the bar in behalf of the Commons, and the King delivered the following speech, on many accounts one of the most memorable ever spoken from the Throne.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I have come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing this Parliament, with a view to its immediate dissolution:

"I have been induced to resort to this measure for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people, in the way in which it can be most constitutionally and authentically expressed, on the expediency of making such changes in the representation as circumstances may appear to require, and which, founded upon the acknowledged principles of the constitution, may tend at once to uphold the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, and to give security to the liberties of the people.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—I thank you for the provision you have made for the maintenance of the honour and dignity of the Crown, and I offer you my special acknowledgement for the arrangements you have made for the state and comfort of my Royal consort. I have also to thank you for the supplies which you have furnished for the public service.

"I have observed, with satisfaction, your endeavours to introduce a strict economy into every branch of that service;

and I trust that the early attention of a new Parliament, which I shall direct forthwith to be called, will be applied to the prosecution of that important subject.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I am happy to inform you, that the friendly intercourse which subsists between myself and Foreign powers, affords the best hopes of the continuance of peace, to the preservation of which my most anxious endeavours will be constantly directed.

"My Lords and Gentlemen.—In resolving to recur to the sense of my people in the present circumstances of the country, I have been influenced only by a paternal anxiety for the contentment and happiness of my subjects, to promote which I rely with confidence on your continued and zealous assistance."

Parliament was then prorogued to the 10th of May. The new House was appointed to meet on the 14th of June.

The king was enthusiastically cheered by the people on going to and from the House. His majesty's clear and quick sense of the right being on the side of the ministers, he determined to sustain them. It had not been customary, on any sudden dissolution of Parliament, because of its opposition to the crown, for the king to go in person, it was usually dissolved by commission. His majesty had at first thought to follow the customary rule, but changing his mind, and feeling no one was ever more King of England than himself at the moment, with the people and public opinions at his back, suddenly changed his mind, and ordered the state-carriage so near the time fixed upon for the prorogation, that the cream-coloured horses could not be got in readiness for the purpose with their customary decorations, and black horses were substituted. When he ordered them, he was told they could not be got ready by three o'clock—"Well then," he remarked, jokingly, "I will go down in a hackney-coach. I shall be the first King of England who went in a jarvey to prorogue Parliament, that is all." When the lords in waiting at the House wanted to assist his majesty in robing, and placing the crown upon his head,

he said, "no, no, on this occasion I will place the crown upon my head, without assistance."

His majesty had formed a just judgment of the part he had taken in the support of his ministers. Great joy was everywhere expressed by the people. The marks of public satisfaction were shown by demonstrations of every kind, even to illuminations. The windows of one or two houses, the residence of peers, or others who had made themselves more than commonly conspicuous in upholding the existing state of the Commons representation, were broken by some of the lowest of the mob, who are always mischievous on such occasions. There was no other evil ensued to carry out the absurd declaration of Lord Londonderry, or to sanction the desire of Sir Robert Peel, "for measures to secure life and property from sanguinary barbarians."

The elections promptly answered the expectation of the minister, and showed that he was right in not yielding one inch to the philippics of an opposition, the object of whose denunciations was selfish and unpatriotic.

Several aggressions on the part of the cruel despot, Don Miguel, committed upon British subjects and property at Lisbon, not being satisfactorily redressed, a squadron of ships of war entered the Tagus, on the 29th of April, and enforced the required satisfaction for the injury received, insisting on its publication in the royal gazette. The French Government, and that of the United States were equally obliged to have recourse to similar measures for aggressions committed on their subjects and property. About the same time Don Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, embarked in a British frigate for Europe, with his Queen, having abdicated his throne in favour of his son, a child of five years old. The Emperor landed on the 9th of June.

There was still a good deal of disturbance in Ireland, and some insurrections broke out among the slaves in the West Indies, from mistaken notions among them respecting their restoration to freedom.

In the beginning of May, preparations were made at the

Guildhall, in the city, to receive their majesties at a grand entertainment. The 20th of May was fixed upon as the day, when the Lord Mayor received a letter from the Secretary of State, deferring, from the state of his majesty's health, the visit to a future time. The following extract from Lord Melbourne's letter then Secretary of State for the Home Department, conveys a censure on the silly alarms already alluded to on a former occasion:—"nothing but a necessity arising from the state of his health, which I cannot doubt his majesty's loyal and affectionate subjects of the city of London, will be the first to admit to be paramount to every other consideration, could have induced his majesty to come to a determination which he is well aware, and deeply regrets it, will be the cause of great disappointment. I am, at the same time, instructed to state to your lordship, that the circumstances adverted to in your lordship's letter to Lord Grey have had no influence on his majesty's mind on this occasion. His majesty has been entirely satisfied by your lordship's explanation of your conduct with respect to the late illuminations: and his majesty learned, with unqualified pleasure, that the notice, said to have been issued by your lordship, respecting the employment of the city police, was totally without foundation."

On the king's recovery from his slight indisposition, he presented a pair of silver kettle-drums to the Horse Guards (blue.) His majesty's and the queen's birth-day were celebrated, the queen's on the 24th of February, and the king's on the 18th of May, and great expressions of joy were shown by the public on the occasion. A society for the education of naval officers was formed about this time, and the eldest son of his majesty, George Fitzclarence, was advanced to the dignity of Baron Viscount and Earl of the United Kingdom, as Baron Tewkesbury, Viscount Fitzclarence, and Earl of Munster, and the Earl took his seat accordingly soon afterwards. The title and precedence of younger sons and daughters of marquises of the United Kingdom were bestowed on the brothers and sisters of the Earl of Munster.

Some attempts were about this period made in Hanover to imitate the example of Brussels, but they were put down by the military. The University of Gottingen was also suspended. Military law reigned there, and some of the professors and students were arrested.

On the 11th of June the new parliament met, and his majesty opened the session in person on the 31st. In his speech the king spoke of his "confidence," that in measures proposed for the reform of the representation, parliament would "carefully adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution." Enthusiastic applause from the people accompanied his majesty all the way back to St. James's. The Duke of Norfolk moved, and Lord Mulgrave seconded the address.

Lord John Russell, on the 24th, brought forward in the name of the Government, the measure of a Reform which was proposed, and entered at once into the details of the plan. After a debate, in which the principal speakers postponed a good deal of what they had to say to the second reading, the house divided on the question, 361 to 331, leaving in favour of ministers 136. The proceedings on this measure have become matter of history. On the third reading of the bill there appeared 143 for, and 58 against, the motion. Two days more were spent in a vain opposition to the bill, and the house divided: for the ministers 345, against them 286—majority for the bill 109.

The new London Bridge was opened on the 1st of August, in presence of the king and queen, and a grand ceremony accompanied that event.

On the 2nd of August the king proceeded to the House of Lords in state, and was followed by the queen. His majesty gave the royal assent to the queen's Dowry bill. Her majesty then, from a chair of state, arose and made her obeisance in the way of thanks to the two houses of parliament, and both king and queen directly retired. On the same day Earl Grey conveyed to the parliament a message from the king for taking into consideration a provision for the Duchesses of Kent, in place

of 6000*l.* a year, allowed his sister by Prince Leopold, the sum having ceased upon his mounting the throne of Belgium.

The king going to the house, while placing the crown upon his head, turning to the Chancellor, he said, "now this is my coronation day." It does not seem that either the king or his ministers had thought about this pageant, which some of our monarchs had omitted altogether. The opposition, however, had determined the matter should not rest where it did, and the Duke of Wellington moved the subject in the House of Peers, which it is supposed led to the ceremony. It took place on the 8th of September, much shorn of the idle accompaniments of previous ceremonies of a like character.

In the evening the illuminations in the metropolis were splendid and general; the theatres, Vauxhall Gardens, and many places of public entertainment, were open free of expense; and a display of fire-works took place in Hyde Park, which attracted an immense concourse of spectators.

The Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria were absent from the ceremony, about the cause of which absence there were various surmises. A grand dinner followed the coronation. From what was let fall there, it was proved that neither the king nor his ministers deemed the ceremony necessary, for the king having given as a toast, "the land we live in," observed, "That he was much gratified at the events of the day; but he did not at all agree with those who considered such a ceremony indispensable, for that the compact between the prince and the people were as binding on his mind before as after, and that no member of the House of Brunswick could forget the condition on which he held the crown." Directly after the king repeated with emphasis, striking the table at the same time, that "he was not a whit more desirous than before taking the oath to watch over the liberties and promote the welfare of his people." This was an excellent reproof to those who had pretended the ceremony was absolutely necessary, and many who surmised, no doubt correctly, would have missed considerable advantages by the omission. The desire

for it being purely selfish in many of those who pretended to deem it indispensable.

After the coronation, three marquises, four earls, and fifteen barons were made, and twenty-eight baronets were added to the baronets of the United Kingdom.

On the 3rd of October Earl Grey brought forward the Reform Bill in the House of Lords, in a speech of great power and forcible reasoning. Lord Wharncliffe rose to reply, and very unblushingly let out the truth in a mode of which he was unconscious. His lordship said, that if the Bill were suffered to pass, it would absorb the power and privileges of their lordship's house into the House of Commons, and it certainly would, and eventually did do this when it absorbed the illegal power held by the lords, and deprived them of the privilege of nominating the members of the House of Commons, and by that means of ruling both throne and people. To this bad argument was confined in every sense the opposition to the Bill, and all the pretexts, subterfuges, and animosity, of its opponents, among the peers, who had no idea of yielding the supreme authority, virtually, of the Government. Day by day the Bill was contested, and the house less determined not to part easy with the ill acquired power they held belonging to the House of Commons. They at last threw out the Bill on the second reading by a majority of forty-one. On the 20th of October the parliament was prorogued.

As was naturally to be expected the people became excited; outrages were committed in various parts of the country; Nottingham Castle, the seat of the Duke of Newcastle was destroyed, with other dwelling-houses attached. The military succeeded in arresting several of the rioters. Addresses were poured in from all parts of the kingdom, expressing attachment to the King's person. The Lord Mayor and corporation carried up an Address to the throne, while the civic procession was joined by thousands on its rout with flags and devices. Lord Melbourne advised that the addresses of the people should be handed over to the county Members, to be presented at the levee, which was done. Mr. Hume announced

to the multitude that he had told his Majesty it was passed at a meeting of 40,000 persons, and that it prayed his Majesty would retain his Ministers, and use all constitutional means to aid the passing of the Reform Bill: and that his Majesty distinctly said, the prayer of the petition should be complied with. The greater part of the crowd then dispersed, but the mischievous who mingle in every crowd, the thieves and pick-pockets, seized the opportunity to make a disturbance, and keep together a mob for covering their depredations. They broke the windows of the Duke of Wellington and the Marquis of Bristol, and those of several club houses politically obnoxious. They were effectually dispersed by the police at last. Lord Londonderry, the Duke of Cumberland, and some other individuals were personally insulted. So much was the public mind exasperated against the ex-ministers, that even as far off as Perth, in Scotland, upon the guard of the mail saying the Dukes of Wellington and Cumberland had been shot, the people set up a shout, and went to the civil authorities to know if they might not illuminate on the occasion. At Croydon the Archbishop of Canterbury was grossly treated. In Somersetshire they burned some of the prelates in effigy. At Bristol, Sir C. Wetherell, perhaps one of the most obnoxious of the Members of Parliament to the public, from the part he took against the Reform Bill, went to Bristol, ushered in with a sort of civic triumph to hold the assizes, by a corporation consisting of his own party in politics. Riots, and the most dreadful excesses ensued, houses were burned, and a large quantity of property destroyed, besides a considerable loss of life. A special commission was issued for the trial of the rioters, both at Bristol and Nottingham, and seven were executed.

A new species of association sprung up about the same time in various parts of the country, called "Political Unions." It was in vain that attempts were made to suppress them, because they assumed no illegal powers, had no private meetings, committed no breach of the peace, but declared themselves enrolled to promote legal objects by legal means. The display was

imposing ; several hundreds of thousands of determined men were members, In Birmingham alone, it is said, very nearly 50,000 persons belonged to a single society of this description.

After a vacation of only five weeks, the King called Parliament together again, on the 6th, of December. On the 12th, Lord John Russell brought in a second bill for Parliamentary Reform which was carried by a majority of two to one, in favour of ministers ; after which the House adjourned to the 17th of January. In the meanwhile, the country was far from tranquil. In Ireland, agitation still reigned, and robberies and murders were frequent occurrences. In England, barns and ricks were fired by incendiaries, a few only of whom were brought to justice. The Asiatic cholera, which had travelled to Europe, added its terrors to the feverishness of the time, commencing at Newcastle, and travelling up towards the metropolis, carrying off numbers of persons.

The census was taken this year, and gave to England and Wales, in 1831, a return of 16,537,898 rendering the number of subjects to William IV. greater than those under any monarch that ever before ruled the British isles.

It is unnecessary to do more than give here a brief summary of the progress of the Reform Bill. His Majesty, to his lasting honour, continued to support his Ministers. The House of Peers, though a good deal overawed by the aspect of the people, still seemed inclined to occasion fresh outrages by continuing its opposition, and resisting the bill to the uttermost. Lord Grey proposed to the King, as the only means of extrication from existing difficulties to make a number of new peers. To this the King was slow to assent, and it must be allowed the precedent was bad ; but the crisis was a serious one. His Majesty set about helping out his Ministers in good earnest, by another mode, and contrived to obtain, it is said, from several peers, a promise of withdrawing their opposition to the bill. This step, which shows the zeal of his Majesty in support of the measure, involved two singular consequences.—it exhibited, first, the little worth of the patriotism of those peers who had just before been openly declaring in Parliament that

the Reform bill would ruin the country for ever.—who had been talking of dying at their posts, and similar high sounding things; and yet, at the Royal wish, left the country to the ruin they deprecated, by abandoning the Opposition, they were, according to themselves, bound by every solemn tie to maintain to the utmost. The inference from such conduct, preceded by such professions, is irresistible, as to the value of patriotic professions in the Upper House. Secondly—the preponderance of a party in that house opposed to the wishes, liberties, and best interests of the people of England, still remains to be exerted on future occasions for the public detriment. Unless there could be a balance of the peerage on the popular side restored, members of one political creed having been generated during a long and corrupt exercise of the government by that party constituting the majority of the body. Thus the majority might obstruct while it could not command; and if the Reform Bill did pass, through the King's interference, all salutary measures besides might be arrested in their progress. Hence the creation of peers could alone have restored the equilibrium, and must be yet had recourse to, unless some equally effective measure can be substituted. In the present instance, his Majesty's influence alone carried the Bill through the Upper House, which it no sooner passed, than it received the Royal assent.

The great measure of slave emancipation, which confers so high an honour on England—if it were not carried into effect in the best mode for the benefit of the slave—was an achievement which will cast lasting honour on the reign of William IV. The spirit of the times, and the determination not to injure the slave-owner; the principles of justice, which are eternal; and the knowledge that all rational ground of fear for the horrors of St. Domingo—once held up as a bugbear to deter ministers from promoting the measure, had passed away. The Monarch, who ever gratefully remembered the conduct of the planters towards him personally was at last the consenting party to what must be for their benefit; while it proclaimed his name to the emancipated slave as the object of his lasting

gratitude, and forms one of the most precious jewels in his crown.

There is only one incident more during his reign which it is needful to notice, as the events of that reign are so recent in the public recollection. This is the change attempted in the administration, upon the elevation of Lord Althorp to the peerages on the decease of his father. That this change originated with William IV., no one believes. That it was unforeseen is very evident, for Sir Robert Peel had too keen a desire for lace to have been in Rome, when he should have had both his eyes open in Spring Gardens. There cannot be a doubt it was the result of intrigue, seizing an opportune excuse, on a sudden event, to restore an anti-popular party to power, regardless of public opinions. The King was no doubt taken by surprise, and, once drawn in, and the promise given, there could be no retraction. In fact, his Majesty took the most convincing mode, to show the party the hopelessness of its condition. A very brief space of time sufficed to place Lord Melbourne in power again, and to humble the partners in an intrigue which was begun without judgment and terminated in disgrace. "I will have no more of these sudden changes," said the King, to a naval gentleman at Windsor; "the country shan't be disturbed in this way, to make my reign tumble about, like a topsail sheet-block in a breeze."

If, finally, his late Majesty be estimated by the standard of what a monarch ought to be under a mixed government, it must be acknowledged that none of his royal predecessors have come nearer to the character. There were many circumstances to favour this in the career of William IV. He had been cast in youth among the people, and been bred up far from the corrupting influences and anti-popular sympathies of a court, —in a profession with which, of all others, bluntness and sincerity are conspicuous qualities. His Majesty was constitutionally open and candid: he possessed good common sense and was not slow to exert it. Utterly free from pride, and with a perfect contempt for the arts of the courtier, when he was yet a subject, he carried with him to the throne none of

those question assumptions which are put on to elevate the monarch above the man, but that really produce the opposite effect. The neglect he experienced, on the part of successive ministers, from the King his father, and from the people, for many years, which last scarcely seemed to recollect that a bluff, thorough-bred seaman existed in the royal family, dazzled as they were by the showy accomplishments of the heir-apparent—all this had the effect of flinging the Duke of Clarence back upon himself, causing reflections and making him more independent of the will of those who surrounded the court. They gave him an opportunity of observing that he must depend upon the people alone when he came to the throne: not merely because it was the duty of a ruler of a free people to do so, but because he had no other friends upon whom he could place a safe reliance. A good part of the nobility never liked the Duke, and though willing enough to brush the dust off the footstool of every king, it was from no regard to the man, but to serve their own selfish purposes.—His Majesty's great desire was to govern in unison with public opinion; his wish was to be esteemed by his subjects at large, and to rule on a broad basis of general affection—not as the tool of a small party to whose objects the great mass of the public were to be made subservient. Anything in the royal conduct that seems to mitigate against this must be placed to the intrigues incessantly at work around him; to the arts exerted to force his Majesty from the right line of action, to which, if he diverged for a moment, he quickly returned back; and to the advance of years and infirmities, which threw him off his guard. His firm support of Earl Grey in the Reform Bill has no parallel in behalf of a popular measure in the reign of any other British sovereign.

Such have been the political transactions of the reign of William the Fourth, in so far as they have been affected by his immediate and personal interference. This reign will ever be looked upon as one of the most auspicious and most glorious in our country's annals. Its glory had been of a far

more exalted kind than that which is purchased by the effusion of human blood ; for it consisted in the accomplishment of that great measure which has laid a sure foundation for the progressive establishment of equal rights and equal freedom, civil and religious, to every class of the community. To the integrity of principle, honesty of purpose, and patriotic feeling of the Sovereign, the country is indebted for much that has been done towards the accomplishment of that great object. We can easily imagine the character of a Sovereign under whose auspices, more might have been done ; but when we consider all the circumstances under which William the Fourth ascended the throne, we can suppose him not liable to deep personal censure, even though he had done less.

He laboured, in the first place, under the disadvantage of an education and early course of life which (however, respectable and useful in itself) by no means prepared his mind for the reception of great and liberal views in public affairs. Our seamen—those of the older school especially—have been proverbially careless about politics. In respect to all such matters, it was their wont “to doff the world aside and bid it pass ;” and to think that, their duty being to draw their swords at the commands of their King, the less they troubled themselves with inquiring into the reasons of these commands, they did their duty the better. This *pococurante* spirit, in relation to the policy of the government, was probably imbibed by the young sailor, from the naval heroes whom he used to admire and emulate ; and the little interest he took in the politics of the day, during the long course of years which elapsed between his retirement from the service and his accession to the crown, gives countenance to this supposition. In the House of Lords, his interference with its business generally regarded objects connected with his profession ; and it was not till he had become heir presumptive to the throne, with an early prospect of ascending it, that we find him, to his honour, coming forward in support of a great political principle, that religious opinions should not exclude from the enjoyment of civil rights.

Passing his life in this manner, mingling in the society of the court, familiar only with those views of public affairs which prevailed in its circles, and having no means of getting at the sentiments and feelings of the great masses of the people, we are not to wonder that his Majesty was not always aware of his true position. This was at once apparent when, on his accession, he expressed his unreserved approbation and confidence in the advisers of George IV. He soon saw, however, that a spirit was abroad of which he had been little aware—a determined desire for the reform of abuses, which those advisers were vainly struggling to perpetuate. That he was able to take the lesson so readily, and act upon it so promptly, does him immortal honour. The fall of the Wellington administration, it may be said, was the act of the nation, not of the King. *That* administration, it is true, could not have subsisted longer; but a Tory government might have lingered on, under various modifications, to the incalculable mischief of the country. It was the act of the King that a Tory government was extinguished at one blow; and it was the act of the King that the venerable champion of reform was instantly placed at the head of a liberal government. For these acts, and for their magnificent result, the immediate introduction of the Reform Bill, William the Fourth is entitled to the most unqualified credit.

On various important and trying occasion, as we have already seen, the personal conduct of William the Fourth was not less clearly indicative of firmness of purpose, promptness in action, and zeal for the great cause which he had adopted. If at other times his strength failed him, and he was induced to further the designs of the enemies of reform, an excuse, if not a justification, may be found in the circumstances of his situation. A want of maturely formed and deeply rooted political principles, which can be obtained only by education and intellectual nurture—consequent liability to be blown about with every wind of doctrine—lingering prejudices derived from old habit and association—and, above all, the atmosphere of a court, through which the breath of public

opinion is never allowed to penetrate—all these things, though they may not justify the acts of the King, may well be received in excuse of the weaknesses of the man.

Ungrateful, indeed, must Englishmen be, if they can think on the loss of their old "Sailor King," without genuine sorrow. Among a long line of predecessors, the names of whom decorate or desecrate the page of British history not one merits a monument of gratitude in living hearts equal to him. We have evidence left of the sincerity of his good wishes for the popular benefit, that will long endure in the Reform Bill; the key to better things. William IV. departed in a good old age, leaving the state he governed, the envy and admiration of foreign nations.

Though a slight decline of strength had been perceptible to the immediate attendants of our lamented King, at the commencement of the year, yet it was not till the month of May that the state of his Majesty's health excited any serious apprehensions. On the 17th of that month his Majesty held a levee, but on his return to Windsor Castle showed great signs of debility and exhaustion, and oppression of breathing, in consequence of which he had considerable difficulty in ascending the staircase; and when he had reached the corridor, was under the necessity of resting on the nearest sofa.

Though the King had experienced very considerable oppression during the night, yet his Majesty appeared refreshed, and was considered better the next morning, Thursday, May 18, and was not prevented from going to St. James' to hold a drawing-room, which had been appointed for that day. On these occasions, the last on which his Majesty appeared in public, he sat down; but this deviation from his usual practice did not excite so much alarm as the traces of sickness visible in his countenance. His debility however, notwithstanding the exertions of the day, on reaching Windsor Castle, was not so great on this as on the preceding evening, and a slight improvement the following morning revived the hopes and spirits of his Majesty's anxious friends.

This day Friday, was the anniversary of the battle of La

Hogue, and, by command of his Majesty, several officers of distinction resident in the neighbourhood, together with the field officers of the garrison, had been invited to dinner. In the course of the evening, the King detailed, with great minuteness, the causes, the progress and consequences of the different naval wars in which this country had been engaged, during the last and the preceding century, and gave perhaps, greater proof on that than on any occasion, of the extraordinary accuracy of his memory, and of his intimate acquaintance with English history. His Majesty's voice, with the exception of one or two moments of oppression of breathing, was very strong and clear, but no one present could fail to entertain apprehensions as to the effects of this exertion.

The next day, Saturday, May 20th, his Majesty continued to suffer from the same distressing symptoms. At breakfast and luncheon, his appetite, which had been gradually declining, altogether failed, and, at the latter meal, he fell back in his chair with a sensation of faintness, to which several persons alluded with strong expressions of alarm. His Majesty, on leaving the white drawing-room, sat down in the corridor evidently feeble and exhausted. He did not leave the Castle that afternoon. At dinner his Majesty was affected by a similar seizure, and, to prevent increasing faintness, the Duchess of Gloucester, who was seated next to him, bathed his forehead and temples with eau-de-Cologne. His Majesty rallied in the evening, but it was not till ten o'clock that he consented, in compliance with the Queen's request, to abandon his intention of going to St. James' the following morning, to be present at the re-opening of the Chapel Royal.

The King retired to bed at his usual hour of eleven, labouring under manifest indisposition. This was the last time his Majesty appeared in the drawing-room. The next morning, increasing indisposition confined him to his private apartments, which he never quitted during the continuance of his fatal malady.

The state of his Majesty's health now excited much and well-founded alarm. Sir H. Hallford and Dr. Chambers were

sent for; but as the latter had no ostensible situation in the royal household, it was thought advisable in order to avoid causing any unnecessary alarm to the King, to introduce him to his Majesty as the medical attendant of the Queen, who had at this time but very imperfectly recovered from a long and dangerous illness, on the ground that he wished to make a report of her Majesty's health. Dr. Chambers was most graciously received by the King, who did not hesitate to avail himself of his advice in his own case. The arrival, however, of Dr. Chambers at the Castle was so late, that this interview did not take place till the following morning.

It were needless to trace minutely the progress of the King's disease, the fluctuating nature of which produced constant alternations of hope and fear. On Monday, May 22, and the following morning, the King gave audiences to Lord Melbourne, Lord Hill, Lord Glenelg, and other ministers; but the unfavourable impression produced by the King's appearance on all who were admitted to his presence served but to extend the alarm now generally entertained. The next two days were passed uncomfortably from the effects of this fatigue; but on Saturday, May 27, his Majesty felt sufficiently strong to hold a Council, and subsequently to give audience to all the Cabinet Ministers and officers of state by whom it was attended. That the King's debility had already made very rapid alarming progress, may be inferred from the fact that he had already lost the power of walking, and that it was now necessary for his medical attendant, Dr. Davies, to whom alone the King would entrust that duty, to wheel his Majesty in an easy chair into the Council-room.

The general languor and weakness which so strongly characterised the King's illness, though not aggravated by this exertion, did not diminish during the next week, and his Majesty's anxious relatives and friends were willing, in the absence of any very active disease, to ascribe the continuance of these distressing symptoms to the hot weather which then prevailed, and which had frequently been known to produce at this

season in former years a very marked effect on his Majesty's constitution.

The King had looked forward with pleasure to the assembling of a large party, whom he had invited to Windsor Castle to be present at the Eton regatta on June 5, and at the Ascot races, which immediately followed.

In the afternoon of this day an unfavourable change in the King's state was evident to his attendants. With his usual benevolent feeling, however, he still, for the sake of others, took an interest in those amusements in which he could not personally participate. Every order issued by the King bore evidence of his very kind consideration, even in the most minute particulars, for the comfort and convenience of his guests, and of the Eton boys, whose pleasure he was always anxious to promote.

Influenced by a similar feeling so predominant in his Majesty's character, and so remarkably exemplified in the closing year of his life, the King expressed his special desire that the Queen should attend the races at Ascot—preferring rather to dispense with the great comfort of her Majesty's society, than that the public should experience any disappointment from the absence of the royal family.

However little in accordance with the painful state of her own anxious feelings such a scene might be, the Queen did not hesitate to acquiesce in his Majesty's wishes. Her Majesty, therefore, drove to the course, but returned at the end of two hours to Windsor Castle, to resume her almost unceasing attendance on the King, and to find, alas! that even in that brief interval his Majesty had undergone much and unexpected suffering.

The next morning, Wednesday, June 7, Sir H. Halford and Dr. Chambers found the King weaker, but cordials supplied temporary strength and power to take nourishment, which supported him during the day. Nevertheless, the greatest gloom, and even the most melancholy forebodings, pervaded the party assembled in the Castle, which were distressingly

manifested, as it will doubtless with pain be remembered, by all who were present at dinner on that day in St. George's Hall.

For some time previously the King's medical attendants indulged the sanguine hope that his Majesty might derive considerable benefit from change of air. Many circumstances had conspired to prevent an earlier proposal of any plan which had reference to this object; but with the concurrence of the physicians Sir Herbert Taylor submitted this day to his Majesty their wish that he should remove for a few weeks to Brighton, where, with the advantage of the sea air, he would enjoy every comfort requisite in his present enfeebled state.

The King did not, as it was feared, express any disapprobation at the suggestion—on the contrary, he assented with pleasure to the arrangement, and expressed his hope that he might soon regain sufficient strength to undertake the journey. Preparations were accordingly made by his Majesty's command at the Pavilion. The kindness of the King's disposition was displayed even in the selection of the persons whom he appointed to attend him.

The state of his Majesty's health next morning (rendered worse by a sleepless night) was such as to damp any hope that might have been entertained with regard to his removal to Brighton. Increased difficulty of breathing, stoppage of the circulation, with the necessary consequences of coldness of the extremities and swelling of the legs, were among the symptoms which could not fail to excite the fear that the King's situation had now become one of extreme danger. Under these circumstances the party staying in the Castle dispersed this morning Thursday, June 8, in obedience to the Queen's wishes; and while grief and despondency reigned within the palace, the same feelings were quickly propagated among an affectionate and loyal people, by the unexpected absence of the royal *cortège* from Ascot.

Contrary to expectation, the King passed a tranquil night. He was easier the next morning, but appeared very languid and feeble while transacting business with Sir Herbert Taylor,

and his signatures of official papers were made with difficulty, His Majesty now, for the first time, consented that a bulletin should be issued, to allay, if possible, the anxiety which the public had long manifested.

In the afternoon of this day, his Majesty experienced great and instantaneous relief from medicines which produced very copious expectoration. The amendment was so decided as to inspire the hope that it might be more than temporary, and his Majesty was certainly enabled to pass the ensuing day without any distressing oppression of his breathing. For this alleviation of the pains as well as for the more tranquil rest, which he enjoyed during two successive nights, the gratitude to the Almighty felt and expressed by his Majesty was truly edifying. He was frequently heard to give utterance to these sentiments, with eyes raised to Heaven, in the most sincere and unaffected terms. His patience and cheerfulness had at all times excited the astonishment and admiration of all who had opportunity of witnessing them. No murmur ever escaped his lips, and often, in moments of the greatest suffering (which was subsequently proved to have far exceeded what his physicians had reason to suspect,) he testified his grateful sense of the care and attention of all who approached him, and his regret that he should be the cause of imposing on them the duty of so much painful attendance.

At no period, from the commencement of his attack, had his Majesty been insensible to his critical state; but when he alluded to the subject, it was evident that any anxiety which he felt arose less from personal apprehension than from solicitude for the country, and from the contemplation of the embarrassment into which it might possibly be thrown by his early dissolution. It was to such reflections as these that his Majesty gave expression on the morning of the 16th, when he observed to the Queen, "I have had some quiet sleep; come and pray with me and thank the Almighty for it." Her Majesty joined in this act of heartfelt devotion, and when the King had ceased, said, "And shall I not pray to the Almighty that you

may have a good day?" To which his Majesty replied, "Oh, do! I wish I could live ten years, for the sake of the country. I feel it my duty to keep well as long as I can."

On the morning of Sunday the 11th, grateful for the refreshing rest that he had enjoyed, his Majesty's mind was impressed with the most pure devotional feelings. Seeing Lady Mary Fox occupied with a book, he inquired what she was reading, and being told that it was a Prayer Book, his countenance beamed with pleasure, but he said nothing. After a considerable lapse of time, the Queen asked whether it would be agreeable to him if she read the prayers to him. His Majesty answered, "O yes! I should like it very much, but it will fatigue you." He then desired to be informed who preached that morning in the chapel of the castle, and when Lady Mary ascertained and told him that it was Mr. Wood who preached, he directed that he might be sent for.

When Mr. Wood entered the room, the King said, "I will thank you, my dear sir, to read all the prayers till you come to the prayer for the church militant." By which words his Majesty intended to include the Communion service, and all other parts of the Liturgy used in the celebration of public worship.

It was equally an affecting and instructive lesson to observe the devout humility of his Majesty, fervently dwelling as could be perceived from his manner and the intonation of his voice, on every passage which bore even the most remote application to his own circumstances. His mind seemed quite absorbed in the duty in which he was engaged, and to rise for a time superior to his bodily infirmities; for during the whole service his attention was undisturbed, and he experienced none of those fits of coughing and oppression which for some days past had formed an almost uninterrupted characteristic of his complaint. As Mr. Wood withdrew, his Majesty graciously expressed his thanks, and afterwards said to the Queen, "It has been a great comfort to me." Nor was this a transitory feeling. To this pure and scriptural consolation his Majesty re-

curred with unfeigned gratitude; and on each day of the ensuing week did Lord Augustus Fitzclarence receive the King's commands to read to him the prayers either of the morning or evening service. On one of these occasions, when his Majesty was much reduced and exhausted, the Queen fearful of causing any fatigue to him, inquired hesitatingly, whether unwell as he was, he should still like, to have the prayers read to him? He replied, "O, yes! beyond everything." Though very languid, and disposed to sleep from the effects of medicine, his Majesty repeated all the prayers. The fatal progress of the King's complaint was very visible during the three following days. June 12th, 13th, and 14th. Nevertheless, on Tuesday the 13th, his Majesty gave audience to his Hanoverian minister, Baron Ompteda, whom, contrary to the suggestions of his attendants, he had specially summoned on business connected with that kingdom, in the welfare of which he had never ceased to feel a truly paternal interest. On Wednesday, the 14th, his Majesty received a visit from the Duke of Cumberland.

The king's attention to his religious duties, and the great comfort which was inspired by their performance, have already been referred to. It will, therefore, create no surprise that his majesty joyfully assented to the queen's suggestion, that he should receive the sacrament, or that he at once named the Archbishop of Canterbury as the person whom he wished to administer that holy rite. Sunday was the day fixed by the king for the discharge of this solemn duty; and a message was accordingly sent to his grace desiring his presence at Windsor Castle on the ensuing Saturday.

The two intervening days were a period of great suffering to the king, whose illness more than once in that interval assumed the most alarming form, and in the evening of Friday excited apprehensions of his majesty's immediate dissolution. The next morning, however, the king felt easier, and the most urgent symptoms had disappeared. In the usual course of business with Sir H. Taylor, he signed two public documents, though not without difficulty; but on every subject which was

brought before him, his majesty's power of perception was quick and accurate, and he anticipated with pleasure and thankfulness the approaching sacred duty of the morrow.

On the morning of Sunday, the 18th, though his majesty's mental energies remained vigorous and unimpaired, a greater degree of bodily weakness was perceptible. He raised himself in his chair with greater difficulty than the day before, and required more aid and support in every movement. The expression of his countenance, however, was, perhaps, more satisfactory. He transacted business with Sir H. Taylor, and affixed his signature to four documents—the remission of a court-martial, two appointments of colonial judges, and a free pardon to a condemned criminal. This was his majesty's last act of sovereignty. Increased debility prevented the repetition of a similar exertion; and thus, in the closing scene of his life, was beautifully and practically exemplified by an act of mercy, that spirit of benevolence and forgiveness which shone with such peculiar lustre in his majesty's character, and was so strongly reflected in the uniform tenour of his reign.

It had been arranged, as has been already remarked, that the king should on this day receive the sacrament from the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and when Sir Herbert left the room, it appeared to the queen that the most favourable time had arrived. The physicians, however, suggested to her majesty the expediency of deferring the ceremony till the king should have in some degree recovered from his fatigue; but his majesty had already experienced the blessed consolations of religion, and removed the doubts which his anxious attendants were entertaining, by eagerly desiring the queen to send for the archbishop; seeming as it were, anxious to ratify the discharge of his earthly, by the performance of his spiritual duties. His grace promptly attended, attired in his robes, and at a quarter to eleven administered the sacrament to his majesty and the queen, Lady Mary Fox communicating at the same time. The king was very calm and collected—his faculties were quite clear, and he paid the greatest attention to the service, following it with the prayer-book which

lay on the table before him. His voice, indeed, failed, but his humble demeanour and uplifted eyes gave expression to the feeling of devotion and of gratitude to the Almighty, which his faltering lips refused to utter.

The performance of this act of religion, and this public attestation of his communion with that church, for the welfare and prosperity of which he had more than once during his illness ejaculated short but fervent prayers, was the source of great and manifest comfort to his majesty.

Though the shorter form had been adopted by the archbishop, his Majesty was, nevertheless, rather exhausted by the duration and solemnity of the ceremony; but as his grace retired, the king said, with that peculiar kindness of manner by which he was so much distinguished, and at the same time waving his hand and inclining his head, "God bless you—a thousand, thousand thanks!" There cannot be more certain evidence of the inward strength and satisfaction which the king derived from this office of religion, than that in spite of great physical exertion, his majesty after the lapse of an hour, again requested the attendance of the archbishop, who, in compliance with the wishes of the queen, read the prayers for the evening service, with the happiest effect on the king's spirits. This being done, the archbishop, naturally fearing the consequences of so much mental exertion on his majesty's debilitated frame, was about to retire, when the king motioned to him to sit down at the table on the opposite side of which he himself was seated. His majesty was too weak to hold any conversation, but his spirits seemed soothed and comforted by the presence of the archbishop, in whose venerable and benign countenance his majesty's eye reposed with real pleasure.

The king at this interview stretched his hand across the table, and taking that of the archbishop, pressed it fervently, saying, in a tone of voice which was audible only to the queen, who was seated near his majesty, "I am sure the archbishop is one of those persons who pray for me." The afternoon of this day witnessed a still further diminution of his majesty's strength, but in proportion to the decay of his bodily power was

the increase of his spiritual hope and consolation. At nine o'clock in the evening, the archbishop was again summoned by his majesty's desire. The king was now still less able to converse than on the last occasion; but his grace remained more than three-quarters of an hour, supplying by his presence the same comfort to the king, and receiving from his majesty the same silent though expressive proof of his satisfaction and gratitude. At length on the suggestion of the queen, that it was already late, and the archbishop might become fatigued, the king immediately signified his assent that he should retire; and crossing his hands upon his breast, and inclining his head, said, as his grace left the room, "God bless, thee, dear, excellent, worthy man; a thousand, thousand thanks."

The whole course of his Majesty's illness affords abundant proof, not only of his composure, his patience, and his resignation, but that even when under the pressure of great pain and suffering, his mind, far from being absorbed with the sad circumstances of his situation, was often dwelling on subjects connected with the affairs of the country, or with the comfort and convenience of individuals.

His Majesty rose this morning with the recollection that this was the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. As early as half-past eight he alluded to the circumstance, and said to Dr. Chambers, "Let me but live over this memorable day—I shall never live to see another sunset." Dr. Chambers said, "I hope your Majesty may live to see many." To which his Majesty replied in a phrase which he commonly employed, but the peculiar force of which those only who had the honour of being frequently admitted into his Majesty's society, can fully appreciate—"O! that is quite another thing."*

A splendid entertainment, as is well known, has been always given on this day to the officers engaged in that glorious action, and since his accession to the throne, his Majesty had himself honoured it with his presence.

* It was usually employed by his Majesty to express his dissent or incredulity to any subject under discussion.

Under the present circumstances, the Duke naturally feeling unwilling to promote any scene of festivity, had sent Mr. Greville to request the King's commands, or at least to ascertain the wishes and opinion of the Queen. Previous to the flag, annually presented by his grace, being deposited in the guard chamber, it had been brought to his Majesty, who laying his hand upon it, and touching the eagle, said "I am glad to see it. Tell the Duke of Wellington that I desire his dinner to take place to-morrow: I hope it will be an agreeable one." In the course of the night, the Queen observed to his Majesty, that the archbishop had only been invited to stay to the following day—that his grace wished to be honoured with his commands—and that he expressed himself not only willing but anxious to stay as long as his services could be either acceptable or useful to him. The King immediately said, "Yes; tell him to stay. It will be the greatest blessing of God to hear that beautiful service read by him once more;" alluding to the Liturgy of the church of England, from the frequent use of the prayers of which his Majesty had been so much comforted and supported in his illness.

Monday, June 19—Though his Majesty passed a tolerably tranquil night, yet no corresponding effect was produced upon his health. Decaying nature could no longer be recruited by the ordinary resources of strength and sustenance. His Majesty, however, rose at seven, for he had at no time during his illness been confined to his bed, and had even, for some weeks, anticipated by an hour his usual time of rising. There was much in the King's language and manner this morning which bespoke his sense of approaching death. On awaking, he observed to the Queen, "I shall get up once more to do the business of the country;" and when being wheeled in his chair from his bed-room to his dressing-room, he turned round, and looking with a benign and gracious smile on the Queen's attendants, who were standing in tears near the door, "God bless you!" and waved his hand.

At nine o'clock, by desire of the queen, who was naturally anxious that the hope so fervently expressed by the King on

the preceding night might be gratified as soon as possible, the archbishop entered the King's room, and was received, as at all times, with the significant tokens of joy and thankfulness, which his grace's presence never failed to call forth.

On this occasion the archbishop read the service for the Visitation of the Sick. The King was seated as usual, in his easy chair ; the Queen affectionately kneeling by his side, making the responses, and assisting him to turn over the leaves of the large Prayer Book which was placed before him. His Majesty's demeanour was characterised by the most genuine spirit of devotion. Though unable to join audibly in the responses which occur in the services, yet when the archbishop had rehearsed the articles of our creed, his Majesty, in the fullness of his faith, and labouring to collect all the energies of sinking nature, enunciated with distinct and solemn emphasis the words, " All this I steadfastly believe."

During the whole service his Majesty retained hold of the Queen's hand, and in the absence of physical strength to give utterance to his feelings, signified by the fervent pressure of it, not only his humble acquiescence in the doctrines of our holy faith, but his grateful acknowledgment of those promises of grace and succour which so many passages of this affecting portion of the Liturgy hold out to the dying Christian, and the belief of which his Majesty so thankfully appreciated in this his hour of need.

With the other hand his Majesty frequently covered his eyes and pressed his brow, as if to concentrate all his power of devotion, and to restrain the warmed emotions of his heart, which were so painfully excited by the distress of those who surrounded him. His Majesty did not allow the archbishop to withdraw without the usual significant expression of his gratitude, " A thousand, thousand thanks."

It was then when the archbishop pronounced the solemn and truly affecting form of blessing contained in the " Service for the Visitation of the Sick," that the Queen for the first time in his Majesty's apartment was overpowered by the weight of her affliction.

The King observed her emotion, and said, in a tone of kind encouragement, "Bear up, bear up."

At the conclusion of the prayers his Majesty saw all his children; and as they successively knelt to kiss the hand, gave them his blessing in the most affectionate terms, suitable to the character and circumstances of each. They had all manifested the most truly filial affection to his Majesty during his illness; but on Lady Mary Fox, the eldest of his Majesty's surviving daughters, had chiefly devolved the painful, yet consolatory duty, of assisting the Queen in her attendance on the King.

The extreme caution of his Majesty, and his anxiety to avoid causing any pain or alarm to the Queen, was very remarkable. He never alluded in distinct terms to death in her Majesty's presence. It was about this period of the day that he tenderly besought her Majesty not to make herself uneasy about him; but that he was already anticipating his speedy dissolution was evident from his expressions to several of his relatives. Even at this advanced stage of his disease, and under circumstances of the most distressing debility, the King had never wholly intermitted his attention to public business. In accordance with his usual habits, he had this morning frequently desired to be told when the clock struck half-past ten, about which time his Majesty uniformly gave audience to Sir Herbert Taylor. At eleven, when Sir Herbert was summoned, the King said, "Give me your hand." Now get the things ready." On Sir Herbert saying that he had no papers to-day, his Majesty, appeared surprised, till Sir Herbert added, "It is Monday, Sire; there is no post, and no boxes are come;" when he replied, "Ah, true—I had forgot." The Queen then named Sir Henry Wheatly, who had entered the apartment. The King regarded him with a gracious look, and extended his hand to him, as he did also to Dr. Davis, evidently influenced by the same motive which had prompted a similar action to Sir Herbert Taylor—a last acknowledgement of their faithful

services. His Majesty then passed several hours in a state of not uneasy slumber : the Queen almost uninterruptedly kneeling by his side, and gently chafing his hand, from which assurance of her presence his Majesty derived the greatest comfort.

During this afternoon, to such an extremity of weakness was the King reduced, that he scarcely opened his eyes, save to raise them in prayer to heaven, with a look expressive of the most perfect resignation. Once or twice indeed this feeling found expression in the words "Thy will be done!" and on one occasion he was heard to utter the words, "the Church—the Church!" and the name of the archbishop.

It was about nine o'clock in the evening of this day that the archbishop visited the King for the last time.

His Majesty's state altogether incapacitated him from joining in any act or exercise of devotion; but, as at each preceding interview, his grace's presence proved a source of joy and consolation to the dying Monarch, who strove in vain to convey any audible acknowledgements of the blessings which he sensibly enjoyed; but when, on leaving the room, the archbishop said, "My best prayers are offered up for your Majesty," the King replied, with slow and feeble yet distinct utterance, "Believe me, I am a religious man."

After this exertion his Majesty gently moved his hand in token of his last farewell, and the archbishop withdrew.

As the night advanced, a more rapid diminution of his Majesty's vital powers was perceptible.

His weakness now rendered it impracticable to remove him into his usual bed-room, and a bed was accordingly prepared in the royal closet, which communicates with the apartment in which his Majesty had passed the last ten days of his life. At half-past ten the King was seized with a fainting fit, the effects of which were mistaken by many for the stroke of death. However, his Majesty gradually though imperfectly, revived, and was then removed into his bed.

From this time his voice was not heard, except to pronounce

the name of his valet. In less than an hour his Majesty expired, without a struggle and without a groan, the Queen kneeling at the bedside, and still affectionately holding his hand, the comfortable warmth of which rendered her unwilling to believe the reality of the sad event.

Thus expired, in the seventy-third year of his age, in firm reliance on the merits of his Redeemer, King William the Fourth, a just and upright King, a forgiving enemy, a sincere friend, and a most gracious and indulgent master.

We subjoin another account of the last moments of his Majesty as transmitted by one of his immediate attendants.

On the evening Monday the 19th it was evident that the King was fast approaching his last moment. It must however have been some consolation to his faithful subjects, who we are waiting with the deepest anxiety for a true account of his Majesty's situation, to know that all the stories which had been so sedulously propagated about his having fallen into a profound lethargy, from which it has been difficult to awaken him, were pure and unadulterated falsehoods. Never at any period of his life had his mind been more serene, never had his intellect been more unclouded. There never was any difficulty in making his Majesty aware of any fact with which it was necessary that he should be made acquainted; and the anecdotes which have been published to the contrary derive their interest, not from their veracity, but from their utter want of it. His Majesty received the sacrament on the preceding day from the hand of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and those who are acquainted with the high character of that irreproachable prelate must be aware that no earthly consideration would have induced him to administer that holy rite of our religion to a man who was incapable of appreciating its value or of comprehending how dangerous it is to those who dare to receive it unworthily. The restlessness and pain which his Majesty suffered were the main causes of the exhaustion of his physical powers: but his mental faculties remained unimpaired, and his natural affections

appeared to gather fresh strength from the conviction with which his Majesty was impressed, that he should not long be permitted by an Almighty Providence to indulge them. In his waking moments—and they were many—his Queen and his children were seldom absent from his side, and when they were, it appeared as if there were something which his eyes desired to see, but in vain. Nor in this, might have been his mortal agony, were his thoughts confined to the welfare of his own family. The bulletins afforded satisfactory evidence that on all the public documents which had been transmitted to him for some days past he had considered, and when necessary signed; and the very morning preceding his death, so clear was the intellect which some individuals were pleased to represent as obtuse to the most vivid recollections of military glory, that he called for Sir Herbert Taylor to bring him as usual, his box of letters, and that he replied, on being informed that there was no box for him to open, “Oh, I forgot—this is Monday.” To those who know how true-hearted an Englishman our sailor-King was, we need not explain that anything connected with the national glory of our country was likely to retain a place in his memory so long as his memory retained its powers. At one of the visits which his medical attendants paid him during the preceding week, he said, “Doctor I know I am going, but I should like to see another anniversary of Waterloo. Try if you cannot tinker me up to last over that day.” His Majesty survived the recurrence of a day which is doomed to be as imperishable as any event can be in the records of time, and was fully alive to all its proud and ennobling recollections. He conversed freely upon that subject, and upon many others, in the intervals of ease which he occasionally obtained from the acuteness of his sufferings. His breathing was at once difficult and painful. With the consciousness that he had discharged the duties of his sphere, if not always wisely, still always conscientiously, and for what he deemed the best interests of his attached subjects, he was prepared to meet his fate with the cheerfulness which became a christian and a king.

At day-break on Tuesday, May 26th, it was announced to the public that one of the most excellent, the most patriotic, and the most British Monarch that ever sat on the imperial throne of these realms, was no more. William IV., the Sailor King, —and there are national associations which vibrate to every heart in those two simple words—William IV., the Reformer—he whose mere assent stamped on the wishes of a great people the force of irresistible commands, and made the prejudices of peer and peasant, of aristocrat and artizan, merge into one general and glorious feeling for the British common weal—William IV.,—he who evinced his most intimate and profound knowledge of the British character, by being at once the example and patron of all the social and domestic virtue,—William IV., he who taught this populous and intelligent community the necessity and value of obedience to the law by his own implicit and deliberate obedience to it as a subject—William IV., the good, the kind, the affable, the companion, and the commander of his people was now, alas ! no greater than the meanest among them, save as he has illustrated the mighty power which an Almighty God intrusted to his care by deeds of mercy, wisdom, and well-regulated humanity and policy. The fitful fever of life, which too often terminates with the wisest and best in vanity, vexation, and disappointment, has with him come to a termination, which the most fortunate Sovereign in our history might envy, and which the wisest might strive in vain, during a much longer reign, to accomplish. He who, from the first moment of his reign, taught us that when he assumed the monarch he had not forgotten that he was man, has submitted to the common fate of mortality, and has gone amidst universal regret to that awful tribunal where princes and plebeians are equal, and where kings (to borrow an expression one of our poets) “only wear the crown of their own virtues.”

The death of William IV., occurred between half-past two and a quarter to three o'clock, on Tuesday morning. To those who were witnesses of the acute sufferings of his Majesty at the early period of his complaint, it was matter of wonder

that he did not sink under them sooner. But his Majesty was blest with an excellent constitution by nature, and, in spite of the manifold temptations of his rank and station, was not a wanton waster of it. Those, then, who wondered that he fell not sooner, have not taken into their consideration how far temperance, abstinence, and sobriety conduce to the formation of a sound mind in a sound body, and to the consequent prolongation of the ordinary functions of vitality. His Majesty, it is certain, was sensible almost to the last moment of his existence, and expressed the most heartfelt satisfaction at the constant and unremitting attention which he received from the different members of his family. The Queen—and none but those who have been long invalids know how to appreciate the value and tenderness of female sympathy in acute bodily suffering—has set an example to our country-women of patient assiduity and attention to her deceased consort, which they will do well to imitate, but which they will strive in vain to surpass. For the last ten or twelve days she did not know the comforts of an uninterrupted night's rest. The plainest words gives the best description of the greatest virtues, and therefore it is, that without seeking the slightest amplification or rotundity of phrase, we state the highest eulogium we can pass on her Majesty in the homely but kindly and significant phrase, that she had not her clothes off during the whole of that period. When the infirm state of her Majesty's health is taken into consideration, such an affectionate discharge of her conjugal duties must render envy silent, and detraction dumb.

To every Briton who loves liberty, and values at their inestimable price the political franchises of his countrymen, it must be matter of pride and satisfaction that he lived in the reign, and was happy under the protection of William the Reformer. He is no more; but the privileges which he bestowed on his subjects, may they be eternal!

The manner of the death of the Kings of England forms a curious item in the pages of history, for beginning with William the Conqueror we find that he died from enormous fat, from

drink, and from the violence of his passions. William Rufus died the death of the poor stags which he hunted. Henry the First died of gluttony, having eaten too much of a dish of lampreys. Stephen died in a few days of what was called the iliac passion, which we suppose may be a royal word for prussic acid, or something like it. Henry the Second died of a broken heart, occasioned by the bad conduct of his children. A broken heart is a very odd complaint for a Monarch to die of. Perhaps "rat's-bane in his porridge" means the same thing as a broken heart. Richard Cœur de Lion died like the animal from which his heart was named, by an arrow from an archer. John died nobody knows how, but it is said of chagrin, which we suppose is another term for a dose of hellebore. Henry III. is said to have died "a natural death," which with kings, and in palaces, means the most unnatural death which a mortal can shuffle off his "mortal coil." Edward the First is likewise said to have died of a "*natural sickness*," sickness which it would puzzle all the college of physicians to nominate. Edward the Second was most barbarously, indecently murdered by ruffians employed by his own mother and her paramour. Edward the Third died of dotage, and Richard the Second of starvation, the very reverse of George the Fourth. Henry the Fourth is said to have died "of fits caused by uneasiness," and uneasiness in palaces at those times was a very common complaint. Henry the Fifth is said to have died "of a painful affliction, prematurely." This is a country phrase for getting rid of a king. Oh! that the glorious hero of Agincourt should have been got rid of by the priests "by a painful affliction, *prematurely*." Henry the Sixth died in prison, by means known then only to his jailor, and known now only by heaven. Edward the Fifth was strangled in the Tower by his uncle Richard the Third, whom Hume declares to have possessed every quality for government. This Richard the Third was killed in battle, fairly of course, for all kings were either killed fairly or die naturally according to the court circulars of those days. Henry the Seventh wasted away, as a miser ought to do, and Henry the Eighth died of carbuncles,

fat, and fury, whilst Edward the Sixth died of a decline, Queen Mary, the most heartless, or the most bloody-hearted of wretches, is said to have died of a "broken-heart," whereas she died of a surfeit, from eating too much of black-puddings, her sanguinary nature being prone to hog's-blood, or blood of any sort. Old Queen Bess is said to have died of melancholy from having sacrificed Essex to his enemies. James the First died of drinking, and of the effects of a nameless vice. Charles the First died a righteous death on the scaffold, and Charles the Second died suddenly, it is said of apoplexy. James the Second died abroad, thank God ! and we trust that the Duke of Cumberland will do the same. William the Third died from a consumptive habit of body, and from the stumbling of his horse. Queen Anne died from her attachment to "strong waters," or in other terms, from drunkenness, which the physicians politely called the dropsy. George the First died of drunkenness, which his doctors as politely called an apoplectic fit. George the Second died by a rupture on the heart, which the periodicals of that day termed a visitation of God. It is the only instance in which God ever touched his heart. George the Third died as he had lived, a madman. Throughout life he was at least a consistent Monarch. George the Fourth died of gluttony and of drunkenness. William the Fourth died amidst the sympathies of his subjects, and may it be a long time before we have the means of describing the death of his successor.

Friday the 7th, was the day appointed for the lying in state of the mortal remains of his late Majesty William the Fourth, the influx of visitors of every grade, and in vehicles of every imaginable description, was considerable at an early hour in the morning. Indeed, on the previous evening, all the coaches from London, which came down in extra numbers, were well laden, and the streets teemed with multitudes, of whom it seemed almost more than doubtful whether the half of them would obtain at any price decent lodging for the night within the walls of Windsor's town. The principal inns were pre-engaged to the full extent of their abilities for many days

previous, principally by those whose official duties rendered their attendance on this melancholy occasion indispensably necessary. The Board of Green Cloth, for instance, including all the functionaries belonging to that department, put up at the *White Hart*, and occupied no less than eighty two beds; the gentlemen belonging to the Earl Marshal's department, and that of the Lord Chamberlain, being located at the *Castle Inn*. Besides these, a great number of officers quartered here for the occasion, filled up every habitable corner of the superior hostleries, whilst the second and third-rate houses, down even to the venders of ordinary "malt and spirituous liquors," were honoured with the company (an honour they could willingly dispense with in these busy times) of innumerable non-commissioned officers, policemen, &c., whose attendance was necessarily required on occasions of this description. One hundred policemen from London, eighty of the A division, and ten of the C and E divisions respectively, assisted in keeping the peace, and admirably they succeeded in doing so, to the satisfaction alike of those whose *en avant* enthusiasm they had to control, and of those of the weaker and less aspiring sort, who, but for such protection, would have come off but second-best in a crowd. All was orderly, quiet, slow, but sure; the weak and the strong, the forward and the diffident shared alike, and all gained, at the expense only of a trifling modicum of patience, a full view of a sight which many of them never saw before, and but few of us in the ordinary course of nature can expect to see again—the last mortal paraphernalia of a Sovereign of these realms—the omega of royalty.

The melancholy exhibition—almost a mockery of grief, to be sure, and yet an exhibition teeming with melancholy reflections, and a moral of the severest kind—took place, in what is called the *Waterloo Chamber*—so named in honour of the last great day of Britain's martial renown, and appropriately decorated with portraits of the European sovereigns, and other persons of distinction, whose names are connected with that memorable event. Very different, however, were the

feelings inspired on entering this chamber to-day, than might be attached to its name ;—the talismanic touch of the finger of death had changed the scene—the page was turned—the undertaker with his sombre accessories of woe screened from us all the triumphs of the past—the limner's brightest efforts : and in the chamber commemorative of victory, all was darkness, silence, and meditative grief.

In sober sadness, however, even this domain—limited as it is, crimped, cabined, and confined, compared with what was the range of his sovereignty but a few days back—even this apartment, measuring ninety-eight feet in length, by forty-seven in width, was more than was required for the last solemn levee of the deceased monarch. An octagonal pavilion, formed of black cloth, within this chamber, and of about half its length, encircled the remains of royalty, and of its diminished court !

The entrance to the Waterloo chamber is by the grand staircase, the approach to which is on the north by George the Fourth's Tower, and on the south by the Clock Tower—these two entrances being respectively at the two ends of the same hall or corridor, and the passage to the grand staircase lying on the western side of the same.

To gain admittance to the melancholy scene, two courses were open to the intended visitor, accordingly as his means, his interest at court, or his inclination pointed out. The one was by a private or select *entree* through the Clock Tower—the other by a more circuitous and a more bustling route, by the Lower Court, the Terrace, and the gate of George the Fourth's Tower. The former path was open to those only who had tickets from the Lord Chamberlain's office, the latter to the public in general, without any let, hindrance, prejudice, or preference whatever.

The owner of a ticket for the state apartment having presented himself at the gate at the bottom of the drive facing the entrance to the Long Walk, his ticket was inspected by an officer, with a baton of authority in his hand, and a black silk

hatband and scarf, by whose direction the visitor wended his way to the gravel road leading to the York and Lancaster gate, where his ticket was again examined by the officers who keep the gate. Having cleared this second barrier, we pass into the first Quadrangle, where, immediately facing us, is the Clock Tower, whilst on the left is the bronze statue of Charles II.; and on the right, in the extreme corner, the private entrance to the royal apartments. At the gate of the Clock Tower, where half a dozen policemen and two or three gentlemen in black—vergers, mutes, or undertaker's assistants, as the case may be, were lounging about—the ticket was a third time examined.

The symbols of death, which were previously but casually exhibited, began now, indeed to assume a form of extensive reality. The steps and pavement were covered with black cloth—the architecture on either side was partially hung with the same melancholy drapery, presenting a piebald appearance, which but the more forcibly reminded the visitor of the awful transition from life to death, which it was the business of the day to commemorate. By degrees a deeper and a deeper gloom came on, until all light of nature was obliterated, and the faint glimmering of wax lights in silver sconces, fixed at stated distances on the jet black tapestry, gave light just sufficient to point out the general outline of our course, but by no means enough to show us where we trod, or warn our feet from stumbling, where steps unexpectedly presented themselves. Straight before us, in the distance, we saw the forms of those who, as we before observed, had gained admittance by the public thoroughfare, and who were going or returning from the scene of death, as the case might be. A sudden turn to the right now brought us to a point where even these evidences of living mortality were shut out from us, a dark passage—darker than any that we had yet passed—when, turning sharp round to the left, we ascended a wooden staircase, which, by a steep and impetuous course, lead us to the entrance of the gallery whence the select few holding Lord Chamberlain's tickets were to view the actual scene of lying in state. We were ushered in by a

solitary official, in a simple suit of sables. It seemed like the actual representation of "darkness visible," whilst an atmosphere overpoweringly warm, and but too evidently stagnant, combined with the "ocular proof" to render the scene one of breath-holding gloominess and awe. Above us, close impending over our heads, was the same sombre drapery which had hemmed in our silent course the live-long way. There was no escaping from it, which-ever way we turned our eyes—no sound intruded through its folds, save occasionally the creaking of a solitary door without the Pavilion, but within the chamber, as some of the innumerable persons attending the ceremony passed and repassed upon their necessary avocations. The very atmosphere seemed a prisoner; and not a breath, not a whispering of mortal escaped beyond the gloomy seclusion.

The coffin was covered with purple velvet, richly studded with gold-headed nails, with a rich gold handle affixed to the end that was in view. Over the coffin was a pall of rich purple velvet, which was turned up to the extent of a few inches at the foot of the coffin, whilst upon it, resting respectively upon cushions, were the crown of Hanover at the foot, and the imperial crown as nearly as possible at the spot directly over the breast of the deceased monarch. At the head of the coffin almost concealed in the gloom of the apartment, was a lord in waiting of his late Majesty's household, who was supported on either side by a groom in waiting of his late Majesty. At the foot of the coffin were two heralds in full uniform, with black scarfs, &c., and the remainder of the elevated platform was occupied by two knights at arms, two gentlemen ushers, and six gentlemen at arms, the latter of whom respectively bore the Union banner, and the banners of St. George, of Scotland, of Ireland, of Hanover, and of Brunswick. Four yeomen of the guard at either end of the apartment completed the retinue attendant upon the state of the deceased monarch. All these personages, it is understood, were relieved every two hours by others holding similar offices, and similarly equipped.

At the back wall, at the head of the coffin, was the royal hatchment, splendidly emblazoned; and suspended from above

was a canopy of purple, having on it twelve escutcheons of the royal arms, within which, drooping nearly to touch the pall, was the royal standard. Besides the wax lights in sconces, which were fixed in about ten compartments in the room facing and on either side of us, six enormous wax candles, in massive golden candlesticks, shed their faint but steady lustre upon the group, which appeared more like one of waxwork than of real life.

On Saturday the lying in state was continued from ten to three o'clock, to which the public were admitted by tickets, as on the preceding day, one ticket serving for each party. Great inconvenience was found by those who went to present their cards at the barriers leading to King Henry VIII.'s gate, where the pressure was so great as to render it a matter of considerable risk. This, however, was not the fault of those who had to make the arrangements for admission, but was rather the mistake of the holders of the tickets, the great majority of whom went up to the barriers in the Castle Yard, when they might have gone down to the grand entrance in front of the Long Walk, where the same cards would have procured them admission. Those who went by that entrance found no difficulty whatever, and were ushered without any crowd or inconvenient pressure into a gallery overlooking the portion of the Waterloo Chamber in which the royal body lay. The lying-in state continued till three o'clock, up to which time some thousands had the opportunity of seeing it; but at that hour there were still many hundreds who had tickets, but could gain no admission. This as may be easily imagined, caused great discontent amongst the applicants, many of whom expressed their dissatisfaction by loud hisses, when the officers announced that the barriers were closed. On occasions like the present, it will happen that some persons are too late to witness the ceremony, and of course they are dissatisfied, but we repeat the disappointment was owing, in great part, to the individuals themselves. Had the lying-in state continued open for another hour, all who were at the barriers might have been admitted; but we understood that it was absolutely necessary to limit the

admission of the public to three o'clock, in order to make arrangements for the funeral procession. While the crowd remained at the barriers, many ladies fainted from the great pressure, added to the heat, which was intense. We may add, that the heat in the chamber in which the royal body lay-in state was most oppressive, even to those that passed through. To those who were in official attendance it must have been dreadfully severe.

Funeral solemnities may be traced to the earliest ages of mankind, and have been exhibited according to their different modes by barbarous and by civilized nations—by the ancient heathen, the modern savages, the Hindoo, the Mahometan, the Jew, and Christian. How far unimpassioned reason would suggest or justify such observances on the mere abandonment of the earthly body by its occupying and moving spirit, is a question which need not be resolved. The ostentatious burying or burning of the mortal remains of men has grown out of the difficulty of altogether disconnecting in our notions the form, though inanimate, from the living essence, or of reconciling with our habitual attachment to the concrete being, an entire disregard to that portion of it which alone the analyzing hand of death has left us.

In our treatment of individuals of the highest rank—sovereigns or other great functionaries, who when alive are the visible representatives of national institutions—it is useful to interest as much as possible the imaginations of the multitude on the side of that public order and authority, which such classes of functionaries have been appointed, and have so essentially contributed, to uphold. Hence come the reverential forms with which kings are surrounded during their lifetime, constituting a sort of halo, through which the human aspect, the personal necessities, infirmities, habits, and attributes of the monarch are, in comparison with those of the bulk of his subjects, seen as through a gauze curtain, but dimly and imperfectly.

We are not sure, however, that a train of associations might not be encouraged through a skilful employment of those means

which the decease of a sovereign places at the disposal of his survivors more profoundly touching, and serviceable to mankind, than any which the most gorgeous pomp or artificial pageantry is in its nature capable of exciting. It seems to us, that whatever tends to the *abatement* of mortal pride, to produce a sense of the natural *equality* of all human creatures—of the nothingness of material grandeur—of the perishable tenure of created power—of those humbling inflictions which are common to king and people, reducing all that is earthly to its own vile elements, and uplifting the hopes of rich and poor to a state of existence more exalted, independent, and enduring, would be the character most desirable to affix to the deposit of any mortal—especially any royal—fragments in the grave. Our feeling is, therefore, that an extreme simplicity approaching to that of the average of funerals in cases of ordinary death—ought to characterize the obsequies of a christian monarch; as little as possible ought to be done to separate in its outward appendages that which intrinsically is the same—the death of one human being from another. Let it be in all cases just what decency requires, not a pageant to be gazed upon by the lovers of stage spectacle, but really and nakedly *the burial of the dead*. The awfulness of the event; the previous condition of the illustrious party; the departure of the manly spirit; the closed windows of a million of free families, whose own unbought regret for their deceased friend and protector inclined them to make that honourable sacrifice, viz., a suspension of the means by which they lived; the concern, moreover, *universal* among all ranks of those who were the subjects of William IV., and who never, we believe, were before affected by a sympathy so marked and general upon any one occasion since the death of the Princess Charlotte, twenty years ago. The grateful and unquestionable testimony borne by the calm judgment of an enlightened nation to the solid virtues and endearing qualities of a king who redressed their grievances, consulted their wishes, mixed in their enjoyments, loved their welfare, was alive to their glory, and gained

because he valued, their affections; these were things which did, in truth, enhance, as well as constitute, the mournful splendour and deep solemnity of King William's funeral rites—not the long train of public officers, the military bands, the crowns and cushions, the heraldic blazonings, the squadrons and battalions, the well-taught choir, the tolling bells, and booming guns, which spread over a circuit of some fifty miles the noisy notice of a king's interment.

On Friday night two nine-pounder batteries of six guns each, with about one hundred and sixty artillerymen, arrived from Woolwich, and took up their position in the Long Walk, where a temporary encampment was prepared for them. On the occasion of the death of George IV., the artillery were stationed at only a short distance from the entrance of the Long Walk. On this occasion they were placed nearly a mile from the entrance. This arrangement was made, we presume, from a delicate consideration of the presence of her Majesty the Queen Dowager at the Castle. At four o'clock on the morning of Saturday the firing of the guns in the Long Walk announced to the inhabitants of Windsor the commencement of the ceremonials preparatory to the funeral. The guns at first were fired at intervals of ten minutes, and continued so to fire up to ten in the forenoon. They were then fired, and continued to fire, at intervals of five minutes till the movement of the procession from the Castle, when they fired at half-minute time till the conclusion of the ceremony. The concourse of persons in the Long Walk in the early part of the day was not at all numerous. As the day wore on it became much greater, but at no part of the day did the crowd amount to a third of what we saw on the funeral of George IV. The number of visitors who came in carriages was as great as any we had before seen. The diminution of the crowd on this occasion, which was in the number of the pedestrians, was probably occasioned by the circumstance of the ceremony having been fixed for a Saturday. The town of Windsor from a very early hour in the morning presented a scene of unusual bustle. As early as six

o'clock, many carriages had arrived, others crammed with visitors continued to arrive in rapid succession during the day, and by five o'clock there was a larger assemblage in the town than was ever witnessed on any similar occasion. Never in the memory of its oldest inhabitant were so many carriages before seen in Windsor. Every stable-yard, inn-yard, and shed in the town were thronged with them as closely as they could be stowed, but these could not afford room for one-fourth of the number that had arrived, and the consequence was they were arranged in long lines in several of the streets in such numbers as to render the passing of the vehicles, which still continued to arrive, a matter of some difficulty. Such was the immense throng of visitors in the town at five o'clock, and such was the dearth of accommodation, that in every inn-yard, scores, we may say hundreds, of persons, were to be seen seated in all directions, down to the very stable doors, regaling themselves with such refreshments as they could procure: and in many instances it was found a matter of some difficulty to procure any. Amongst the visitors there were vast numbers of foreigners, many of them of distinction. The Turkish Ambassador and some of his suite, and the Prince of Samos, dressed in the Greek costume, were present, and contributed not a little to relieve the monotony of the sable costume in which all, save the troops were arrayed. In fact, except that the shops were all closed, the town had the appearance of being the scene of a great fair, with, however, this marked difference—that amongst no portion of the throng was there exhibited any of that levity of manner which is generally observable at fairs, races, or other occasions that bring together large assemblages, a levity which disgraced many of the visitors at the funeral of George IV. The demeanour of all, as far as we had opportunities of seeing was sedate and grave, as befitted the solemn ceremony which they had come to witness. Advantage, as was to be expected, was taken of the crowded state of the town by the hotel and innkeepers, who, to do them justice, made the most of the Godsend. The prices

of every article necessary for human refreshment were raised nearly one hundred per cent. The ordinary price of beds was a guinea a-night, and there were many instances in which they could not be procured at that, or at any price. Amongst the tradespeople who sought to turn a penny on the occasion, certain itinerant venders of medals and pictures of the late King, of the Queen Dowager, and of her Majesty the Queen Victoria, were not the least conspicuous, nor the least loud in commending their wares to the public. Some of these medals were sold for half-a crown, and others were parted with for a penny. Of the skill with which they were executed we cannot say much. They looked very like what they were—so many counterfeit sovereigns; nevertheless, the demand for them was, we should say, greatly beyond the expectation of the most sanguine of the vendors. The number of hawkers of fruit, cakes, and other slight edibles, gave, as we have said, to the town the appearance of being the scene of a great fair. If occasion required the interposition of the police to preserve order, the town was well provided for in that respect; but, to the credit of the assembled multitude, the police had very little trouble, save only at the barriers in the upper and lower courts of the Castle Yard, where several of them were stationed to prevent too great a pressure amongst the crowds who applied for admission to the lying in state. In that they found some difficulty, for towards three o'clock the crowd became excessive, and the pressure to get within the barriers increased as the hour for closing that part of the ceremonial drew nigh. The torn coats and dresses of many a gentleman and lady as they emerged from the crowd showed the difficulty which they had experienced to advance or retreat. As we have already noticed, great dissatisfaction was expressed by many at this part of the arrangement, but we think without any just cause. During the whole of the day the great bell of the Castle, the bells of the parish church, and that of Eton, continued to toll at intervals of a minute. Divine service was celebrated in the parish church, where an excellent sermon,

suited to the melancholy occasion, was preached by the vicar, the Rev. Mr. Gosse. The attendance in the church was most numerous, and it is unnecessary to add, that the demeanour of the congregation was such as befitted the sacred place in which they were assembled, and the melancholy event which brought them together. The crowd in the Castle Yard in the evening was not near so great as that of the earlier part of the day; nevertheless very considerable inconvenience was experienced by the arrival of a detachment of the Horse Guards, before those who had tickets of admission could take up their positions in the places intended for them. The crowd near the lower gateway was exceedingly dense before the troops arrived, but orders were given to advance and clear a passage. This could not be effected without much confusion and violent pressure on some part of the crowd. Many ladies screamed violently—some few fainted; but we were glad to find in the result that they were all much more frightened than hurt. Much of this confusion and annoyance could easily have been avoided by not allowing any within the lower gate except those who had tickets, or by bringing the troops to take up their appointed positions one hour earlier than that at which they did arrive, or by opening the place for those who had tickets some time before the arrival of the troops. With all the confusion and inconvenience, it turned out, when the holders of admission cards to view the procession moving down the covered way, had taken their places, that without any difficulty double the number could have been accommodated. Why the number of tickets were so limited we cannot guess, but we know that the applicants for tickets were ten times greater than those who were fortunate enough to get favourable answers. Perhaps the great number of the applications may account for the fact that so few of them were attended to. The crowd on the Castle Hill, and near the lower gateway, continued very dense until the procession begun to move. As soon as that was announced by the discharge of a rocket to the artillery in the Long Walk, they commenced firing at half-minute time. This had the effect of drawing off a con-

siderable portion of the multitude, who went down to witness the proceedings there. It was by this time quite dark, and nothing could be distinctly seen from the gateway of the Long Walk but the sombre foliage of the rows of elms, which seemed in the distance like a high wall at each side. The dimness of the prospect was, however, relieved for an instant as each successive gun was fired, the flash of which, followed by its rolling volume of white smoke, threw a momentary gleam on the little encampment and its occupants, who, thus becoming alternately visible and invisible, gave to the whole scene a most interesting and picturesque effect. The firing was kept up until another rocket from the Castle announced the conclusion of the sorrowful ceremonials. The two batteries then fired a royal salute, immediately after which the encampment was broken up, and the artillery was moved off to Colabrook, where it halted:

The ceremony of the lying in state having terminated at three o'clock, the platform leading from the principal entrance of the state apartments to the south gate of St. George's Chapel was cleared of strangers, and the carpenters and other workmen proceeded with all speed to lay down the black cloth the whole length of the covered way, and to finish those arrangements which the presence of the public had hitherto prevented them from doing. The military on duty were regulated by an order which had been issued from the Horse Guards, of which the following is a copy:—

“GENERAL ORDER, HORSE GUARDS, JULY 1.

“The troops to be employed on the occasion of the funeral of his late Majesty King William IV., are to consist of the following detail:—1st Life Guards; one squadron 2d Life Guards; one squadron Royal Horse Guards; one squadron 12th Royal Lancers; 1st battalion Grenadier Guards; two hundred men from the 2d and 3d battalions Grenadier Guards; 2d battalion of the Coldstream Guards; four companies of 2d battalion Fusileer Guards; with the Queen's colours of the respective battalions.

"The whole to be under the orders of Major-General Sir Charles Dalbiac, K.C.H.

"The Foot Guards to be under the immediate orders of Colonel D'Oyley, of the Grenadier regiment.

"In addition to the above, a detachment of artillery, with two nine pounder batteries of six guns each, has been directed to place itself under the orders of Major-General Sir C. Dalbiac.

"The distribution of troops as follows :—

"THE GRAND STAIRCASE.—The grand staircase to be lined on each side by men of the Household Brigade, in equal proportions.

"PLATFORM.—The platform was to be lined with men from the Grenadier Guards, 2d battalion of Coldstream Guards, and 1st and 2d battalions Scotch Fusileer Guards.

"Within the chapel, outside the screen, from the door of the chapel to the end of the south aisle, was to be lined with men of the Foot Guards.

"The centre of the chapel was to be lined by dismounted men of the Household Brigade.

From the side door, outside the choir to the platform, was to be lined by the Foot Guards.

"BANDS.—The bands were to be on the right of the respective battalions. The band of the Grenadier Guards to commence 'the dead march in *Saul*,' on the procession arriving at the right flank of that regiment. The band of the Scot's Fusileer Guards to take up 'the dead march in *Saul*,' on the procession reaching the right flank, and in like manner the band of the Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards to take it up, and continue it until the body be met by the clergy.]

"The guards mounted at the Castle were to be doubled; and such other guards mounted, and arrangements made as may appear requisite to the commanding officers.

"By command of the Right Hon. General Lord Hill, Commanding-in-Chief.

JOHN MACDONALD, Adjutant General."

A little before seven o'clock, the military and police soon afterwards entered and took up their stations. A detachment of granadiers marched up in companies and lined both sides of the platform within the barrier, to the great annoyance of the gathering spectators, whose sight was thereby considerably intercepted. The soldiers were placed at half a pace from each other, every third man being provided with a flambeau. Troops of Horse Guards and divisions of Foot Guards were also stationed in the upper and lower court-yards. Two or three narrow or diminutive platforms which had been placed near the platform, were soon filled by the public, and the bank, being a still more elevated position, though more remote, was eagerly resorted to. The windows of the residence of the poor knights, the turrets, and every part of the surrounding buildings from whence a view of the platform could be obtained, were crowded with silent spectators, waiting to catch a glimpse of the funeral pageantry. Others drew near the platform, and ranged themselves behind the barriers and soldiers. The police were scattered up and down, and here and there officers of the Castle appeared with black wands, gowns, and bonnets. The arrival of the public was but slow at first, in consequence of the delay they experienced in gaining admission at the outer gates. Those who got into the quadrangle and upper court, and they were but very few, had a better sight of the procession than the great mass in the lower court. A temporary barricade divided the two courts.]

There were altogether about five thousand persons congregated in the open space of the lower, and a few hundreds only in the upper ward. The soldiers were allowed to ground their arms, and to lie down on the platform, the immediate atmosphere of which became heated by their own presence and that of the crowds behind them. They appeared very faint, but a plentiful supply of water, brought to them by the servants of Sir Jeffery Wyatville, was swallowed up with rapid avidity. As twilight came on, the bustle of arrangements gradually subsided; and when the shadows of night followed, the pioneers of the Foot Guards came out of the Gothic porch of the state

apartments and lighted the flambeaux borne by the military, who were now ranged in order. The flickering glare cast upon the sable costumes of the persons near the soldiers, and on the black drapery of the platform—the dark and almost indistinct multitude in the court-yard—the groups here and there collected on the lodgments of the buildings and the tops of the Castle walls, more distinguishable because forming a contrast with gray stone, and the gathering gloom of night, combined to form a scene which, while it met the eye, could not fail to affect the heart and make the beholder think how extensive is the dominion of death. One only, indeed, was to be borne to “the house appointed for all the living;” but the silence and sombreness that prevailed, proved that all were reminded of their own mortality, and that sovereign and subject must alike sink beneath the unerring shaft of death.

Long before six o'clock (the hour appointed for opening the gates) the pressure around the north aisle entrance was very great, and the difficulty of gaining admission at the chapel door, even after passing two external barriers, was in no degree diminished by the culpably headstrong conduct of several members of the metropolitan police force who were in attendance. The very injudicious arrangements for letting in the Eton boys, two hundred of whom had to be pressed through the dense and gathering crowd around the north aisle door before any of the public were admitted, tended greatly to augment the very fatiguing pressure, which might otherwise have been avoided. It would have been much better at an earlier hour to have admitted the Etonians by the hundred steps, the direct and immediate communication between the Castle and Eton. The arrangements within the chapel happily were of a very superior character, a step platform having been erected, covered with black cloth, and stretching the entire length of the north aisle, where, there being very properly no reserved seats, those who were fortunate enough to effect an early entrance immediately took possession of those stations they thought most likely to afford a commanding view of the approaching solemnity. This gallery, consisting of twelve as-

ending steps, was occupied by upwards of six hundred ladies and gentlemen. A row of the Life Guards and Blues lined each side of the centre platform, down which the Royal corpse had to pass. The Eton boys, attired like the rest of the spectators in full dress black, and attended by their masters, took up their position in the immediate rear of the soldiers, and the remaining vacant space was occupied by those who, not fortunate enough to secure places in the gallery, contented themselves with such standing room as could be obtained. There being no means of ventilation, the heat soon became very oppressive. Several persons fainted, and were removed by their friends. The only circumstance we noticed at all reprehensible, but which led to one or two rather inconvenient scrambles, arose from the somewhat unseemly conduct of a person belonging to the Chapel Royal, throwing from the nave platform among the occupants of the gallery some printed bills, containing, we believe, a programme of the service in the chair.

Just as the closing shades of evening spread their gathering gloom around, at five minutes to nine the firing, at half-minute time, of the guns in the Long Walk announced the starting of the funeral from the state apartments, and furnished the signal for lighting the wax-flambeaux with which each alternate soldier was supplied. The fine effect thus produced was greatly heightened by the bright and dazzling armour of the soldiers, who now rested on their arms reversed, awaiting the arrival of the procession.

As there was no admission into the choir, except for those persons who were officially connected with the procession, there was a general desire on the part of those who gained admission into the north aisle to obtain a view of the preparations which had been made there for the royal funeral. By permission of the officers stationed by the Earl Marshal under the organ-loft to guard the beautifully carved folding doors which form the entrance to the choir, they were allowed some time before the aisle and choir were lighted up to look through the screen at the manner in which the interior of the choir was decorated,

The general appearance of it, seen from that point of view, was one of solemn and gloomy magnificence, Directly before you was a large canopy of purple velvet, surmounted by an imperial crown, and adorned with escutcheons, stretching completely across the passage up the choir, and hanging over the moveable platform, which then formed the entrance to the royal vault. Looking under this canopy, you obtained a partial glimpse of the great painted window over the altar, designed by West and painted by Forest, through which a dim light was falling upon everything in the interior of the chapel, Beneath this window, and immediately above the communion-table, is a painting of the Lord's Supper, by West. Of this picture, which, though objectionable in many respects, is executed in the best style of West's colouring, you had a distinct view. But your attention was immediately drawn away from it by the dazzling splendour of the rich plate which in proud abundance was ranged under it upon the black drapery of the communion-table. Leaning against the wall were nine massive salvers of gold or silver gilt, of which the least must have been two feet in diameter. Immediately before them were fifteen golden flagons of various sizes, and in front of these flagons were posted the same number of golden chalices. They were flanked by two large golden candelabra, which stood on a lofty pedestal close to the rails of the communion-table. Each of the candelabra held twelve massive tapers. So admirably were these splendid specimens of plate—the joint contributions of the Chapel of St. George at Windsor, of the Chapel Royal at St. James's, and of the German Chapel in London—grouped together, that they cast a strong gleam on the black cloth with which the floor of the choir was covered from the communion-table to the entrance in the choir. This effect was heightened by the five heavy chandeliers of gilt brass, which on each side of the choir are suspended from the rich and variegated tracery of the roof. Looking at the sides of the choir, you saw the banners of the Knights of the Garter radiant with all the gorgeous blazonry of heraldry, and

underneath their banners, their crests, helmets, mantles, and swords. Their stalls were all covered with black cloth elegantly festooned. On the slender pillars which divide the stalls, and support the carved woodwork which surmounts them, were nailed brass branches for the wax tapers, which were to illuminate the chapel as the darkness fell. There were some hundreds of these tapers on each side, and there would have been more but for the prudent precaution of the Very Rev. the Dean of Windsor, who, observing that in some places the woodwork projected over the tapers, and in others advanced nearer to them than was safe, ordered a vast number of them to be removed. Their brilliant whiteness contrasted well with the dark drapery against which they rested. The different seats below the stalls were covered in the same manner as the stalls, and on the floor were placed near the entrance to the royal tomb, a chair of state for the chief mourner, covered with purple velvet, and small settees similarly ornamented for the princes connected by blood or marriage with the royal family. There was a gloomy grandeur in the whole scene which was most impressive. The dim light reflected from the painted windows of the aisle, the dazzling gleam of gold and silver on the altar, the gorgeous blazonry of the banners, with all their varieties of colouring and quartering, the fretted tracery of the roof, with all its roseate adornments, the dark and melancholy clothing of the sides and floor of the choir, together with the accompaniments and associations of the scene itself, conspired to invest it with an interest which may be felt, but cannot be described. The royal closet, which is on the left of the communion-table, as you look up from the doors of the choir, also excited considerable attention. It is directly over the monument of Edward IV. It was known in the morning that it was the intention of Queen Adelaide to view from it the last earthly honours paid to her beloved husband; and there was therefore some curiosity felt as to the mode in which it would be fitted up. Externally, there was no difference in its appearance: but in the

interior, the carpets were removed, and all the floor and furniture covered with black cloth. A black curtain was also put up in it, which, when closed immediately behind her Majesty, would, of course, render her a less conspicuous object to the parties in the funeral procession. In the pew adjoining to and communicating with the royal closet, it was understood that some of his late Majesty's daughters would attend.

Several persons were observed occasionally descending into the royal tomb. The descent is accomplished by a platform, which by means of ropes and pullies sinks quietly into the passage which leads to the royal cemetery. All the preparations for letting down the royal coffin, which, with its contents, weighs ten hundred, were in readiness in the morning, and there was no such indecent hurry to distract the minds of the spectators as occurred at the funeral of George IV., when the shavings of the platform were not swept away till the very moment that the funeral procession entered the royal chapel.

Our limits will not permit to enter into all the details of the funeral procession, and therefore we shall close the work, with a few remarks on the character of the departed monarch.

For genuine and unaffected kindness of heart and manner no king ever excelled William IV. The frank-hearted manner which distinguished the late sovereign previous to his accession he preserved upon the throne. The easy affability and kindness of his heart and manners were universally acknowledged and admired; they followed him through his daily habits and general intercourse, and accorded so entirely with the feelings and manners of this nation, as to secure in return devoted attachment and esteem from every order—that popular regard which is the strongest human support to the throne, the fairest possessions of princes. Thus excellent and exemplary was the public and private life of him who, having reached the ordinary term of human life, is departed, as we trust, to wear that crown which fadeth not away. Over his tomb may be written the affectionate husband, the kind father, the indulgent master, the patriotic King.

One characteristic feature of his known public character

was his compassionate disposition in general—his ready attention to the claims of misery, and the gracious alacrity with which he on all occasions relieved the wants, the necessities of any class of his subjects who were suffering under temporary pressure. Clemency was a distinguishing attribute of the late King, and the administration of the laws under his government was marked by an unceasing aversion to the dreadful extremity of punishment. To many it is well known that he took a deep interest in the mitigation of the criminal code, and that his personal conduct, materially contributed to the practical ameliorations in our laws for which his reign has been remarkable. Mercy was, indeed, a prominent ingredient in his character.

On the 20th of June, Victoria I. ascended the throne of these realms, and let us devoutly implore the Almighty who controls the destinies of kingdoms, and sways the hearts of the rulers of mankind, to inspire her with the laudable ambition of emulating the virtues of the departed Monarch—that she may study to preserve the people committed to her charge in wealth, peace, and godliness, and that herself may ever live in social peace and love, and in dutiful obedience to the King of Kings.

FINIS.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

Portrait of WILLIAM IV. to face engraved title page.

Lord Rodney	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57
Bushey Park	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	332
Duchess of Kent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	626
Queen Dowager of Great Britain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	606
Victoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	693

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